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THE
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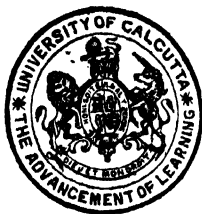
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1935

HUNDRED YEARS OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN INDIA

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ON the 7th of March, 1835, Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, acting on the advice of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, passed the resolution which brought into existence the present system of education and which finally set at rest the controversy which had been raging for about the past twenty years on the type of education to be imparted to His Majesty's Indian subjects; Macaulay's famous Minute on which this resolution was based had been published earlier in the year, on 2nd February, 1835. Thus was introduced a century ago the western system of education, which perhaps more than anything else has revolutionised the whole social, economic, political and cultural structure of Indian life.

Charles Trevelyan was not far from wrong when, speaking of this new move on the part of the British Government of India, he said: "So much perhaps never depended upon the determination of any

Government."¹ A hundred years have passed since the day when this momentous decision was reached. In its train there came momentous changes in the whole life of the Indian people, changes which can be directly traced to the introduction of the new system of education under Government patronage. It will be perhaps no exaggeration to say that a new India was born on the day when a century ago Bentinck inaugurated the western system of education. Whether these changes have been for our good or not, whether the new India is better or worse than the mediaeval India whose death-knell was sounded on that day we need not discuss here ; but no one will doubt that it was indeed a memorable day in the history of India and perhaps in the history of this country there have been, compared to this, very few occasions which deserve more fittingly to be remembered by the people of this country even after a hundred years. The 7th of March, 1835, can certainly be the occasion of a centenary celebration in India. And that can be done in no better way than by presenting a brief review of the history of education in India in the last century. It was time that we clearly understood the course of events in their proper light and took stock of our achievements and failures. In many ways we are now at cross-roads. Perhaps a clear knowledge of this history may help us in guiding our steps in the light of our past experiences.

In his book *Education in British India* (Calcutta, 1872), Arthur Howell wrote, "Education in India under British Government was at first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a new system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally set on its present footing."² Thus Howell indicated certain stages in the history of western education in this country. Following him I shall, for this brief and rapid survey, divide the period under review into certain stages which are more or less well defined.

- (1) 1835 to 1854 ; the period of beginning ;
- (2) 1854-1884 ; the period of hesitancy and gradual formulation of aims ;
- (3) 1884 to 1904 ; the period of transition ;
- (4) 1904 to 1921 ; the period of consolidation ;
- (5) 1921 to 1934 ; the modern period.

¹ Charles Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 12.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

For a proper understanding of the history of education in the above periods and to explain the genesis of the system, I shall at first briefly narrate the history of events that took place in the field of Indian education before 1835 which year is, properly speaking, the starting point of our history.

EARLY HISTORY

The origins of the western system of education really date back almost to the middle of the sixteenth century and are to be sought in the activities of the early Christian missionaries who came to this country in the wake of European traders and adventurers. The missionaries followed the merchants and from the earliest times their efforts were directed towards christianizing the natives of India, the 'pagans' and 'heathens' as they were called.

As soon as the Portuguese had gained a foothold in India, Roman Catholic missionaries came and began organising institutions for the evangelisation of these 'heathens.' These institutions which confined their activities to the Portuguese possessions were of four types: (a) parochial elementary schools attached to churches and missionary centres; (b) orphanages for Indian children in which besides rudimentary instruction some sort of industrial and agricultural work was provided for; (c) Jesuit colleges for higher studies; (d) seminaries for theological instruction and training for priesthood.

Among the earliest and most known of these missionaries was Francisco Xavier (later canonised as St. Xavier), an associate of Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits were well known promoters of education in Europe and they brought the same zeal and enthusiasm for education to India. Their inspiration led to the founding of many institutions including a university in Bandora near Bombay which, founded in 1575, continued to exist till 1739, and which conferred degrees.

But with the decline of the Portuguese power these institutions too suffered decline and the system built by them broke up. The Portuguese were followed by the English and the Danish. The Protestant missionaries then entered the field of Indian education. The Board of Directors of the East India Company evinced from early years a keen desire to propagate the Gospel and missionaries were allowed to embark on their ships. Later on, as we shall see, this

policy changed. But at that time missionaries were welcomed and, as a part of their religious propaganda, they began to found schools.

About this time (in the early years of the 18th century) the Danish also became active in education. Under the inspiration of Francke, the well-known educator of Halle and the patronage of Frederick IV of Denmark, some missionaries came to India for preaching the Gospel. They chose Tranquebar near Madras as their centre of activities and began founding schools and orphanages. The work of Ziegenbalg, the most prominent among these missionaries, was so much appreciated by the English that when he visited England he was received in audience by George I. Another pioneer was Schwartz who with the help of the Raja of Tanjore opened in the last quarter of the 18th century schools for teaching English.

In 1717 the Danish missionaries with the permission of the Governor of Fort St. George opened two charity schools. The Company too in the same year started a school for Indian children. This was the beginning of the system of Government schools.

In Bombay too the missionaries were active. In 1718 Rev. Cobbe opened the first missionary school in the city of Bombay. In the beginning for many years it was supported by voluntary contributions. But in 1807 the Company took charge of it.

In Bengal too the missionaries were the pioneers in the field of education. The first school to be started by the English was founded in Calcutta in 1731. It was a Charity School opened by Chaplain Bellamy. In 1758 the Rev. Kiernander at the invitation of Col. Clive opened another school in Calcutta. In 1789 the Free School Society of Bengal was founded and it started several schools in Calcutta and its vicinity. Other agencies too were at work and slowly but steadily, western education began its career in this presidency.

The following extract from a Despatch from the Court of Directors, dated the 16th February, 1787, is of interest showing as it does the attitude of the Company as regards education :

“The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the Natives having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India, and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing the desirable object, it is with great pleasure we learn from Mr. John Sullivan, etc., etc.....

“ Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith, to enlighten the minds of the Natives and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for this British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our Government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind we have determined to evince our desire of promoting their (of the schools started by the Mr. Swartz referred to in the lines not quoted at the end of the above paragraph) success.”¹

For this end the Company aided directly and indirectly the missionary enterprises in the field of education. One interesting feature of the above extract is that it describes an objective of imparting English education which remained more or less the same for many years to come.

After the battle of Plassey and the assumption of wider powers by the Company, its officers began to view at proselytisation with alarm. As a result in a despatch issued in 1808 the Directors emphatically announced their desire of observing strict neutrality in religious matters and disfavoured missionary enterprises and thus discountenanced educational efforts of these bodies. This is the reason why Carey, Marshman and Ward on coming to India had to seek shelter under the Danish flag at Serampore for fear of being repatriated.

But the missionaries continued their efforts with unabated zeal and a long list of honoured names testifies to the solid and pioneering educational work which missionaries have accomplished in India.

Besides the missionaries there were other private bodies engaged in the field of education. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century many organisations like the Calcutta School Book Society were active in the different parts of the country. Among these, besides the one already named, mention may be made of the Calcutta School Society, Bombay Native School Society. By the twenties of the last century Mountstuart Elphinstone with the help of the Bombay Educational Society had begun his activities in the field of education in that province. Bengal had already a network of schools managed by different societies.

Among the individuals there were Captain Doveton, General Claude Martin, David Hare and others. In the Indians the desire for western education was generally gaining ground. This was the

¹ Quoted in the *Selection from Educational Records (S.E.R.)*; Part I, pp. 3-4 Government of India.

time when Raja Rammohun Roy began his work. He was joined by Raja Radhakanto Deb, and their co-operation with David Hare and others led to the foundation in 1811 of the Vidyalaya (later known as the Hindu College) in Calcutta. Of Raja Rammohun Roy I shall speak later.

Much earlier than these efforts do we come across the activities of individual officers in the employ of the Company. In 1781 Warren Hastings had founded the Calcutta Madrassa the object of which was "to qualify sons of Mohammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State." In 1792 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Benares, had founded the Benares Sanskrit College. The Commissioner of the Deccan had started a college for Hindu learning at Poona.

But these were after all individual efforts. The Company as a whole did not at first recognise it as a part of their duty to impart education to the people of India. It was a trading rather than a ruling corporation. It had in fact come to India for business and found an empire at its feet.

"The first assertion that it was the duty of England to communicate to her Indian subjects, by the channel of education her intellectual and moral conceptions came not from statesmen and administrators but from religious reformers." ¹

When in 1793 the question arose of the renewal of the Company's charter there was already in existence in England as well as India a body of opinion which favoured the assumption by the Company of some responsibility in the direction of imparting education to the people of India. Wilberforce instigated by Charles Grant, a Director of the Company, insisted on sending "missionaries and schoolmasters" to India. But the opposition was great. In view of the unsettled conditions of the country the wisdom of taking such a step as might hurt the susceptibilities of the native population and thereby jeopardise the interest of the Company, was called into question. Then again there were others who sincerely believed that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed." ²

¹ *East India Company Act of 1813 (53, George III, c. 155), clause 43.*

² *Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vol. I, pp. 31-32.*

In the face of such opposition the attempt of Wilberforce proved fruitless. But in the meantime in 1811 Lord Minto had written a minute on the subject of education in India ; its chief theme was the lamentable decay of learning in the country. He was definitely of opinion that the Government should " interpose with a fostering hand the revival of letters " ¹ in India.

So when in 1813, the charter of the Company once again came up for renewal, Wilberforce succeeded in inserting in it a clause to the effect that " It shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that.....a sum of one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." ²

This above statement is important inasmuch as it contains the first legislative admission of the right of education in India to participate in the public revenues. It also contains the germs of the controversy which raged for the following quarter of a century in the field of Indian education. The clause presents two distinct propositions ; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India and the revival and improvement of literature; and secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the people of the country.

In fact it represented a compromise between two different schools of opinion at first nebulous but gradually taking shape. One school was sympathetic towards oriental culture. Consequent on the discovery of Sanskrit literature by European scholars and their resultant zeal for this newly discovered source of an ancient civilisation, there was growing in England as well as India a strong body of opinion which strongly advocated the patronage of oriental learning. On the other hand, there was another school of thought, represented later by Macaulay, holding that the East had nothing good in its culture and civilisation and all that was good must come from the West. In later years, these two opposing views crystallised to form the code of the ' Anglicists ' and the ' Orientalists. ' But of that later.

The immediate effect of this clause was the issue by the Court of Directors of the first education despatch in 1814. It took advantage of the vagueness of the clause and did nothing further than

¹ Quoted in the *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 17.

² *Ibid*, p. 19.

reiterate its faith in the half-hearted and indeterminate policy of encouraging here and there private and sporadic efforts of individual officers and the 'learned natives' of India; and the encouragement was for oriental learning only.

But the enemy was already abroad. In the meantime, the activity of the missionaries, which was to play so vital a part in the development of a new educational system, had begun. Men like Raja Rammohun Roy and David Hare had begun their work and Indian opinion was fast turning in favour of English education. The Hindu College had been opened and William Carey in 1818 founded the first missionary college at Serampore. Contact with the West in the persons of the officers of the Company had fired the imagination of the enlightened section of the Indian public who dreamt of a new and rejuvenated India taking her lawful place in the community of nations; they believed that this rejuvenation could be brought about not by sticking to the ancient lore of the country but by importing from the West the ideas and ideals which had made England what she was, a great and conquering nation.

In their efforts to introduce western learning into India the two groups of advocates worked at cross purposes, and there was a conflict of ideals between them. The one represented by Raja Rammohun Roy and the semi-rationalist school whose opinion he voiced, was mainly interested in secular education. The idea was that such a training would rid Indian society of many superstitions and evil institutions and would thereby pave the way to better conditions of life, religious, moral and social. On the other hand, to the missionaries western education was mainly an *evangelico praeparatio* which could ultimately lead to the christianisation of India.

However, divided as they were in their ultimate ideals the two sections joined hands and "the missionaries and the Hindu reformers between them succeeded in arousing a remarkable ferment of ideas in the Calcutta of the thirties; the educational revolution had begun."¹ But the Government still hesitated to patronise directly the western system of education and continued in its half-hearted policy of advocating oriental learning. And even there not much was

being done. In fact the annual grant of a lac of rupees given since 1813 was not being properly spent.

About this time several surveys on the condition of education were set afoot in different parts of the country. Among these mention must be made of the survey inaugurated by Sir Thomas Munro in the provinces under the Madras Government in 1822 and another similar survey undertaken by the Government of Bombay. Though Mr. Adams's survey of Bengal education chronologically belongs to a later time (1835-38), it should be considered in this connection too.

Sir Thomas Munro entertained no doubt that education had been better in earlier times and said: "Low as the state of education in India is admitted to be, compared with that of our own country, it is even now higher than in most European countries at no very distant date."¹ In the course of this (Madras) survey, the Collector of Bellary submitted a report which also is interesting. According to this report 1 out of 67 of the population was receiving instruction in the native schools of the province. The Bombay survey gave the figures as 1 out of 133, while Mr. Adams admitted the existence of 100,000 schools scattered over the province of Bengal. All this indicates the existence of a widespread indigenous system of education.² But that the condition of this system was pitiable was the unanimous verdict of these surveys. They were of one opinion that there was a lamentable decay in learning, the number of its votaries and its quality. The Collector of Bellary, it is interesting to note, "ascribed this to the competition of foreign goods, the movement of troops, and the substitution of European for native rule which, despite a less rigorous enforcement of the revenue had impoverished the country."³

Such was the state of affairs in the twenties of the last century. A line of policy was clearly indicated herein. If the Government was bold, if it had believed in a clear-cut line of action, if it wanted to educate the masses and not the classes, and if, above all, it was

¹ *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 47.

² It would be interesting to note in this connection that in England in 1818 "for one child who had the opportunity of education three were left entirely ignorant." (Archdeacon Firminger in the Introduction to N. N. Law's *Promotion of Learning in India by the Early European Settlers.*)

³ *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 47.

inspired more with humanistic than utilitarian motives, the way was clear. Wretched as the condition of these indigenous institutions might have been, they could, with proper encouragement, be renovated and rejuvenated. The work would have begun not in the cities but in these villages and not in the few higher academic institutions of the country. But as we shall presently see, the Government did not clearly see the way, it was half-hearted in its endeavours. Then again it believed in the theory of classes and also in the 'filtration theory' (to which I shall refer again) of permeation of culture. As a result whatever action the Government took was for encouraging Sanskrit and Arabic, languages which had long since ceased to be living and which were confined among a few only of the vast population of the country. Only once, in 1844, under the inspiration of Lord Hardinge did this idea dawn in the minds of the Government that perhaps the sadly neglected indigenous village institutions might have been made use of; but it was short-lived. By that time other forces had come into play which led to the complete neglect and consequent disorganisation of the once-wide system of indigenous village education.

I have already mentioned that the grant of a lac of rupees was not being properly spent. It was not till 1823 that this grant was appropriated for the purposes laid down in the Charter of 1813. In that year, the Governor General appointed a General Committee of Public Instruction "for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education.....and of the public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering, and from time to time submitting to the Government the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character." ¹

This Committee was largely composed of men in favour of oriental classical learning and had as its General Secretary, H. H. Wilson, the great Sanskrit scholar. It therefore began with the completion of the organisation of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta, with the opening of new oriental colleges in Agra and Delhi, and with the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale.

¹ *S.E.R.*, Part I, p. 53.

But as I have said the enemy was already abroad in the land. Even the Directors had begun to veer round and resent the stress that was being given to oriental classical learning. And then the storm broke. The proposal for the foundation of a Sanskrit college in Calcutta brought forth the bitter attack of Raja Rammohun Roy against the whole scheme, in the form of a celebrated letter addressed to Lord Amherst, the Governor General of India. In this letter he gave vent to ideas of the advanced section of the traditional classical learning. This letter inaugurated a controversy which prolonged for more than ten years, was finally closed by the action of Lord Bentinck in deciding in favour of the position taken up by the Raja and advocated later on by Macaulay. Portions of this famous letter are still interesting reading.

Rammohun Roy wrote; "As the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government of England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state.....that if the plan now adopted (referring to the proposed establishment of the Sanskrit college) be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Vyakarana or Sanskrit grammar.

"In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg Your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of Schoolmen, which was best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner, the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature." ¹

This memorial however was left unanswered and the proposed Sanskrit college was founded in spite of it.

¹ Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-71.

Thus we see that although the Court of Directors in England as well as the advanced section of the people in India had turned in favour of western education, the General Committee of Public Instruction was still pleading for oriental classical learning. In 1827 and 1829 the Court had sent two communications to the Governor General signifying their desire to promote more and more English education in preference to oriental learning. In the despatch of 1829 occur these words, "We are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil government of India."¹ In the same year the Government wrote to the General Committee of Public Instruction that it was "the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country" and that it would "omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practicable degree of encouragement to the execution of this project."²

In 1830 the Board of Directors sent another despatch to the Governor-General intimating their favourable attitude towards English education. They welcomed the indication shown by the Indians themselves to promote English literature and western sciences which, in their opinion, might be more advantageously studied in English than in translations. None the less the Directors did not wish that English should be exclusively used. In fact they issued a warning against the tendency to under-rate the importance of Indian languages for the purpose of medium of instruction. Curiously enough this emphasis laid by the Directors on the value of Indian languages was lacking when finally English education was introduced under official patronage.

In this despatch too we come across the theory which later on came to be known as the "filtration theory." This is what the despatch said: "The system of education by a thorough study of the English language could be placed within the reach of a very small portion of the Indian population but the intelligent Indians who had been thus educated might as teachers in schools or colleges or as translators and writers of useful books, contribute on an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of those accomplishments which they themselves had gained and might communicate

¹ J. W. Raye; *The Administration of the E. I. Company*; p. 594.

² Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 146, footnote.

in some degree to the native literature and to the minds of the native community that improved spirit which it is hoped they themselves will have imbued from the influence of European ideas and sentiments." ¹

Thus the 'filtration theory' was first elaborated. Education was to permeate from the classes to the masses. Mr. Arthur Mayhew in his book, 'The Education of India' gives a picturesque interpretation of this theory. He says, "Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards forming in time a broad and stately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains." ²

Was there any justification for this theory? Certainly if one believes in classes there is some justification. But perhaps in this case the justification lay in the limited funds, paucity of text-books in Indian languages written on modern lines and above all the immediate need of the Government for a band of English-knowing Indian public servants who could run the machinery of the Government more cheaply than had hitherto been possible. Shorn of all rhetoric the theory meant nothing but this.

Mr. Mayhew has ably discussed at some length the results of this theory in the field of Indian education. It created a new caste in the caste-ridden Indian society. It had disastrous effects on the cultural life of India and "the Government in so far as many years back it originated and defended the filtration theory, must be held to deserve a beating." ³ "For, by so doing, it encouraged the separation of mass from class, town from country, western from eastern modes of thought and life, to which India, left to herself, has always been too prone. It established the idea that education is a luxury, an investment perhaps also for the thrifty, but an investment in which privileged classes will receive most assistance from the state. It also obscured the truth that the education of the people of India means nothing if it does not mean the development of the cultural instincts and the raising the material level of all classes of those peoples." ⁴

To come to our point from this slight digression, all the communications referred to above indicated clearly which way the wind was blowing. From this to Bentinck's resolution was not a far cry and yet five long years had to pass before it could be introduced. In the meantime a fierce controversy raged inside the Committee of public

¹ *S. E. R.* Part I, p. 67.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Instruction between the Anglicists and the Orientalists. The difference of opinion between the two schools of thought long delayed the business of the Committee. Almost everything which came before them was more or less involved in it. The two parties were equally balanced so that they were unable to make a forward movement in any direction. This state of things lasted for several years when the Committee seems to have come to a dead stop and the Government alone could set it in motion by giving a preponderance to one or other of the two opposing sections. The members therefore laid down before the Government a statement of the existing position and of the grounds of the conflicting opinions held by them. It was at this stage that Bentinck appointed Macaulay the Chairman of the Committee and the latter submitted his famous Minute in the beginning of 1835, in which year our history really begins.

Calcutta.

TWELVE YEARS OF FASCISM

PRAMATHANATH ROY, M.A., D.LITT.

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I

THE rise of Fascism is considered by many to be due to the particular historical circumstances of the country during the post-war period. In so far as the events of the world carry an element of fatality with them, it is quite true that Fascism could evolve itself only on the then politico-economic conditions of Italy. But the explanation does not explain everything. It does not explain those spiritual elements of Fascism which we see today throwing into background the merely political and economic way of government. It does not explain how out of the fire-baptism of the war Italy, of all the countries, came out first to start a new career in the world. I consider Fascism to be a non-rational movement. However much the theorists of Fascism might speak and write about the "classe dirigente" and the Fascist aristocracy, to me Fascism seems to be the expression of the mass-mind of Italy, that mass-mind whose movements are always non-rational and which is the best custodian of the spiritual treasures of a nation's civilization. It is not for nothing that Mussolini, who by birth belongs to the humbler folk, sits at the head of the government. It is the non-rational mass-mind that, already stirred before but violently shaken by the shock of the war, took a fateful direction and Mussolini is the expression of that activity of the mass-mind. The particular politico-economic conditions were only contrivances of the destiny of the nation to help this reflowering of the people. My explanation may seem to be mystical, but where personalities are concerned, where the question involved is that of unexpected and sometimes inexplicable aspects which a historical incident assumes, one cannot avoid being mystical. And in fact, is there not, notwithstanding all our rational explanation, a mystery shrouding the entire evolution of human history?

If we want to understand Fascism, we must go to the deepest depth of the science of sociology, we must dare to penetrate into

race-metaphysics. Unless we do so, we cannot understand many of the acts of Mussolini, Italian Fascism, because is the expression of a national temper, of a special national outlook on life, an outlook that is determined by the entire tradition of the country. If it were a merely economico-political doctrine, it would have attained its goal and finished its mission by giving to the world its corporative system and the labour-charter. When it began its career, the economic question was the most pressing one, and its solution was the first vital necessity and so its attention was at first absorbed by it. And even today when it has to show before the world its record of achievement, it points to this because this is the thing that has the most universal appeal on account of its practical utility for all people that are suffering from the canker of modern economic evils. But it covers within its activity more subtle things, I should say also more important inasmuch as the characteristic politico-economic structure of Fascism will succeed and endure to the extent it succeeds to give those subtler things a more concrete and durable shape.

These subtle things consist in moulding, slowly but surely, the character, rather reawakening the slumbering qualities of the race—the qualities of the mighty Romans as tempered by the Catholic Church. I say the Catholic Church not as a rigid institution as we find it today. The original Catholic Church was the product of the union of Asiatic mysticism with the Roman instinct for universality and organization. This new catholicism, born out of the Asiatic and Roman union, kept the original Catholic church plastic but in course of time, with the development of formulas and dogmas, the church lost the plastic character, but not the people in whom the new element continued to thrive. Hence it is that side by side with that strong admiration for the Roman qualities that build up social solidarity and conduces to a practical evaluation of life, we find in Fascism a strong fascination for that mellow idealism of which this catholicism is the exponent and champion. Italian Fascism has this double characteristic of being intensely practical and at the same time intensely idealistic. In this it is a characteristic expression of the Italian mass-mind whose practicality is modified by its idealism and whose idealism is modified by its practical sense. We may look for political motives behind the Lateran treaty but this is so far as the Pope as the head of a religious state is concerned. But what about the teaching of

religion in the schools, what about the impetus that Fascism gives to the revival of many popular religious festivals, what about the constant reference which Fascism makes to the fundamental moral law of the world in its career of intense activity ? What about the claim that is made of St. Francis of Assisi as the most Fascist of all saints ? All these do not emanate, at least directly, from political motives. On the contrary, in the heart of Fascism there is a mystic throb that is in excellent rhythm with its many political throbbings and the idealistic side of Fascism is the external manifestation of that throb.

I have said that Fascism is an expression of the Italian mass-mind. To understand this let us analyse the character of the Italian people, particularly of the Italian peasant-folk. I think that the Italian peasant-folk have remained faithful to their ancient tradition. The mentality and outlook of the Italian peasant makes him a different man from his brother, say in Germany or England. The effects of the modern civilization have touched the fringe of his life so far as the fundamental social institutions and human relations are concerned. That economic view of life which is now so blatantly prominent in the entire Western world and even among the higher classes in Italy, has not that maddening fascination for him. Withal he understands very well the necessity of economic solidarity in life. This attitude makes him labour hard in order to render the economic position of his family sound, but does not induce him to sell anything but the surplus of his production in order only to buy the other necessities of life. The family instinct is strong in him and induces him to take his midday meal at home surrounded by his wife and children, as also the meal at night. The proprietary instinct is also strong in him. He has to a large extent the spirit of obedience in him so long as no encroachment is made upon the sacred domain of his private life. He still maintains human relationship with his neighbours and the master. He has reverence for his Church and it is a very common sight in Italy to find peasant women kneeling down in the churches and with tears in their eyes making silent prayers to God. He celebrates religious festivals with the same sincerity as the Indian peasant does and names his children according to the names of different saints. But at the same time he is a tolerant man, preserving the Roman tradition of universality. It is difficult to detect any colour or race-prejudice in him. When he marries he prefers to go to the church rather than get into the bond according to the

civil laws. And when he looks round him at the monumental structures in ruins, of which his country is full, he has a dim vision of the distant past of his country and an uneasy feeling in his mind.

At the same time he is to a certain extent conscious of the part he has played in history. He is conscious of the power he enjoyed during the republican days of Roman history. He is conscious of the part he played in the development of the communes and the entire idealism of the Renaissance period. The great thing in history is when history is made by the stirring of the soul of the entire people, when the process of historical evolution takes its birth in the inner workings of the mass-mind. This has been the case in India where the entire civilisation of Brahmanical tradition has been so often modified and remade by influences coming from the popular classes. This has also happened in Italy where the real history does not belong to the kings and the emperors but to the people.

With this flickering sense of its historical position in the past, this people had an awkward feeling of its present position in the world. Italy was so long walking along a bye-path of modern civilization, because modern civilization is made of those very elements which Italy lacks physically and mentally. Physically, modern civilisation is the product of coal and iron, the two things to the possession of which Italy cannot lay any claim and so with every scientific discovery that tended to industrial development and the production of wealth, she fell more and more into the background. The modern mentality is based on this industrial development and the production of wealth—a mentality whose chief concern is material comforts and individual aggrandizement. This is in discord with the formation of the Italian mind. In the Italian mind there is a strong combination of material and spiritual inclinations. The whole expression of the Italian mind in art, poetry and philosophy is a testimony to its incapability to adopt an entirely materialistic outlook on life. In the Italian mind matter must be spiritualised and the spirit must be made sensuous. In the Italian mind the two things may be seen to balance each other. As Major Barnes in his book on Fascism says:—
“ It constitutes a good example of the kind of mentality and of the kind of approach to the problems of life issuing from it. The view of life is eminently synthetic, arising from the habit of thinking intuitively.”

With this physical and the mental conditions Italy could not keep pace with the progress of modern civilization and she felt her situation more bitterly on account of the attitude towards her of the other progressive nations who considered her to be an exhausted nation incapable of making any new effort. The bitterness was further increased by the mentality of the upper classes of her society who were very much under the influence of the *oltre-alpe* (trans-alpine) political and social thought.

The first expression of this awkward feeling in the mass-mind of Italy is to be found in the idealistic-religious aspect of the *Risorgimento* as developed by Mazzini and Gioberti. These two great thinkers perceived intuitively that if the Italian people were to rise again and play a new rôle in the world in competition with the other nations, they must develop along the line of their history, which line was in its turn traced by the moral outlook of the race. So these two writers emphasised the awakening of the moral qualities of the race and the development and preservation of those institutions in which these moral qualities were embodied. They recognised that for Italy the great problem was not merely liberty, but liberty with authority, and if this liberty with authority was to be obtained, the idea of liberty must be taken beyond the plane of politics and based upon the moral experience of the race, which experience revealed itself through the Church for Manzoni, through the State for Gioberti and through the conception of universalism for Mazzini. When liberty is thus based on the accumulated moral experience of the race, the individual loses that supremacy which he enjoys under the Jacobean conception of liberty. His rights are balanced by corresponding duties. So for these thinkers the conception of *diritti e doveri* (rights and duties), the element of religiousness in their outlook on life, the vision of the state as an ethical substance whose business is not merely to govern in a negative manner but to promote culture, morality and civilization in a positive way.

This is an attitude that is against the entire trend of the so-called modern civilization. This attitude has derived immense nutrition from the abovementioned feeling of the Italian mass-mind, because Italy has been made to feel that if she is to regain her former position in the hierarchy of nations, she can do so by creating a new ideal of life out of the elements of the character of her people and by imposing that ideal upon the world. She must go out into the world with

the message that modern civilization has revealed its merits and demerits, the standard of value must now be changed and the civilization recast.

II

We are now in a position to understand how Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind of Italy, how its advent to power means not only the change of government but also the fall of a mentality. The neo-Europeans of Italy, who grew in number and were very influential and controlled the helm of affairs in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and continued to control it till the end of the war, maintained an attitude that was thoroughly trans-alpine. Their ideals were the ideals of 1789 and their consequent developments. In the field of thought they exalted and looked up for inspiration to the masters of positivism and materialism. In the field of politics they tried to experiment with the demo-liberal form of government, believing in the fundamental rights of men. In the field of economics they tried to import the ideas of Marxian socialism and organise labour into trade-unions and syndicates. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the chaos in Italian political life that existed during the entire period of the control of affairs by these neo-Europeans. Suffice it to say that as a result of their creating a State that was an instrument for personal egoisms of individuals, the country headed towards a process of dissolution and anarchy, and the forces of the state were reduced to the minimum of strength.

Fascism is a reaction against this neo-European mentality and a vigorous reassertion of the spirit of the Italian people. So its chief significance is not so much political as moral, and that it is a movement of the people is evident from its determination to give prominence to the moral qualities of the Italian mass and to pursue a programme of reconstruction that is based on the characteristic qualities of the mind and character of the race. We have seen the moral qualities of the Italian people. Fascism eulogises these and sets before it a definite standard of character, based on these qualities. Its very success and rapid growth indicates that it is a thing of the soil. Fascism intends to make the traditions and mentality of the Italian mass the basis of its programme for spiritual renovation of the country, because that is not only the line of least resistance but also the one

that would give the best results. The corporative organization of society comes from its Roman sense of social solidarity ; the preservation of individual initiative and private ownership in the field of production comes from its proprietary instinct ; the rejection of material outlook on life by Fascism comes from the peculiar formation of the Italian mind ; Fascism's reverence for the institution of family comes from its deep family instinct ; and the programme of ruralization is adopted not only because the greater part of the Italian mass is agricultural but also because it is favourable to the development and preservation of the anti-materialistic qualities of the race.

We see how closely the two expressions of the Italian mass-mind, the Risorgimento of Manzoni, Mazzini and Gioberti and the Fascism of Mussolini, resemble in their general features, in their conception of liberty and duty, in their exaltation of the idea of Romanity or rather Italianity, in their idealistic and religious approach to life, in their conception of the ordering of society under an ethical state, in their recognition of the necessity of establishing a moral standard of value. Fascism has returned to the spirit of the Risorgimento, or rather the spirit of the Risorgimento, which suffered a setback from the acute political and economic problems of the country and the other handicaps from which a newly-born nation suffers and was overpowered by the fascinating ideologies of the nineteenth century, has reappeared in the garb of Fascism after the war had reduced to ashes the debris of these ideologies.

Fascism is thus a new *welt-anschauung*, rather an old *welt-anschauung* in a new form. It appeared first as a political and economic doctrine because it was primarily a reaction against modern civilization which is political and economic. But the quintessence of Fascism consists in a moral vision of life, in the perception of a moral law operating in the heart of the world and in tuning the rhythm of individual as well as social activity to the operation of this moral law. Hence in Fascism it is not the majority that counts but the minority that feels within itself the operation of this moral law. This minority when acting in accordance with this moral law, cannot but act in a manner that will lead to general welfare. It is in this sense, and in this sense alone, that there is justification for "Fascist Aristocracy" in the art of government,

which is not an aristocracy of birth or money but of moral perception. The glory of the Fascist state also consists in this that it centralises and regulates the entire moral activity of the race. It is a state that is not a legal contract, it is not an artificial creation of the individual, but a natural and organic exigence, immanent in the spirit of the individual himself and a postulate to his morality. This is what is meant by the ethical State and explains the dictum of Mussolini : " Everything within the State, nothing outside the State, nothing against the State."

Fascism being essentially a moral vision of life, the chief task for Fascism is the education of the race and the proper formation of the character thereof. It may be said that if Fascism is a movement of the mass-mind, the character already exists. Yes, but it exists in an amorphous state. It is necessary to bring this character into relief by giving it a greater coherence and exhibiting all its brightness after removing the dirty crusts of four centuries of decadence. So if anybody asks me what are the most important institutions of Fascism, I shall not name its political or economic institutions, but those that are connected with the proper training of the race.

The first of these in importance is certainly the educational organization of Fascism. And this is recognised by Mussolini when he says that " the most fascist of all reforms is the reform of education." The aim of this educational reform is to produce that balanced life which Fascism considers as its ideal. Man is made up of the mind, the body and the spirit. Modern education is too much intellectual, too much a matter of specialization, with the result that it leads to a one-sided development of human character. The aim of Fascism is to unify and integrate the different sides of human nature so that the character formed under education may have a harmony, which harmony in individual life will ultimately lead to the promotion of social harmony and the harmony of the activity of the State. The body must have its proper care and growth, just as the mind and the spirit. The mind should not grow at the expense of the body and the spirit and the spirit cannot be kept starved to feed the body and the mind. A sort of musical harmony between them must exist. So Fascism promotes sport and includes in its educational programme religion and the aesthetic subjects. And if this new educational reform is to produce its desired

effect, the greatest care should be taken in the education that is imparted in the elementary and primary schools, because the nation lives in children. So the greatest reform has been made in the school-curriculum. The imparting of education in the schools has been brought directly under the control of the State. The State prepares the syllabus and text-books are written according to that syllabus. The examination is also controlled by the State. There is one prescribed book containing the entire course in religion, grammar, literature, arithmetic, history, geography, general culture, principal physical phenomena in relation to human life, calligraphy and drawing. The reform was at first promoted by Gentile and it was supplemented by the Royal Decree of Nov. 5, 1930, which fixed the programme of examination in every subject. Before me now lies such a book written according to the syllabus fixed by the State. As I go through it, I perceive how the whole thing has been designed not only to give an essential all-round knowledge to the pupil but also to develop the mental and moral qualities according to the Fascist ideal. The historical portion contains sketches of the men who have made the history of the country and nourishes the nationalistic spirit. The cultural portion gives an idea of the arts, professions and trades, of the family, the communes, the State and the regime and lays down the principal rights and duties of the citizen. It is significant that the duties are placed first and the rights after them. The chief duties of the citizen are (1) obedience, (2) lending military service, (3) payment of taxes. The chief rights are: (1) equality of all citizens in the eye of the law, (2) the right of ownership, (3) personal liberty, (4) liberty of thought and of the press and of forming associations so long as it does not involve the safety of the State and the tranquillity of the citizens, and (5) the right to vote. Physical education begins with simple drill in the elementary schools and ends with the training imparted by the Academy for Physical Education. There is also compulsory military training for eighteen months for all adults. The impetus given by Fascism to physical education is evident in the many championships established by the State and the Communes all over Italy.

Next to the educational organization come the Balilla, Avanguardisti and Giovani Fascisti (young fascists) organizations. It is through these organizations that Fascism is injecting its spirit into the race. The most important ideals of Fascism are the ancient

Roman discipline and hierarchy. These two ideals are being realized through these organizations. There are three age-divisions according to the three different organizations. The Balilla organization is for boys from 8 to 14 years of age, the Avanguardisti from 14 to 18, the Giovani Fascisti from 18 to 21, after which age the members become full-fledged fascists. The name Balilla has a history behind it. On the 6th of December, 1746, a heavy artillery waggon, which the Austrians were dragging along the streets of the city of Genoa, got stuck into the ground rendered soft by the rain. The officer who commanded the company ordered the Italian passers-by to help the soldiers to disengage the waggon, and seeing that the passers-by did not seem to hear him, he caught hold of some and whipped them, trying by this method to make them obey his orders. At this act, a boy of eleven, named Gian Battista Perasso, nicknamed Balilla, picked up a big piece of stone and hurled it at the officer who, struck violently on the forehead, fell to the ground. After this, in a few minutes, all the people came down to the street and there was a regular organised revolt and the Austrians were driven out of Genoa.

Side by side with these organizations, there is another organization known as Fasci all 'Esterio, which carries the spirit of Italianity and the ideal of Fascism to those who have been forced to leave the motherland and live under foreign skies. These organizations are the supreme examples of how Fascism is rearing up the new Italian race. This summer I had the privilege of seeing the members of these youth organizations assembled in Rome in two camps and, from the talk that I had with many of them, I could feel how the entire nation was slowly but surely regaining its lost self through these young flowers of the race. There were about sixty thousand of them come from all parts of Italy and from over 120 foreign towns and countries. For two months they lived in camps like soldiers under the strict discipline of the military camp life, with the routine of the daily life fixed beforehand and rigorously followed. Little boys and inexperienced youngsters, how cheerfully they submitted themselves to this discipline, far away from their parents and affectionate relations ! The camps, the uniforms, the expenses of travel and the daily expenses of each and every boy were supplied by the State. A huge expenditure it might be said, but it is the most judicious investment that the State is making because the hope of Italy, the triumph of Italianity, lies in them ; because it is on this new generation trained under the Fascist method that the continuation of the political and economic institutions

of Fascism depends. The happiest sign in the movement is that it is supported by the people. Most of the members of the organizations come from the labouring classes. In my talks with them I found how the fire of patriotism was burning in the souls of these young creatures and how keenly they appreciated the many good things that the Fascist regime has been doing for the people. One boy told me: "Formerly in Italy everybody considered himself important and nobody wanted to follow. The misery of Italy was due to that. Now the things are changed. Now we follow Mussolini because Mussolini is always right."

The feeling that Mussolini is always right is very common among the popular classes. This is the greatest source of strength for Fascism. This source has been tapped not by coercion but by winning the sympathy of the people through many good deeds. It is wrong to consider Fascism as a capitalistic regime. In the beginning it had the sympathy of the capitalists. But it was a temporary phase of Fascism determined by the circumstances of the country. The capitalistic sympathy was utilised by Fascism in order to strengthen itself to fight against the Bolshevist forces that ruled Italian life at the time. But it did not mean any domination of Fascism by Capitalism. Fascism was anti-Bolshevist but it was not anti-Labour. In fact, the capitalistic influence lasted so long as Fascism remained a party-movement, but as soon as it came to power and identified itself with the State and the nation, it got rid of the capitalistic influence by its own inner revolutionary force and took up the positive side of the socialistic programme. The socialists by emphasising their negative programme of ruining capitalism by means of strikes and anti-statal activities, paralyzed industry and weakened the State, but they themselves had not the courage to take the entire responsibility of the State and industry on them. This disappointed a large part of the urban as well as rural proletariat of Italy and with the growing strength of Fascism many of the proletarian organizations in the country and the town came over to its side. And Fascism has ever since been acting as the guardian angel of the Italian proletariat. If the conditions of any classes have been ameliorated under the Fascist regime, it is that of the popular classes. The Fascist government cares for them with paternal love. Conditions of labour have been remarkably improved and so also the housing conditions. The regime has built many quarters where the poor may have accommodation at a cheap rate.

Lands have been reclaimed and colonies built for the popular classes. The celebrated Littoria is a colony built by the regime where quarters have been constructed for nearly fifty thousand families with all modern comforts. Of late another colony has been established at Sabaudia. What is admirable in Fascism is the frankness and honesty of intentions with which it approaches the people. There is a ring of sincerity in its appeal to the people which the mass immediately appreciates. There is one particular institution through which the regime is winning the affection of the people. It is the Opera Nazionale Dopo-Lavoro (After-Work Labour Association). This institution whose branches are spread over the whole of Italy in as much as every trade-union has a dopolavoro organization, looks after the development of the physical, intellectual and moral capacity of the people. It has established physical culture institutes, clubs and libraries for the working people. And during my brief stay in Italy, I have noticed how this institute provides for other amenities of life for the people. In the cinema, in the theatre, in every other kind of amusements there is a special dopolavoro ticket for the people. There are special trains at a nominal price for tickets to enable the popular classes to make holiday trips. Another concession which has a permanent character, is the reduction of railway fares amounting to 80% for newly married couples. The joys of art, music, sport, and travel are thus brought to the doors of the people by the State.

Another institute which cares for the race and is at the same time an instrument for winning the sympathy of the people, is the Opera Nazionale per la Protezione ed Assistenza della Maternità ed Infanzia (Maternity and Infant Welfare Society). I visited one such institute and saw parturient mothers lying in bed and newly-born babies left in care of the State while the mothers were away for the day's work. This particular institute has arrangements for three kinds of work:— (1) to assist in parturition, (2) to care for babies who are deserted by their parents, and (3) to look after babies and children whose mothers are away for day's work. The mothers of these babies and children leave them in care of the institute in the morning and take them back in the evening when the day's work is done. In another part of this institute I came across a most remarkable thing. In this part the rooms were occupied by adults and children of both the sexes. When I entered there, the children were running about and making a noise. Some of the adults were chattering,

increasing the noise that the children were making. Others were sitting silent. All of them were ill-clad and had the shadow of misfortune on their faces. I asked the director who they were and why they were here. The director told me that they were all families that could not pay their rent and were ejected by their landlords. Poor creatures! They were given shelter there by the State against the inclemency of fortune and provided with food. There is a constant influx of such families. They stay here for ten, fifteen or twenty days till a means of sustenance and housing accommodation are found for them. Here is a fact that speaks for itself.

I have mentioned only a few of the activities of Fascism. It is not possible to mention all the constructive and reconstructive activities of the regime within the brief space of an article. It may also appear that I have minimised the political and economic activities of Fascism. But the signal results achieved by Fascism in these two fields are well known. Fascism has established a sort of friendship between the political and economic activities of the State—a result which has not been achieved by any other nation and the lack of which is the cause of many maladjustments in life that we find to-day. During the twelve years of its existence it has placed Italy in a sound economic position. In these days of crisis the lira has maintained its sound position. While in other and richer countries it has been found necessary to abandon the Gold standard, Italy has steadily declined to do so. This is because Italy has resolutely opposed loans to foreign countries and the scarcity of Italian money outside Italy safeguards it against foreign speculation. Italian exportation also shows a tendency to increase in these days of crisis, and the Gold reserve of the Bank of Italy follows an ascending curve. During these twelve years Fascism has much improved all the public services and has undertaken and completed public works and works of land reclamation on a vast scale, thus diminishing the number of the unemployed. The report published recently by the English Ministry of Commerce on the economic situation of Italy says in its conclusion that the general tendency of the country is toward optimism, that the courage and firmness which Italy is showing in developing a new form of economico-social national life is admirable, that the results obtained up till now and the ideals aimed at by this great experiment deserve the greatest attention on the part of the rest of the world.

I shall conclude this article by answering one question. What has been the effect of twelve years of Fascism upon the spirit of the

race? In my book on Mussolini I wrote that it was as yet early for Fascism to produce any moulding effect upon the mentality of the race. But now a generation seems to have arisen with a distinct Fascist mould of the mind. Twelve years of ceaseless efforts which Fascism has made to train the race has not gone in vain. Before me lies the special number of a journal, the *Saggiatore*, in which sixty young Italian writers have expressed their views about the modern civilisation. Remarkable is the similarity of their tone, which reveals a vigorous breaking away from the old mentality. All these young intellectuals are imbued with the Fascist spirit of idealistic realism, if I may so express it, with that mystic, intuitive conception of life of which I have spoken before. It is significant how these young writers consider reality. Reality for them is the obstacle for transforming the spirit into something better. Reality thus loses its charm in itself and gains in value only in relation to the spirit. The conception of life thus becomes dynamic and transcendental. The ideology of man the economic being, which is the fundamental conception of Capitalism and Bolshevism, is thrown overboard and in its place is installed the ideology of the integral man—man the political being, the economic being, the religious being, the saint, the warrior. This was emphasised by Mussolini in his latest and famous discourse on corporations and the new mentality is the expression of this integral man. Here lies the essential difference between Bolshevism and Fascism. Fascism can fearlessly go all the length with Bolshevism in its economic programme if that is necessary, but in one case the fundamental conception or mentality is the continuation of the liberal theory, in the other the conception is accepted and surpassed. The rise of Fascist mentality and its projection into the world therefore means the downfall of the capitalistic and socialistic mentality. In this mentality of the young Italian intellectuals return the activism of the Roman Italy, the mysticism of the mediaeval Italy, and the political and speculative philosophy of modern Italy as developed by Vico, Cuoco, Gioberti, Mazzini, Spaventa and others. The synthetic expression of this mentality is to be found in the character and personality of Mussolini and drawing inspiration from his example this great, intelligent and laborious people, through its new generations, is moving towards a complete realization of a new and better order of things and towards creating a new national patrimony of inestimable value.

Rome.

SOME NOVELS OF RABINDRANATH

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THOUGH it is principally as a poet that Rabindranath Tagore is known to the outside world, he has written several novels which provide good materials for a critical study. Tagore's earliest novels *Bauṭhākuraṇṇir Hāt* (1884) and *Rājārshi* (1885) are based on history and have an historical background. He has taken the subject-matter of these stories from the local history of several Bengal districts and though in them tradition has been blended with history, the main characters are historical personages.

Bauṭhākuraṇṇir Hāt describes certain events which happened during the reign of Pratapaditya at Jessore. The main plot of the novel centres round his daughter Bibha who was married to Raja Ramchandra Ray of Chandradvip. This Ray was extremely fond of his court-fool whose unbalanced jokes in the ladies' apartments Pratap resented and as a punishment ordered that his son-in-law should be killed. But Ramchandra managed to escape leaving his wife behind and when she subsequently went to her husband's place he refused to acknowledge Bibha as his wife. She spent the rest of her life at Benares. Such in a nutshell is the main story. The novel does not show Pratap in a good light and on the contrary probably does him positive injustice.¹ But Rabindranath was following tradition and was not in a position to investigate the historical veracity of the matter. Udayaditya is a much better creation than his father and Basanta Ray, the aged uncle of Pratap, always ready with his songs was the beginning of the character of Dada Mahasay who comes in so prominently in some of the later works of Tagore like *Sāradosab* (1908), *Rājā* (1910), and *Phālguni* (1916).

It would be interesting to examine the historical basis of this novel. In Westland's *Report on the District of Jessore* (1871) there is no reference to the alleged affair about Ramchandra Ray.

¹ *Bangādhip Parājaya* (1869) of Pratapchandra Ghosh gives a picture of Pratap which is almost similar. Ram Basu in *Raja Pratāpaditya Charitra* (1801) writes that Pratap intended to kill Ramchandra to fulfil his own ambitions.

L. S. S. O'Malley in the *Jessore District Gazetteer* is silent on this point. Beveridge in his *District of Bakarganj* says nothing about Raja Ramchandra refusing to take back his wife. In the *Bengal District Gazetteer* (Bakarganj) J. C. Jack refers to the tradition that Ramchandra abandoned his first wife (P. 134).

Rajarsi is based on incidents which happened during the second half of the seventeenth century in the Tipperah district. King Govinda Manikya of Tipperah was fascinated by two children, one of whom seeing blood on the steps of the bathing ghat near the royal temple queried, "Why is there so much blood?" The king could not give any satisfactory reply and he decided that this useless bloodshed in the name of worship of the goddess Kali should be stopped.¹ The girl Hashi passed away after an illness and the happy picture of her child-life left a deep impression on the mind of the king. Rabindranath's deep insight into child psychology has been again and again seen in his works and rather remarkably in books like *Śiśu* (1904) and *Śiśu Bholānāth* (1922). The priest of the temple, Raghupati, conspires with the king's brother, Nakshatra Ray, to shed the blood of the child Dhruva to please the goddess. But Govinda cannot forgive them and they are exiled from the kingdom. The king declares "So long as I occupy this throne, I am friend to no one, I am nobody's brother." Further he says, "Who am I to forgive? I am bound by my own laws? The judge has similar obligations like the culprit. How can it be said that I condemn one man for an offence and pardon another for the same?"² Therefore the punishment of his brother was a self-inflicted blow to the king himself.

The moral tone of this novel is high. Govinda Manikya personifies Tagore's ideals of ancient Indian kings who when the need arose could leave their thrones and robes behind them and embrace the life of the forests. When Govinda left his throne he saw a new meaning in the life of man. So long he had lived the personal life of a king but now he had something to do in a broader world. He found that his God was not outside humanity.³ In a letter Rabindranath says, "The current of all my perception and composition has centred round man. Again and again I have evoked the divine,

¹ In *My Reminiscences* (p. 243), Tagore describes how during a train journey he dreamt of a girl asking her father, "Father, what is this? Why is all this bloodshed?"

² *Rajarsi*, Ch. XVIII. Cf. "Vichārak" in *Kathā O Kāhinī*.

³ Cf. Rabindranath, *Patradhārā*, *Prabāsi*, Kūrtik, 1938, Vol. 31, Pt. II, No. 1.

again and again has man responded." ¹ An earlier appearance of this idea is seen in this novel. Rabindranath's love for humanity is seen in the conception of the character of Bilhan Thakur who saw no distinction between one man and another and served all alike. He was of opinion that happiness is within the self of man and one need not go elsewhere for it. The character of Raghupati is an instance of Rabindranath's protest against blind bigotry and sacerdotal tyranny.² The novel is not without its comic elements. The Khura Sahib or the Uncle of Vijaygarh Fort is a simple-hearted old man who thinks that the place he lived in was the safest and strongest. No less enjoyable than his conversation is the almost idiotic foolishness of Nakshatra Ray himself and last but not the least is the humorous relief afforded by the talk of the villagers who come to propitiate the goddess.

From historical fiction Rabindranath turned his attention to social novels or more truly speaking novels in which the relationship of man and woman is prominently discussed. In the intervening period between the publication of the preceding novels and that of *Chokher Bāli* (English translation, *Eyesore*, 1914) he had written a large number of short stories. This novel which came out in 1903 is not what is strictly understood by a modern sex-novel. In *Chokher Bāli* there is an element of sex, but it is approached from a point of view which is rather novel. The widow was nothing new in Bengali life, in Rabindranath's short stories also she has had her share of treatment.³ But Binodini was a problem. Mahendra was puzzled. She was a new experience to him. Her wit and beauty attracted him and he felt that he was being irresistibly drawn to Binodini. As one who had not been able to experience in her life the love of a man, she also found pleasure in thinking that Mahendra should pursue her. But excepting the mere pleasure that she found in angling at him there was nothing more in her attitude to him.

In order to understand the real situation it is necessary to go back to earlier events. After Mahendra's marriage he had forgotten everything else and found that there was a flaw somewhere in his married life. He had separated love from all other duties in life. Rabindranath truly observes, "Love cannot keep itself alive

¹ Two letters of Tagore, *Bhāratbarṣa*, Srāban, 1338, Vol. XIX, Pt. I, No. 2.

² Cf. *Rājā o Rānā*, Act I, Sc. I, what Vikramdev says about priests.

³ Cf. Kusum in *Renunciation*, the widow in *My Fair Neighbour*, the widow in the *Skeleton*, Mahāmāyā in *Mahāmāyā*.

with its own sweetness if like a flower it is plucked and separated from the harsh duties of the world, gradually it wanes and withers." Love must have its root in work. In the festival of love two persons are no company. Asa required a friend and Binodini's friendship with Asa was cemented by a pet name. Binod tells Asa that there must not always be placidity in love. Like pepper in curry love must have its angry moods.¹ When Mahendra was feeling a sort of monotony in his love Binodini appeared in his life. His friend Bihari guessed that serious consequences might follow from this acquaintance. It was not easy to bluff him. He felt that some tangle was getting ready and he spoke to Mahendra about the mischief that was coming. This warning was not received in a friendly light. But even Bihari did not fully understand Binodini. For a time he began to think that Binodini had another self.

Binodini found pleasure in finding out that Mahendra was enamoured of her. He was conquered and Binodini was determined that the happiness of others should be wrecked. Bihari fell into disgrace at this juncture and was accused of secretly loving Asa. The storm then came. Binodini never loved Mahendra. Her pleasure was in spoiling his happiness. She knew that Bihari respected her and she openly avowed to him that she loved him. It was her desire to be loved in return even for a moment only. From this time a change came over his life. To him she was like a beautiful puzzle. He eventually offered to marry her. But she said, "I am a widow, I am spoken of badly in society, it can never be that I should insult you before society." Curiously enough, this was the identical answer that Sabitri in Saratchandra's *Charitrahin* gave to Satish when he proposed to marry her. When Mahendra realised his folly he returned to his heart-broken mother and wife. Bihari dedicated his life to the service of others.

The character of Mahendra shows him as an unbalanced man. Too much indulgence had spoiled him. He went to find a bride for his friend and married her himself. Over his wife he used to have quarrels with his mother. His faithful friend was accused by him of meanness. But in every crisis in his life it was Bihari who came to his rescue. His unstable nature was responsible for his infatuation

¹ "It is hardly necessary to tell you that the ordinary female is fond of sour green mangoes, hot chillies and a stern husband"—Rabindranath, *Broken Ties and other Stories*, p. 198.

for Binodini. The friendship of Mahendra and Bihari resembles that of Gora and Binay. Bihari was loved by Rajlakshmi as her own son.¹ The happiness of Mahendra was the first lookout of Bihari. Once he had been willing to marry but Mahendra married that girl, yet towards his friend he felt no rancour. Even Asa became his admirer. Happiness had escaped his grasp and he could find nothing better in life than passing the rest of his days in the service of suffering humanity, the most fitting end to a career in which there was nothing but ungrudging service to others. ✓

Naukāduki (English translation, *The Wreck*, 1921) was published in 1906. It is a novel which aims to show the relation between man and woman in society. Kamala became a problem in Romesh's life after his rather unusual bride-finding. He knew that she was not his wife but he could not break the news to one who regarded him as her husband. His strange attitude often puzzled Kamala. Romesh loved Hemnalini and she reciprocated that love. Yet he could not marry her till he was sure about Kamala. Akshay was a meddlesome person. He is another Panu Babu and he upsets everything in the life of Kamala, Romesh and Hem. Finding it difficult to live in Calcutta Romesh came to Ghazipur but accidentally Kamala came to know that she was not his wife. She left for Benares where she eventually found her real husband Nalinaksha.

The complexity of the plot centres round Romesh and Kamala and the awkward situation that they were placed in. Rabindranath has made it perfectly clear in this novel that the relationship between man and woman should not be bound by conventional social ideas. The mere fact that Kamala had lived for some time in Romesh's house without knowing that he was not her husband should in no way lower her in the estimation of others. The moment she came to know that this man was not her husband her whole being revolted against the idea of stopping any more under his roof. In her very nature was ingrained ideas of wifehood. Hemnalini is another type, a rather new type of women in Bengali fiction. Annada

¹ For a comparison with Bihari can be cited Pratap in "Subha" (*Stories from Tagore*): 'Now losels have this advantage, that, though their own folk disapprove of them, they are generally popular with everyone else. Having no work to chain them, they become public property. Just as every town needs an open space where all may breathe; so a village needs two or three gentlemen of leisure, who can give time to all; then, if we are lazy and want a companion, one is to hand.'—*Ibid*, p. 76.

Babu was later developed into *Paresh Babu* in *Gorā*, Akshay and Jogen are as inseparable as Mahendra and Bihari. Saila and Kamala find a counterpart in Lalita and Sucharita. Nalinaksha's mother is an introduction to Gora's mother Anandamayī. These two novels (*Chokher Bāli* and *Naukādubi*) have been criticised as "incredibly bad" by a responsible critic of Tagore and his comment is, "A charming style and fine description are not enough in a novel; and the stories are botched." On first consideration this criticism might seem to be an exaggeration. But really speaking Rabindranath is not so successful in his earlier novels as he is in the short stories which he wrote between 1890 and 1900. The compactness of the short story scored an advantage over the broader area of the novel.

Gorā was published in 1909 (English Translation, 1924). It belongs to that period in Tagore's career which some of his critics regard as one of unrest and change. The publication of *Gorā* was preceded by years of unrest and political turmoil in Bengal and although Rabindranath has never been an active politician, he has seldom failed to make common cause with the rest of his countrymen.¹ In this novel he gives free play to many of his ideas about problems affecting his country.

Gora, the hero of the novel, and Binay, his friend were Hindus and were president and secretary respectively of a kind of Hindu association.² Gora was very particular in observing the formalities of his religion, while Binay was more liberal in his ideas. When Binay began to visit a Brahmo family Gora was not well disposed towards him. But gradually his attitude relaxed and a change came over him. He found a new meaning in woman. He identified her with his country. When his friend married Lalita, Gora was not certainly pleased. One day it was revealed to him that he was not Hindu, not an Indian, but an Irish foundling and had been brought up by Hindu parents as their son. From that day he felt that he was really worthy of serving India and her millions. So long false barriers had separated him from the rest of his countrymen. Now he belonged to every

¹ Rabindranath's contemporary writings on social and political questions are *Samuha* (1908), *Rājaprajā* (1908), *Svades* (1908), *Samāj* (1908), *Bhāratbarsha* (1906).

² For such "associations" cf., Tagore—"The Supreme Night" (*Mashi and other Stories*, p. 63): "The 'leaders' of our associations delivered speeches, and we went begging for subscriptions from door to door in the hot blaze of the noon without breaking our fast; or we stood by the roadside distributing hand-bills, or arranged chairs and benches in the lecture-hall, and, if anybody whispered a word against our leader, we got ready to fight him."

caste in India. He regarded himself as a worshipper of that God whose temple doors are open to all, who was the God not only of the Hindu, but also of every Indian. He had no longer any fear of contamination. He came back home and said to Anandamayi, "Mother, you are really my mother, the mother whom I have been looking for elsewhere is in my own home. You have no caste, you see no differences, you have no contempt. You are the image of blessedness. You are my India."¹

Gora was a man with many ideas. He believed in work for the masses, rural reconstruction, village propaganda and personal contact with his countrymen. Gora believed in ideas but he believed in work also. But there was one drawback in his nature; he had no love for foreigners. In fact he took some delight in picking up quarrels with them. Any insult to his countrymen touched him painfully. He could not tolerate anything said falsely against his countrymen. To Panu Babu he said, "Lie is itself a sin, false calumny is a greater sin and there are few sins like speaking falsely against one's own countrymen" (p. 64). India to him did not mean the city of Calcutta, its offices, its buildings, its creations of brick and mortar. India to him meant something greater and grander. It was the universal aspect of India that appealed to him. His orthodoxy had its root in his deep love for India. He observed caste distinctions as he observed social laws. He came into clash with Krishnadayal for his religious beliefs. Krishnadayal stands for the old generation, while Gora typifies the new.² It was inevitable that they should differ.

Gora was a patriot. He saw the goddess of his country not in beauty, but in famine, poverty and misery. Her worship had to be done not with flowers and songs, but with the blood of the heart. The devotee had to offer himself unreservedly. It was cruel and terrible and the whirlwind dance of life was there. Above the flames of fire he could see the dawn of happiness. He believed that India would be free and his countrymen ought to get ready for that day. The fight for freedom had begun and every moment it was going on. He was against the imitation of the English as in his opinion that imitation would never be perfect. The only salvation for India lay in service from inside. He saw that rural India was divided among itself, it

¹ See Introduction to *Diary of a Traveller to Europe* for Tagore's condemnation of that form of Hinduism which is more concerned with the outward formalities of religion.

² Cf. "The 'Trust Property,'" the "Riddle Solved" in *Mashi and other Stories*.

was weak, narrow-minded, unconscious of its own power, ignorant and indifferent to its own welfare. Both the rich and the poor were in the fold of ignorance and superstition. He interested himself in the affairs of the tenants of Char Ghoshpur with the result that he was put into jail.¹ But he was not in the least sorry. His place was with the rest of his countrymen.

He told Sucharita that the Hindus belonged to no sect, they were a nation. As the sea is not mere waves, so the Hindu does not fall within the category of a sect. He regarded the internal divisions among the Hindus as signs of life. He believed that the great truths that had been said in India, the great things that had been done in India could not all be false. Hinduism had given shelter to people of various creeds. Hinduism regards man as man and not as a member of a particular group. Hinduism has place in it for the ignorant as well as the learned and it acknowledges not merely one system of knowledge but also different aspects of it. Gora supported idol worship. He thought that in the Hindu worship of images imagination was combined with knowledge and devotion. Krishna, Radha, Hara, Parvati were not merely time-honoured objects of worship, but they were the outward expressions of the eternal knowledge of man.

Regarding woman Gora had distinct ideas: "As day and night are the two divisions of time, man and woman are the two parts of society. In the normal state of society woman was hidden like night and her work was done in secret. In the abnormal stage of society day is forcibly made into night....Man and woman are two aspects of the same social force. Man is expressive, but because he is expressive it does not follow that he is greater" (p. 124). Sucharita gradually appeared to him as the feminine spirit of India. She was come to make the homes of India pleasant and sacred with holiness, beauty and love. She was the goddess of giving who made the children of India men, nursed the sick, and consoled the weary. Gora felt that because woman was ignored and taken little notice of, India had become degenerated. She was really the country. On the hundred-petalled lotus she sat in the innermost recesses of India's heart. The poor condition of the country meant her insult and the manhood of the

¹ Cf. "Cloud and Sunshine" in *Galpaguccha* for justice meted out to Sashibhusan; police oppression in "Durbuddhi"; judicial farce in "Ulukharer Bipad."

country ought to feel ashamed as it was indifferent to that insult. India's manhood was weak because woman was kept in the distance. Woman's help would be required in welcoming the advent of a new India and her service would not be complete if woman remained away. Bankim's idea of the motherland was to some extent different. The Mother was armed with weapons. Gora's Mother was full of love, devotion, and knowledge.

The more he went about in the country, the more was Gora convinced of the wretched condition of the masses. He saw among them the bondage of customs. In every item of life custom held its sway. But this rigid observance of custom was giving the people no strength. They are cowardly, helpless and incompetent of judging their own good. He saw that differences and quarrels were responsible for much of the deplorable conditions in the villages. He found many social abuses among the people of the lower classes. Who was to ameliorate their condition? It would be the Brahmin of India. Gora thought of himself as such. He had to pray to the gods for India. Attachment and love were not for him. He was a sannyasi. The Brahmin could have no attachment because his life was meant for serving others. He had to keep himself aloof from all worldly things. But he had lost his former self and had become as degraded as the Sudra. His unworldliness had been contaminated by avarice and greed. His position was unique. Friendship was not for him, woman was not for him, the company of the lowest class of people was banned to him. For him there was self-control and knowledge.¹

When his identity was disclosed by Krishnadayal Gora felt that his real life had begun. When he was born in India he was an Indian, he would not segregate himself from the rest of the people. He was happy and he had found the real meaning of his life. Gora is Rabindranath's conception of the Indian of the future who would think not of caste and creed, faith and religion, but of the country with its merits and defects, its happiness and misery. This idea of nationalism is something new, something different from the nationalism of the thinkers of another generation who thought in terms of one nation only. Gora's ideal about India was, "Know thyself."² His whole life was an illustration of that ideal. He had tried to know many

¹ Cf. Rabindranath, *Swades, Brahmin*; also *Bharatbarsha*, pp. 33, 83.

² See *Rājāprajā*, p. 102, "My country,do not be excited, do not feel greedy, do not be afraid, it is for you to know yourself."

things and had at last found the real truth. So long he had groped in darkness, but the light of knowledge he found after passing through many experiences.

To Binay man meant more than mere opinion. He had accepted Gora's opinions probably more out of affection for his friend than from his own conviction. He felt a strong urge to go to Paresch Babu's house but the India of Gora forbade him to go there as if India was only a symbol of forbidding. For Binay gradually a new life began. His dormant youth became conscious. A new surge came into his life. Every thing was infused with a new light. Binay had heard the call of love. He went so far as to declare that if drinking a cup of tea at the house of a Brahmo meant shocking the whole country, that would be to her good. By others he was regarded as an echo of Gora. But he too had his own ideas. His ideal Brahmin was one who had no fear, who had a contempt for desire, who had conquered grief, whose mind was devoted to the Supreme Being (pp. 129-30). That Brahmin could make India free. Lalita did not like that Binay should remain a mere shadow of Gora. But Binay's own personality was developing itself. He saw that human life was like the current of a great river and could not be held up in a fixed course.

What Rabindranath intends to convey through Binay's character is that man does not know himself so long as he shuts himself up in a particular groove. The personality of man is dormant and it finds its expression when brought into clash with circumstances. Who would have thought that the modest Binay would do such a thing as to marry Lalita in defiance of society? Even the much-prized friendship of Gora had to be foregone by him. Binay's was a revolt from the customary society of which Gora in his enthusiastic mood was the spokesman. Neither for this society nor for the orthodox Brahmo community of which Panu Babu is the typical representative has Rabindranath any respect. Rabindranath thinks that man is above society which has to enlarge itself for the sake of man. The octopus-like grip of society on man sucks the life-blood out of him. The only thing that can save him is the realisation of truth. Man should never lower before his country or before any other man that which is greater than everything else.

Rabindranath has in this novel introduced educated women from a society to which he belongs and of which he knows a great deal. Yet they belong to a time when even that progressive society did not look

with favour upon the mixing of girls with men of other communities. Women's education was limited in those days to recitation of English poetry, excellence in hand-writing, embroidery and musical attainments. Of the girls in this book Sucharitra was thoughtful, Labanya was jolly, Lalita was strong and individual. Baradasundari and Harimobini were equally orthodox. The best portrature is that of Gora's mother. She was far ahead of the times to which she belonged and her greatest pride was to be called "Gora's mother." Panu Babu is an embodiment of dogmatic sectarianism, while Paresh Babu saw the universalism in man.

Gora is not an ordinary novel. Its background is vast and into the plot has been packed many of Rabindranath's ideas about love, religion, caste, country, marriage, social service, politics and nationalism. Few novels of the present century have impressed the Bengali mind so much as this novel. Its profound influence on Saratchandra Chatterjee has been acknowledged by Saratchandra. It would be rather hazardous to claim that it is the best Bengali novel. But that it is one of the greatest there is not the least doubt.

THE EARLY CAREER OF KANHOJI ANGRIA¹

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KANHOJI Angria occupies a unique position in the history of his country. For four decades a terror to the maritime powers of the western coast, he led his sailors from victory to victory and raised the naval prestige of Maharashtra to an unprecedented height. Yet we know little or nothing about his early career. In daring and warlike qualities he attained such pre-eminence among his contemporaries that the Maratha chroniclers could not possibly ignore him ; even when his descendants were called upon by the Inam Commission to furnish them with a brief account of the great admiral's maritime exploits, the traditional account of his life and career had not altogether been forgotten. But every student of Maratha history knows how little has been preserved by public memory and the official account devotes only a few sentences to the siege of Suvarnadurga which afforded the future Admiral an opportunity of giving evidence of that uncommon resourcefulness, unflinching resolution and undaunted courage which earned him an everlasting renown. It is said that while leading a forlorn cause he had actually been captured by the Sidis but prison walls were no insuperable barrier to him and before long he swam back to the beleaguered castle to lead his comrades once again to a bold assault. It further adds that he accompanied Rajaram to Jinji and he was not appointed to the chief command of the Maratha fleet until his master's return to Maharashtra. This cannot but be a bare outline and the details are sadly wanting. It is inconceivable that while the custodian of the castle had decided on capitulation the garrison should so readily respond to the call of an inexperienced youngman who had yet to make his name and fame. It is therefore certain, if we accept the official account of his early career, that he must have distinguished himself in minor engagements before he could call upon the dispirited defenders of Suvarnadurga to follow his lead, and the incident took place, if this popular account is accurate,

¹ Read before the All-India Modern History Congress at Poona.

shortly before the demise of Sambhaji. But a surmise, however logical, can hardly be as satisfactory as well-authenticated facts. The English and Portuguese sources have proved more informative about the Angrias than the Marathi records, but neither the contemporary correspondence of the English Presidents, nor the official reports of the Portuguese Viceroys, nor the over credulous gossips from the far west who visited India in those days throw any light on Kanhoji's early career. The first reference to Kanhoji Angria hitherto traced in Portuguese papers is about 1703. By that time he had already attained considerable fame, for in the next letter he is addressed as "Subedar da Armada do Sivaji." Mr. Sardesai is of opinion that Kanhoji became chief admiral of the Maratha fleet after the death of Sidhoji Gujar, which event took place in 1697 (*Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. I, p. 638). According to the family history the appointment took place after Rajaram's return to Maharashtra and Grant Duff opines that the prince arrived at Vishalgarh in December, 1697 (Vol. I, p. 393). It is therefore likely that Kanhoji became Subedar of the Maratha Armad early in 1698 and this surmise is indirectly supported by a reference to Kanhoji in a consultation at Bombay castle on the 6th February 1698-99.

Here we must retrace our steps and examine the brief references to the activities of the Sivaji pirates as the Maratha captains were called by the British merchants. Apparently Kanhoji's exploits were also included among them, for it seems that he had not yet achieved that eminence which was shortly to be his. In February, 1694-5, a letter from Surat to Bombay reported that "Ram Rajah's gallvets have been plundering at the river mouth, have taken a boat of Mocho goods, computed worth 80,000 rupees; a boat with ballast we sent to the *William and Mary* they seized, but finding nothing but stones they beat the poor Lascars and flung their sailes and rigging over board" (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 21, p. 83). On the 16th February 1695/6 the *Emerald* on her way from Calicut to Bombay met some "Savajee people south-ward of Danda Rajapoor" (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 23, p. 11, 2nd set). If we accept the official story that Kanhoji was with Rajaram at Jinji, he could not have anything to do with the plunder of the small crafts near Surat or the cruising of the Maratha fleet off Danda Rajapuri. A letter from Bombay to the Company, dated the 22nd May, 1698, refers to a Maratha raid to the territories of the Raja of

Karwar. "22 Sevajeos boats that came into the river, landed 300 men within half a mile of the factory, which plundered what they could finde from his subjects and offered no manner of affront to any in your Honours jurisdiction" (O. C., Vol. 54, No. 6566). Again a letter from Bombay dated the 10th April, 1699, urges the necessity of "small vessells for convoyes," "to encourage the trade of the island" "for the Sevajeos and Singanians are now growne stronge and inapudent, so that scarce any boats can pass to and from the Island without convoyes" (O. C., Vol. 55, No. 6642). The insecurity of the Bombay vessels may safely be attributed to Kanhoji's enterprise but it is not quite certain whether he inspired or led the Karwar expedition. For, apparently Kanhoji's jurisdiction did not at this date extend to the southern squadron. From a Portuguese letter dated the 20th April, 1702 (*Studies in Indian History*, p. 47) it appears that one Bhavanji Mohite commanded the Malwan fleet. It is not unlikely that he belonged to the same family as Achloji Mohite whose delinquency offered Kanhoji an opportunity of coming to the front. Two other Portuguese letters written in 1705 go to prove that in that year a squadron of the Maratha fleet was under the command of one Dauda Khan, who is variously styled as "Sarnobata" and "Subedar da Armada do Sivagy." From the text of one of these epistles it appears that the jurisdiction of this officer extended to Ratnagiri and his men-of-war visited the port of Canara where they had occasion to befriend the Portuguese (*Studies in Indian History*, pp. 53-54).

It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that from 1698 to 1706 Kanhoji was not the only Subedar of the Maratha fleet and his jurisdiction was in all probability confined to Kolaba and the northern regions of the Konkan. In any case he was in a position to assert his authority over the Commandant of Padmadurg.

About December, 1698, we learn from a letter from Bombay to Surat dated the 20th Januray, 1698/9 (Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 16, pp. 42-43) that "the Sevajeos of Podundroog Castle neare Dauda Rapore (*sic*) seized upon two salt vesselles belonging to this Island, tooke the Banyans and others that were on board, imprisoned and most miserably beate them, saying they cared not for the English or any elce." The poor Banias were daily belaboured and a ransom of 20,000 rupees were demanded of them. Unable to bear the daily punishment they executed an agreement to pay the ransom provided they were permitted to repair to Bombay. Six men from Padmadurg

accompanied their captives [to receive the promised sum, while two of the prisoners were left behind as hostages for the good faith of their friends and companions. The British authorities at Bombay promptly put the Padmadurg emissaries under arrest and demanded the release of the poor Baniyas. But this had little effect and Chimnaji Avji (Chunnagee Augree), Havaladar of Khanderi, replied that his colleague of Padmadurg "will not obey his orders." Then it was resolved "to stop all the salt boats that were bound for the Sevajee's country till we have received a full assurance from the several subedars that the like abuses should not be done to our people for the future" (Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 5, pp. 3-4, 2nd set). This embargo on the salt boats had the desired effect and in the consultation at Bombay Castle, 6th February, 1698/9, "The Subedar of Conagy Angra having wrote the Deputy Governor for leave for the salt boats to come to his country, promising that he would get the 2 men that were imprisoned by Padamdroke releast, and that for the future none of our inhabitants should be abused, we permitted the salt vessell to goe" (Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 5, p. 8, 2nd set). This is the first reference by name to Kanhoji, so far as I am aware, in the English records or in any other contemporary record.

The amity between Kanhoji and the English did not apparently endure long. In March 1700/1 the Sidi laid siege to Khanderi and Kolaba and Bombay found itself between the Devil and the deep sea. The Sidi falsely complained that Bombay supplied the Sevajees with ammunition "and because they does not supply them the Sevajees take all vessells belonging to the island that they can master, and by a great number of their boats hovering about the island seem to threaten some mischief to it." (O.C., Vol. 56, Part 4, No. 7506.) The Sidi was badly beaten and compelled to raise the siege of Kolaba and the Sevagees were again free to turn their attention elsewhere. Bombay had only two small Manchuas for its defence. In 1703 the Sevajee galvetts, presumably belonging to Kanhoji's squadron, were worrying the fishermen of Worlee (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 5, p. 9, 3rd set). In the same year the Surat merchants wrote to their superiors at home "'Tis reported that the Sevajees who are grown very insolent since the loss of your Honours small craft at Bombay have taken a Dutch ship" (O.C., Vol. 63., No. 8653). In September of that year the English retaliated when a Ghurab belonging to one of Kanhoji's men visited Bombay. In the consultation held

at Bombay Castle, 13th September, 1703, we read, "Yesterday in the evening came into this harbour a grab under Savajee colours, being come from Aden, which (on examination) proving to have no pass but to belong to a place called Girça, near Rajapore, under the Government of Conajee Angria, and the said Conajee Angria and his people having at sundry times committed many injurious and piratical actions on the inhabitants of this Island. In consideration thereof as likewise of the orders lately received from the General and Council at Surat concerning them, 'twas agreed and resolved to embargo and detain here said vessell, cargo and people til we shall receive their orders concerning them" (F. R., Bombay, Vol. 5, pp. 11-12, 3rd set). The English were to rue this action before long. In November, next year, information arrived from a coast-guard that "Conjee Angra, a Savajee pirate, independant on that Raja, came into the Bay the 22nd instant with seaven galvetts and anchored with his groab at Pen Rivers mouth, six of them goeing in out of her sight, but Conjee Angra road there till yesterday morning the 23d." Reference is made to a treaty between Sir John Gayer and Kanhoji Angria by which the latter had undertaken not to molest Bombay ships. The text of this treaty has not been traced as yet but Kanhoji had apparently serious grievances. Bombay was in a sorry plight. The island ran the risk of being starved and Mr. William Reynolds was deputed to wait on Kanhoji "wherever he might be found" "acquainting said chief robber his being sent to him by the English Generall of India, civilly telling him in words neither more or less that he cant be permitted searching, molesting or seizing any boates, groabs or other vessells, from what port, harbour, place of what nation soever they may be, bringing provisions, timber or merchandize to Bombay, Mahim or other places from whence they came, without breach of that friendship the English nation has always had with Raja Savajee and all his Captains in subordination to him." Reynolds was at the same time instructed "not upon any account, by word or otherwise, to threaten or insinuate any designe of hostility against him." (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. 2, pp. 15, 17, 21.) It is difficult to understand why the English appealed to the friendship of the Raja and his authority while describing Kanhoji as a rebel and independent of Raja Savajee. Kanhoji's reply was quite frank and unambiguous. His message ran as follows: "The Savajeos had done many services for the English that never kept their word with him ; they had peace with the Portugeuze and every

one of their portes free to them ; was known they had held out warr with the Mogull forty years, lived now by their sword and would seize what boates or other vessell belonging either to the Mogulls vessells from any of his forts or Mallabarr, excepting such as had Conjee Angras passports ; the English being at liberty acting as they please." (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. 2, p. 30). The Maratha Admiral felt that he was the sovereign of the sea and decided to assert his authority in a manner not likely to be ignored.

The toll of English loss was quite heavy, as we learn from a letter from Surat to the Company, dated 1st March, 1706/7. " Your Honours will I presume, from Bombay have a particular account of the growth of the Sevajee Canajee Angra, there ill and near neighbour. He hath lattely taken a ship belonging to Mr. Mildmay and your Honours broker at Carwarr, a ship of Mr. Bouchers of about 200 tons, per cargo amounting to 70,000 rupees, the *Diamond* of Madras carrying 12 guns and twenty-six Europeans, her cargo worth near two lakh of rupees, one of the Islands manchuas, another ship of about two hundred tons, to whose belonging I don't yet hear, and a Dutch Hoigh man'd with about 26 Dutchmen, besides sundry other small vessels." (O.C., Vol. 62, No. 8514.)

Negotiations had indeed been opened for amicable settlement between Kanhoji and the Bombay authorities, on whose initiative it cannot be ascertained, but letters were exchanged, and it appears that Kanhoji denied his responsibility for some of the captures, and offered to restore a Pattan ship belonging to one Samjee Beanselos of which he had made a prize " provided articles of friendship are agreed upon with the Rana " (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. 2). The Rana is evidently Rani Tara Bai, the regent for the minor Maratha Raja, but nothing seems to have come out of these negotiations. In February, 1706-7, Kanhoji captured the company's Manchua cruising off the Mahim river (*Bombay Public Proceedings*, Vol. 2, pp. 115-116). In 1710 he made a prize of a Dutch sloop (*Military System*, p. 194), and two years later he openly attacked the Portuguese fleet convoyed by Luiz da Costa and captured the Governor of Bombay's armed yacht and the *Anne* of Karwar.

Henceforth we are on surer grounds, though there is a brief lacunae here and there, *e.g.* in 1721, the records are copious, the facts are well known and the sequence of events clear and intelligible. We

no longer grope in the dark and base our conclusions on stray information. The English and the Portuguese records corroborate each other and offer a surer guide. The foreign sources are more fruitful than the indigenous, but until recently they did not receive the attention they deserve. The Portuguese papers have not yet been thoroughly sifted and studied, the Dutch sources still remain unexplored and the French records have only been superficially examined. When this is done we may expect a most illuminating history of the Maratha navy, and, then and then alone shall we be in a position to estimate properly Kanhoji Angria's services to his King and country.

Calcutta.

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL

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HISTORY needs to be continually rewritten. Sometimes the facts are mis-stated ; sometimes they are wilfully perverted to serve partizan ends ; sometimes again they need to be viewed from a new perspective to catch their fuller significance or to show in a fresh novel way. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal has been endlessly discussed. Some early historians have been lavish in their praise ; others have ruthlessly condemned it. According to Marshman it was a bold, brave and wise measure ; according to Holmes it was a sad blunder, yet the topic is not yet exhausted. Who, for instance, was actually responsible for the measure which, whatever their judgment upon it, all agree in regarding as a most momentuous enactment ?

Ostensibly of course the responsibility lies with the Court of Directors who under the Act of 1784 generally retained the last voice in Indian affairs.¹ But in this particular case their hands were forced. This is indeed an early and impressive example of the way in which the British Government have from time to time interposed their authority in matters Indian. But now a full story must be told to make this point clear.

On 13th April, 1772, Warren Hastings assumed the Governorship of Bengal and on the following day he received the memorable letter of the Directors directing the President and Council of Fort William to stand forth as Diwan and to take over the entire care and management of the revenues. Accordingly a plan was drawn up by which a five years' settlement was made with the farmers of revenue and the zemindars. In 1775 when the arrangement had been in operation for three years its results were reviewed. Warren Hastings was of opinion that the plan of letting the land to farmers had proved satisfactory, but Philip Francis sharply dissented from this view.² The controversy which arose between the two led to the famous plan of Francis in

¹ For a brief account of the Constitution see my article in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London, Nov. 1933.

² W. K. Firminger's Introduction, *The Fifth Report* (1917).

which he favoured a permanent arrangement with the zemindars. He condensed his principles into one short paragraph which deserves to be remembered as the germ of the future Permanent Settlement:—

“ The *jumma* once fixed must be matter of public record. It must be permanent and unalterable, and the people must, if possible, be convinced that it is so.....If there be any hidden wealth still existing, it will then be brought forth and employed in improving the land because the proprietor will be satisfied he is labouring for himself.” ¹

No immediate action was taken on Francis's minute. Indeed even the quinquennial settlements were abandoned in 1777 and annual settlements were substituted in their place.

But it is significant that the India Act of 1784 embodied the general idea of Francis. It seems probable enough that Pitt who had shared in the prevailing Parliamentary distrust of the policy and methods of Warren Hastings had accepted the scheme for no better reason than because it emanated from his rival and principal circle.² However that may be, we know that the Directors were definitely against committing themselves beforehand on the subject. Their representations, however, were disregarded, and Section XXXIX of the Act directed them to settle ‘ the permanent rules ’ according to which the landholders were to pay their revenue to the Government.³

Nor were the Ministers content to leave the fulfilment of this provision to the Directors. In 1786 the Board of Control (the predecessor of the present Secretary of State for India in Council) drew up a despatch in which occurred the fateful words: “ The *Jumma* now to be formed shall as soon as it can have received our approval and ratification be considered as the permanent and unalterable revenue of our territorial possessions in Bengal.” ⁴

The Bengal Government on receipt of these orders adopted certain tentative proposals, and the Court of Directors while reviewing the proposed arrangement observed that they trusted that it would

¹ Sir R. C. Dutt, *Sir Philip Francis' Minutes on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal*, p. vi.

² Cf. the view of S. Weitzmann in her *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis* (1929).

³ Peter Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India* (1837), II, p. 89.

⁴ India Office MSS., Bengal Draft-despatch, dated April 12, 1786.

undergo from time to time such alterations as experience and a constant attention to the subject should point out to be necessary.¹ This was apparently not the view of the Board of Control who not only deleted the Court's paragraph when the despatch came for their approval but substituted another deprecating a suggestion of Shore contained in his minute of 29th May, 1787, that the proposed regulations were to be considered merely as a groundwork for future measures and liable to alteration.

This opposition of Sir John Shore to the proposed settlement of which we get an inkling here was maintained to the end. Both Cornwallis and he were agreed on the desirability of making the settlement with the landholders, but while the former insisted on making it perpetual, the latter preferred the permanency of the principles on which it was to be based to its own permanence. "Measures in detail must always be subject to variations from local circumstances and contingencies," Shore ably argued, "which no foresight can provide against, but principles must be fixed if possible."² He urged the commonsense view that no irrevocable step should be taken before some survey of the land had been carried out and other satisfactory data obtained. Cornwallis's reply which was utterly jejune was that there had been plenty of enquiries, that the information was sufficient, and that nothing short of absolute permanence would lead to the prosperity of the country.

But whatever the ultimate view, both were agreed that the settlement should be declared in the first instance to be for ten years only. Cornwallis, however, wanted to couple it with an important notification, viz., that if approved by the Court of Directors, the existing settlement would become permanent. Shore very rightly considered such a notification to be inexpedient on the ground that in case the Directors decided otherwise the landholders might regard it as a breach of faith on the part of the Government. The Governor-General, however, stuck to his proposal, and in February, 1790, the abovementioned notification was issued. When,

¹ Bengal Draft-despatch, dated September 11, 1788.

² India Office MSS., The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 383, p. 203.

³ But as Baden-Powell asks: "Will any one seriously contend that, looking at all the ups and downs of history, a zemindar in 1793 realised that the Government would last for ever, or even for a long period of years?" *Land Systems of British India* (1922), I, pp. 347-48. The controversy between Cornwallis and Shore is well described in Seton-Kerr's *Cornwallis*.

therefore, he called upon the Directors to ratify his measure he made a refusal virtually impossible.¹

Nor was this all. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, who had been throughout a supporter of the measure, and whose aid Cornwallis had likewise invoked, seeing that some of the more influential Directors were opposed to it, decided to draw up a despatch on the subject himself, thus ensuring its acceptance. He also induced the Prime Minister to stay with him at his country house at Wimbledon for ten days when the subject was thoroughly explored. Charles Grant who had an intimate knowledge of the revenue administration of India and who had been commissioned by Cornwallis on leaving India to explain and recommend the measure to the Ministers, was present at these discussions. The sequel may be narrated in Dundas's own triumphant words to the Governor-General: "What I expected happened; the subject was too large for the consideration of the Directors in general, and the few, who knew anything concerning it, understanding from me that Mr. Pitt and I were decided in our opinions, thought it best to acquiesce, so that they came to a resolution to adopt entirely the despatch as transmitted by me."

This account of Dundas's is corroborated by Grant who mentions that there was considerable opposition to the measure so that at last the Board of Control dictated the orders.³ According to the then Secretary to the Board particular parts of the despatch were written by Pitt, Dundas, and Grant.⁴

Commenting on the Permanent Settlement shortly after it had come into operation, the historian Wilks innocently remarked that an English Chancellor of the Exchequer who should propose to pledge the national faith to an unalterable tax might captivate the imagination of the multitude, but would be laughed at by the financiers of Europe.⁵ He should have been greatly surprised and amused if he had really known the part which the English Chancellor did play in that important measure.⁶

Gwalior.

¹ India Office MSS., Bengal Letters Received, Vol. 28, p. 763.

² Charles Ross, *Correspondence of Marquis Cornwallis* (1859), II, pp. 214-15.

³ H. Morris, *Life of Charles Grant* (1904), p. 171.

⁴ Sir J. W. Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company* (1853), p. 183.

⁵ Lieut-Col. Mark Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 198.

⁶ Pitt was both the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

VICTOR JACQUEMONT IN INDIA

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ON a marble tablet near the northern staircase of the Zoological galleries in the *Jardin des Plantes* (Paris) we still read the name of Victor Jacquemont, scholar of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, "born in Paris on the 8th August 1801, died in Bombay on the 7th December, 1832." Thus has been preserved the memory of a very shortlived naturalist who contributed only a few articles in the scientific journals of France and died in India a premature death after leaving a rich collection of botanical and geological specimens which he collected in various parts of India particularly in the sub-Himalayan forests in course of a difficult tour during three years and a half.

He is still remembered in the history of the French literature as a great friend of Stendhal who though older in age was somewhat indebted to him. The diary and the large number of letters which he has left behind disclose it. In a recent book ¹ M. Pierre Maes has traced the almost romantic history of this young naturalist from both published and unpublished documents, given him his proper place in the history of the literary circles of the restoration period after the fall of Napoleon, and presented in detail for the first time an account of his travels in America and India.

The father of Victor was Venceslas Jacquemont who belonged to the Girondist party, was for some time a member of the Tribune and when the *Institut* was founded in 1796 was elected its member. He also served under Napoleon in various capacities, was falsely implicated in the Malet conspiracy, kept in prison for some time but at last acquitted for want of proof though sent away from Paris for some years. Victor was young at this time but the persecution of his father still left a bitter impression on his mind.

As a student Victor was very brilliant, had a special taste for the Natural sciences and was one of the founders of the *Société d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris* in 1821. In 1822 he received his degree from a

¹ Pierre Maes, *Un ami de Stendhal—Victor Jacquemont*. (Temps et Visages), Paris, 1934. M. P. Maes previously edited the letters which Jacquemont had written to Stendhal and other friends.

jury presided over by no less a scientist than Georges Cuvier, the founder of the Science of Comparative Anatomy.

Victor Jacquemont met Stendhal in 1821 in one of the best literary *salons* of Paris in those days, namely that of M. Victor de Tracy who was a great friend of his father. Since then Stendhal proved to be a devoted friend of Victor's inspite of a very radical difference in their outlook. Stendhal was a great admirer of Napoleon whereas the latter hated him. Napoleon was very much discussed in this period and Victor was accused of being jealous of Napoleon by Stendhal and other admirers of the ex-Emperor. But Jacquemont replied to this accusation in a long letter written in 1824: "It is not for aristocracy but for republicanism that I hate Buonaparte ...I admire his greatness, but for that I have to keep myself cool, because the stupidly exaggerated praise for him keeps me in a state of habitual irritation and makes me unjust in regard to him...In your admiration for the hero I find in you something of the common man...you have become a dupe of the figurative language...' Buonaparte has won a victory ' is true only in a figurative style...It is to be always understood that 80,000 Frenchmen had been with him...It will be once recognised that a large part of the military successes of Buonaparte was due to his *excellent army*, he did not make this excellent army but it was the Revolution that made it when the soldiers became the officers...Many military men have often heard the Germans with whom they fought say: ' We wish we had officers like the French: brave men who go to the fire as they only can do. But we have young nobles who decamp at the first firing of the cannon.' Buonaparte analysed loses 75%. He is reduced to only a man of extreme intelligence. Cuvier and Laplace when analysed do not lose anything. If you judge by the greatness of achievement Franklin and Washington are greater than Napoleon...they have created the Republic of the United States while Napoleon has only prepared the bed for Louis XVIII..." This opinion of Jacquemont's might appear excessive but he was honest about it and inspite of his hatred recognised him as a man of genius—" the greatest man who had appeared after Caesar."

Insipite of this difference in opinion Jacquemont and Stendhal were great friends. Stendhal had a high regard for the literary ability of his friend. The correspondence which passed between the two discloses that in 1824 Stendhal sent the manuscript of his

Racine et Shakspeare for the latter's opinion and asked him to make any correction that he liked. At about the same time Victor Jacquemont met Prosper Mérimée and became a devoted friend of the latter. It is through Stendhal that Jacquemont was introduced to Madame Judith Pasta, the greatest actress of the time in Paris, who had made almost all Paris shed tears in her rôle of Desdemona, and was the centre of attraction of many young literary men.

After an unfortunate love affair Victor Jacquemont left for America in 1826 not only for distraction but also for the purpose of making a collection of botanical and geological specimens in which he was still interested for his scientific studies. In January, 1827, Jacquemont received an invitation from the authorities of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle through its administrator M. Louis Cordier to go to India on a scientific mission as a representative of the Muséum. He therefore returned to France towards the end of the year to prepare himself for a voyage to India.

He started for India on the 13th August, 1828, with letters of recommendation which he had in the meantime secured from London for the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck and other high officials in British India. He reached Calcutta on the 5th May, 1829, and was very well received by Mr. Pearson, the Advocate-General of Bengal, who soon put him in touch with some of the most eminent men in Calcutta like Sir Charles Grey, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sir Edward Ryan, one of the Justices, Sir Charles Metcalfe, etc. He was also very cordially received by Lord William Bentinck and Lady Bentinck and it was soon found out that Lady Bentinck and Jacquemont had common friends in Paris.

After a stay of about six months in Calcutta during which he worked in the Botanical Gardens, Jacquemont started for Northern India with the object of carrying on his researches in the Himalayan forests on the frontier of Tibet. He received all the official help through the kindness of Lord William Bentinck and had practically no trouble during his long travel through Northern India. The route which he followed can be guessed from the names of places which he visited on the way after leaving Calcutta: Hugli, Burdwan, Dignagaur on the Damoodah (Damodar), Ragonantpoor, Hazaroubag (Hazaribag), Hinguelisse near Sasseram, Benares, Rewah, Lohargong, Pannah, Adjighur, Kalinger (Kalinjar), Hammerpoor at the confluence of the Betwah and the Jumna, Agrah, Muttrah, Delhi, Simla, Kannawer and

from Kannawer to "the frontier of China." The researches of Jacquemont in the hills were quite long. From Kannawer he proceeded to Warthou, thence to Kotgerk on the left bank of the Sutlej, Rampoor, and Sourann where he was well received by the Raja of Bissahir; he then followed up the right bank of the Sutlej to Woughton and then through the valley of Tchini to Khoti where he was detained for some time by the rains. He then went to Kanum where he met the famous Hungarian scholar, Csoma de Körös, who had settled down in the lamaseri of the village. He had a long conversation with Csoma on the language and literature of the Tibetans. From Kanum Jacquemont proceeded still farther to the valleys higher up, *viz.*, Ronnang, Hangarong, and Goutong. This brought him to an altitude of about 5,500 metres. Here the bare sides of the hills were very favourable for geological observations and he was able to study easily the phenomena of superposition and alternance of the rocks. In upper Kannawer he discovered fossils which were incrustated in secondary layers of the soil in an extensive scale. Proceeding still farther he came to Bekoeur and Lari near Ladak. Here he had reached the Chinese frontier but he was allowed to proceed without any opposition. Here he received a letter from General Allard, a French general in the service of Maharaja Runjit Singh, inviting him to go to Lahore. He therefore retraced his steps and reached Simla after travelling amongst the hills for about three months.

From Simla he followed a different route, this time in order to return to Delhi. He first went to Sabathoo and thence through the valley of Pindjor directed his steps to Nahan. On the way he stopped at Sirmoor for two days as a guest of the local Raja—"a beautiful young man of twenty-two years, very elegant in his oriental costume, and sincere and communicative" who was very much liked by our naturalist. From Sirmoor Jacquemont got back to Delhi *via* Saharunpoor and Mirout. He was pompously received by the European community at Delhi and a grand banquet was organised on the occasion.

On his way to Lahore Jacquemont passed by Kurnaul, Azimabad, which was the last station of the British territory and entered the territory of the Sikhs. He passed by Amballah and reached Loodianah which was even then an important commercial centre. Here he was the guest of Captaine Wade, the resident,

who took him to different *shawl* factories and introduced him to the two ex-kings of Afganistan, Shah Zeman and Shah Shuja, who had been deposed by Runjit Singh, and kept at Loodhiana as pensionaries of the East India Company. Shah Shuja made a very profound impression on Jacquemont "though younger and less august than the great Mogol Emperor." The description which Jacquemont has left of this prince in his *Journal* is worth quoting on account of its literary beauty: "It is impossible," says he, "to appear more royal than this dethroned prince, it is impossible to possess greater dignity without conceit and stiffness, greater nobility and elegance without affectation. His costume was carefully arranged though not magnificent. Around his head was rolled as turban a real Cachemir with the most delicate design of a light green colour. His body was covered with a dressing gown with long cuffs, made of the same stuff as the turban but of a white colour decorated with elegant palmettes as big as half a cubit. The robe contained near the chest an agrafe of precious stones in the shape of a palm leaf. He carried a very simple sword in the belt and a long cane in a hand which was white as crystal. The pantaloons were of red silk, the stocking of variegated Cachemir and his green slippers were like those of the other people of the house." He wrote to Madame Fanny de Peray in February 1831, about Shah Shuja. "You remember that the womer forced open the doors of the Hotel Siret to have a look at the beautiful secretary of the Ambassador of Tunis. I do not know what they would do if Schah Schoudja went to Paris. So beautiful is he that the National Guard would not suffice to maintain the public order." The next stoppage of Jacquemont was Lahore where he had a long audience with Maharaja Runjit Singh and received permission to travel in his kingdom for the purpose of his researches.

He was received by the two French generals of the Maharaja, Allard and Ventura, on the outskirts of Lahore. Of these Allard had already a very distinguished career in the army of Napoleon. He had served as a cavalry officer both at Naples and in Spain under Joseph Buonaparte and after the Hundred Days he was made Captain of the Imperial Guard, Knight of Legion d'honneur, and aide-de-camp of Marshal Brune. After the restoration, in order to avoid persecution to which the ancient officers were subjected, Allard left the country in 1818 for Egypt. He subsequently went to Syria, Turkey and Persia and served as a military officer in Persia for about a

year and met Ventura there. Both of them left Persia, stayed in Afghanistan for some time and at last reached the Panjab in 1822. When Runjit Singh became satisfied that they were not Russian spies he took them in his service and the Sikh army were soon trained by them in French method. They learnt to receive orders in French. (Pierre Maes, *ibid*, p. 596.)

Jacquemont reached Lahore on the 11th March, 1831. The interview with Runjit Singh was arranged on the next day by Allard and Ventura. At the first meeting the Maharaja asked him questions about his travels, the countries he had visited, their climate, wealth, products, etc.

The description of Runjit Singh which Jacquemont has left us, smacks of the Stendhalian style. "The king," he says, "has no other mark of dignity except that he sits on a square cushion at the top of the semi-circle that we have formed around him. He is a small thin man of a fine shape although one-eyed through the effect of small-pox; there are however very few marks of it left on his face. The right eye which has been spared to him is very large, the nose is fine and slightly raised, the mouth is well-shaped, with the superb teeth and the little moustaches which are constantly passed through his fingers; a long white beard falls on his breast. His appearance gives vent to a constant mobility of thought, a great finess and a profound penetration, and the indications are quite sure. He has a small turban of white muslin rolled inelegantly, a kind of long tunic with a small collar falling on his shoulders like the mantles of the French cavalrymen, and tight pantaloons with bare feet. His dress is of white Cachemire, with small embroideries in gold on the collar. As ornament he has large earrings in gold with big pearls, a necklace of pearls and bracelet of rubies almost hidden under the cuffs of his apparel; on the side hangs a sword of which the hilt is decorated with diamonds and emeralds."

"Have you been to England?"—the king asked Jacquemont.

"Certainly."

"Have you seen the king?"

"Surely. The Raja knows that the king of England has permitted me to travel in India. I had to see him to obtain this permission....."

"Do they (the soldiers of the king of England) fight well?"

“ Very well.”

“ As cleverly as the French ?”

“ Almost as cleverly, since Buonaparte taught them how to fight.”

“ And are the Indian Sipahis of the Company good ? ”

“ They say so.”

“ As good as the Europeans ?”

“ No, but they fight well as long as they have European officers to lead them. But after all there has been very little war in India since I came and I have learnt all these from hearsay.”

“ But Bhurtpoor ?”

“ I had not yet been to India but then Bhurtpoor was only a poorly fortified place which could not defend itself against European science.”

“ What ! Bhurtpoor a poorly fortified place !”

“ Certainly, there is not a single fort in India which can pass under that name in Europe. The fight in India is a child's play ! In the battles of Buonaparte 40,000 men used to be killed in one day.”

“ So have I been often told by Allard. Did you see Buonaparte ?

“ Often.”

“ From close quarters ?”

“ Just as I see Your Majesty, and he was a small and thin man in his youth like Your Majesty.....”

“ The English however defeated and took him.”

“ Through treachery.”

“ What sciences do you know ?”

“ All [Jacquemont had been instructed by Allard not to admit his ignorance in any subject before the King.]”

“ But which of them do you know best ?”

“ Astronomy, Mathematics, Chemistry, Botany, Geology and Medicine.”

The conversation then centred round the English policy in India, in Sind, the possible Russian invasion of India and in all these Runjit Singh appears as a great diplomat trying to elicit whatever information Jacquemont might have gathered from the English in India.

Jacquemont was then given all facilities to travel in Kashmir, and after completing his researches in various parts of the kingdom returned to Simla on the 12th November, 1931, reached Delhi on the 16th December, after a short stay at Simla and took the route to Bombay.

He reached Bombay in November, 1832, to die of an abscess on the liver on the 7th December after a long suffering. The climate had been already telling on his health and an infection in the island of Salsette gave it the final blow. He was buried with all military honours by the English authorities in Bombay with this simple epitaph on his tomb according to his own instructions :

Victor Jacquemont, né à Paris
le 8 août 1801, est mort à
Bombay le 7 décembre 1832, après
avoir voyagé trois an et demi dans l'Inde.

The bits of information on India which we get from the *Journal* of Jacquemont are interesting. He was greatly esteemed by Lord and Lady Bentinck, often went out with them for promenade and was occasionally entertained by them as a guest both at Calcutta and Barrackpore where Lord Bentinck used to pass some of the hottest days of summer in order to avoid the heat of Calcutta.

Sometimes Jacquemont used to have the honour of attending the divine service in the Cathedral with Lord Bentinck. His description of the service can hardly fail to attract our attention. "A formidable system of punkas hangs from the ceiling to air the choir and the two galleries. About forty porters of palanquins, dressed in white without any livery and with robes and turbans on, pull them (the punkas) without making the least noise ; the effect is singular and very beautiful, but not at all solemn. The big white wings which move in the air and of which the movements cover and uncover at intervals the priest at the pulpit and the predicator in his chair must tire out the piety which wants expression through the prayer."

In one place Jacquemont criticises the European mode of living in Calcutta. "All around me take three meals a day and religiously abstain from mixing water with the most spirituous wines coming from Spain and Portugal. Then when it becomes cool with the nightfall they get on horseback and both young and old gallop for several hours like automaton without any purpose. They come back home all in sweat and for having an easy and light night sit at the table where they remain for 2 hours and retire only for going to bed. There is much of stupidity in this exhibition of *manliness* which the English think themselves obliged to make." In another place he writes : "The intemperance, the love of luxury which is so

worrying during a travel, the lack of any thought of society and an ingenious pride, all these, according to Jacquemont, are 'the vices of the Anglo-Indians and specially of the young officers of the company.'

On the contrary Jacquemont had completely changed the mode of living in India and used to take as food simply cooked rice and water. This, he says in a letter to his family, was good for health and it was for this simple diet that he could get quiet sleep at night. During travel his food was equally simple and though he had his horse with him he preferred walking on foot for long distances. This shocked his English friends who could not bear the idea of walking on foot.

He had not much love for the antiquities of India though he met at Benares no less an antiquarian than James Prinsep, and though he speaks in glowing terms of the beauty of the Taj Mahal, he had greater interest in the living and did not lack in the real French genius of detecting the beautiful even in things which were entirely foreign to his culture. At Hugli he sees and admires the young Hindu girls who had come to bathe in the Ganges—girls who had "noble and graceful forms which remind one of the antique statues." "Almost all these young girls had brought flowers on banana leaves. They placed them on the edge of the water and saw them fleeing with the current; these girls probably attached superstitious hope or fear to the fate of these flowers. But is there a more graceful form of devotion?"

He was not quite disinterested in Indian politics, and had a long conversation with Lord William Bentinck on various problems of the day and found him quite frank in his opinion. "What immense good you can do to the inhabitants of this country!" said Jacquemont to Lord Bentinck.

Lord Bentinck replied in all frankness and candour: "We are almost helpless in doing good to them. We cannot change their mind; the prejudice with which the intellect is prepossessed here creates the most insurmountable obstacle for the most liberal and philanthropic efforts. The advantages which the Indians have derived from the new domination are certainly great but they are still negative. We have brought them security for their person and property. The force for ensuring a peaceful enjoyment of this good is enough for us but to improve them is of no use to us."

Jaquemont concludes that "a man like Lord Bentinck who in spite of his national and born prejudices finds in the American

Federation the model of Government must welcome and help a great revolution in India. *It would come through European education given to the natives from early age.*"

Better informed about India, the young naturalist wrote to his father after two years and a half : " The English power in India will not perish through foreign aggression. The English would always have greater physical force than what one can bring against them either on the Sutledge or the Indus. But their material force has nothing but a moral basis which is at present very strong but can be shaken through a caprice. Then everything crumbles down ! But what is it that can give such a blow ? ...It is certainly the awakening of the religious consciousness. It may come even to-morrow but surely, as it is, it will not come about before a *century*."

Calcutta.

'ILMU'T HADITH OR THE SCIENCE OF TRADITION.*

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THE traditionists since the earliest period in the history of Islam, attached more importance to the traditions relating to the religious rituals and legal matters, than to those of purely historical character having no practical importance. The former served as an important foundation of Islamic theology and law and the latter are of no practical utility for a Muslim except as facts of history. Whether the Prophet left for Badr on the 8th of January, 623 A.D., or on any other date is of no practical utility to a Muslim. But the method followed by him in his ablution, prayers and pilgrimage, in buying and selling things, and his commands about marriage or making a slave free is expected to form the very basis of every Muslim's daily life.

The traditionists, therefore, by and by confined their activities to the latter class of traditions and left the former for the historians within whose scope they properly fell. Since the 2nd half of the 3rd century therefore, they collected together in their works only the former class of traditions. These collections are known as Sunans, and in them are included some of the most important works in Hadith.

THE SUNAN OF ABU DA'UD.

The most important of these works is the Sunan of Abu Dá'úd who examined five hundred thousand traditions and picked up four thousand and eight hundred of them which he included in his book on which he laboured for twenty years.

Abu Dá'úd descended from the Banu Azd of Arabia and was born in 203 A.D. Having received his education in Hadith in Khurasán, he visited all the important centres of Hadith learning and in course of time acquired great reputation as a traditionist. This is clearly shown by the fact that he was requested by al-Muwaffaq, the powerful general

* Continued from our previous issue.

of alMu'tadid, to settle down in Basra, after it was sacked and depopulated on account of the insurrection of the Zanjies, in order that the people and students might be attracted to that unfortunate town, by his presence and the population might improve.

He had also requested Abu Dá'úd to hold special classes in traditions for the sake of his sons which no other student might be allowed to attend. Abu Dá'úd readily granted the first request, as an act of public good. But he expressed his inability to accede to the second request. He held, with Malik, Bukhari, and many other Muslim divines, that to his knowledge there was no difference between the prince and the poor. He said to the great Abbaside general and victor of the Zanj as well as of the powerful founder of the Saffaride dynasty, that he could not degrade knowledge by creating differences between the princes and the poor. This great respect for knowledge may serve as a source of inspiration to many of the modern teachers.

Abu Dá'úd, however, wrote many books on tradition and Islamic law. The Sunan is the most important of them. Containing all the legal traditions which may serve as basis for Islamic law and rituals, together with the statement of their value and reliability, it has been accepted by the masters of traditions as a unique Sunan work. 'The Kitabul-Sunan of Abu Dá'úd,' says al-Rhattábi, 'is a noble work. No book like it has ever been written in theology. He has collected together in this book such traditions as no one else before or after him ever compiled together. It has been, therefore, accepted as a standard book by the (Muslim) theologians of the various schools in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Spain and other parts of the Islamic world, in spite of their differences in various principles.'

The general principles of criticism of traditions adopted by Abu Dá'úd, was further improved and followed by his student Muhammad b. Isa al-Turmudhi in his Jami in which he collected together all such traditions as had been accepted by the Muslim jurists of one school or another, as the basis of Islamic law with regard to legal or religious problems.

Al-Turmudhi, for the first time took into consideration only such traditions as had been used as basis for the various rituals and laws of Islam. He took pains to determine the identity, the names, the titles and the *kunya* of the narrators of these traditions, tried to fix the degree of their reliability without repeating them. He made extensive use of certain techniques of criticism rarely used by his

predecessors, and also introduced some new technical terms. He added a note almost to every Hadith with the words Abu Isa says, and discusses various important and interesting points connected with it.

THE SUNAN OF AL-NASA'I.

Another important Sunan work is that compiled by Abu 'Abdul-Rahaman Ahmad. Shuayb al-Nasa'i, who was born in the year 214 or 15 and died in the year 303-915.

He had been recognised as the best traditionist of his time. 'Abd-ul-lah, the son of Ahmad b. Hambal and Muhammad the son of Ibráhím and some other important traditionists selected him unanimously as the best of teachers of Hadith at the time and 'Alí b. 'Umar declared him, many a time, as the foremost traditionist of his age. His care about traditions is evident from the fact that in connection with those related by al-Háarith, he (al-Nasai) never says 'he has related to us,' as is the case with those related to him by other teachers, but he always points out that it was read to him (al-Háarith) within his (al-Nasai's) hearing, because he was not allowed to attend the lectures of al-Háarith, and therefore had to hear them by hiding himself at the gate of the lecture-room.

He compiled the legal traditions which he considered to be either fairly reliable or of possible reliability in his large work on Sunan which he confessed to have contained good many weak and doubtful traditions. Being requested by some of his friends, he compiled out of it, a smaller work which is called al-Mujtana, or al-Sunan al-Şughra which according to him contained only reliable traditions, and is accepted as one of the six canonical collections.

In this book, al-Nasai entirely ignored the point of view of his senior contemporary al-Turmidhi, of the application of the traditions to the various problems, made by the different legal schools of the Muslim divines. His main object was only to establish the text of traditions and the differences between their various versions, almost all of which he quotes *in extenso*, instead of only referring to them like Abu Dá'úd and al-Turmidhi. At many places he gives headings on the differences between the various narrators and mentions the least variations among their narrations which Goldziher calls *pettifoggings* (*Kleinigkeiten*). But these *pettifoggings* are of great importance to the exactitude of a traditionist and are not limited to the chapters on rituals only as the

famous Austrian Orientalist says, but abound in other chapters also. At places, after giving the various versions of a Ḥadīth he points to some of them as incorrect and some as correct. In the choice of his authorities he had been strict. As a matter of fact it is said that his canons of criticism of the narrators were more strict than those of Muslim. The book, however, contains many weak and doubtful traditions related by unknown narrators of doubtful veracity.

THE SUNAN OF AL-DARIMI (181-255).

Another important Sunan work is that of al-Dārimī (797-868). It is the earliest Sunan work received by us. An old manuscript copy of the book was brought from Mecca and lithographed and published in India at the instance of the greatest patron of Hadith learning during the last century, Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān of Bhopal, one of the most active independent Indian Native States which is now governed by one of the most enlightened princes of the country.

The author of the Sunan, Abu Muḥammad ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abdīl Raḥman is said to have come from the Arabian tribe of Banu Tamim to which he belonged probably by Muwalat. He was born in the year 181/797. He travelled a good deal in the pursuit of traditions and studied it with the important traditionist of his time like Yazīd b. Ḥārūn, Sa’īd b. ‘Amir and others, and was marked for his interest in traditions and for his veracity and piety. The keenness of his intellect and his wide knowledge was generally recognised. His contentment and religiousness was proverbial. He was offered the post of a Judge at Samarqand but he did not accept it so long as he was not pressed hard for it and having accepted the post he resigned it just after deciding one case only. He died in the year 255/868.

His Sunan has been described by some of the important traditionists as a Musnad work, which is obviously a mistake unless the term is used in its general sense. Some traditionists call it a Ṣaḥīḥ or genuine (a collection of only genuine traditions). But this also is a mistake. It contains many traditions which do not satisfy the conditions necessary for a genuine case. It contains three thousand five hundred and fifty traditions which are arranged in fourteen hundred and eight chapters, according to their contents.

A special feature of the book is its general introductory chapter in which the compiler has collected together in various chapters, traditions

connected with certain practices of the Arabs before the appearance of Islam, with certain matters connected with the life and character of Muhammad, with the writing down of traditions and the high place of knowledge, etc. In the general plan of the body of the book he has followed the same system as has been followed by later compilers of Sunan works. In the body of the book, after some traditions the compiler adds notes in some of which he gives his own opinion on certain problems, or identifies the narrators or criticises their character or points out the difference between their versions of a tradition. But such notes in this book are very few and too short in comparison with those in the works which have been already discussed.

The work has been generally accepted as reliable and had been pronounced by some traditionists as the sixth of the canonical collections. But it never attained the position of any of the first three works, because it contained more weak and defective traditions than any of them.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF HADITH LITERATURE.

Hadith-literature possesses certain special features. (1) *Isnad.* "Each Hadith in every compilation of tradition till the end of the fourth century is prefixed by an *Isnad*, i.e., the chain of narrators from the prophet or his companion down to the compiler, through whom it had been received by him. This is the most important characteristic of the early Hadith-literature and it gives the reader the necessary material to test the truth of the various reports by an examination of the character and veracity of the various reporters at different stages, with the help of the vast literature on their life and character.

The origin of the system of *Isnad* is a difficult and interesting problem. It is entirely absent from the literature of the Greeks and of the Romans. The Hindus and the Chinese also do not show any appreciable trace of it. Did it then originate among the Arabs? Cactani and Horowitz have proved it to be otherwise and E. Harley of Islamia College has partly summarised their conclusions in the introduction to his excellent edition of the *Musnad* of Umar b. 'Abdil 'Aziz.

Cactani has tried to show that the *Isnad* could not have originated among the Arabs. The wild desolation of the Arabian deserts and the nature and character of the primitive, ignorant, uncivilised and intolerant Arabs did not suit its origin and early growth. But his results

are merely negative. Horowitz carried his researches further and proved, by giving various instances from the Jewish literature, that it was used by the Jews before the Arabs. Its use in their literature is found as early as the Mosaic period and by the Talmudic times its chain assumed enormous length the subject-matter being of the most varied nature. "He adds," says Mr. Harley, "that it is possible that Islam having once borrowed the system of Isnad from the Jews and developed it on its own lines, may have influenced in its turn, the Jewish prototype, for in the Talmudic literature, there is no idea of chronological method and the oldest extant work attempting such an arrangement was composed after 855 A. D., more than a century later than the earliest Islamic work on Isnad-critique." "From this and from the fact that the important Jewish works had been composed in the Islamic dominion," writes Prof. Horowitz (this sentence have been left out by Mr. Harley), "it may be inferred that this historical interest (of the Jews) was due to the Islamic influence."

The main point of these important results of the minute researches of the Modern European Orientalists, had been already anticipated by ~~some of the medieval~~ Muslim divines, of which Prof. Horowitz and others appear to have been unaware. Ibn Hāzīm (d. 456-1064) a well-known Muslim scholar of Cordova, in a passage in his *al-Fiṣal fil-Milāl*, which has been quoted by al-Suyūṭī in his *Tadribul-Rāwī*, had already dealt with the main points arrived at by the distinguished European Orientalists.

The Muslims having either borrowed the Isnad from the Jews or originated it like some other primitive peoples who preserved their religious and other teachings only in their memory, developed it a great deal and gave it a scientific basis by creating a vast literature on the life and character of the narrators and establishing the value of reliability of the various types of Isnad. This scientific literature of the Muslims, as Horowitz has pointed out, influenced the literature of the Jews. In it the Muslims take great pride; and to it Prof. Margoliouth refers when he says that they are justified in taking pride in their science of tradition.

The determination of the period when the system of Isnad was first applied to *Hadīth* is more important for its student, than its origin. About this again Cactani holds that its first appearance in *Hadīth* had not been earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century of the *Hijra*, about the middle of which it became an ordinary feature

of Hadith. But Horowitz writes that "Isnad in its primitive form was then somewhere about the 75 A.H.-694 A.D. already established and one has no right, merely because it appears incidentally in the letters, to deny it to 'Urwa (who according to Cactani never used Isnad) without further consideration of those Abadith supplied with statement of authorities for which he stands as sponsor. "Isnad," he adds, "was indeed already customary in his time but it was not yet an absolute necessity." In the absence of any literature of the early periods of Islam it is difficult to assign any definite date to the appearance of Isnad in Hadith. But there is no doubt that the period fixed for it by Horowitz is very near to what is claimed by the early Muslim traditionists.

The system having begun in connection with Hadith was extended by the Arabic authors to many other branches of Arabic literature like geography, history, belles-letters, etc. "There are works," says Prof. Margoliouth, "of which the subject-matter is so frivolous that one marvels at the trouble taken by the authors to record the name of each transmitter and the date and place at which he heard the narrative; an example is the 'Maṣāri-ul-'Ushshāq' of al-Sarrāj, a collection of cases wherein men and women are supposed to have died of love, where the author records, with minute accuracy, the date at which he heard the story and gives similar details of the transmitters."

PART TAKEN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE FAIR SEX.

The second important feature of Ḥadīth-literature is the prominent part taken by the members of the fair sex in the preservation and propagation of Ḥadīth.

There are few sciences in the development of which the members of the fair sex took more or less equal part with their brethren. The science of Ḥadīth is the most important and outstanding exception in this respect. Since the earliest history of Islam the women traditionists took prominent part in the evolution of Ḥadīth, and at every stage of the development of Ḥadīth-literature they took keen and lively interest in it. There lived at every period in its history numerous eminent lady traditionists and narrators of traditions before whom many of their eminent brethren bowed. Their names are found in abundance in various works on the Asmā'-al-Rijāl. The word Rijāl (men) in this connection should be noted to include the Nisa (women) just as it is used in the I. P. C. to include them.

Just after the death of the prophet of Islam 'A'isha his bride, had been the most prominent among the traditionists of her time. She had been one of the six largest reporters of traditions and instructed a large number of the students of tradition of her time, including the most eminent men-traditionists. After her death Ḥafṣa, Amra, Umm-al-Dardá' were considered as some of the most important custodians of knowledge. After their death every compiler of traditions, including Ahmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī reported traditions on the authority of some of the women traditionists. In the 5th century Karīma was taken as the best authority on the book of al-Bukhārī. With her died the great historian-traditionists of Baghād al-Khatīb-al-Baghdādī read the book. Fétima, a contemporary of Karīma, was also accepted as a great authority on traditions. In the 6th century of the Hijra, Shuhda of Spain was acknowledged as one of the greatest traditionists. Her lectures were attended by a large number of students ; many of them, because of her great reputation, falsely claimed to have read traditions with her. The 7th and 8th centuries of the Hijra had been particularly celebrated for a large number of lady traditionists whose names are mentioned by Ibn Hajar in his work dealing with the prominent persons of the 8th century. Zaynab-al-Sharī, Daqiqa, the daughter of Murshid, Zaynab, the daughter of Ahmad, 'A'isha the daughter of Muhammad, are only a few of the celebrated lady traditionists of the period who delivered lectures on various books and treatises on Ḥadīth and other connected subjects, which were attended by a large number of students including men as well as women. The autograph *sanads* in the manuscripts of al-Mashīkhatu Ma'al-Takhrij of the Kitāb-al-Kifāya and of the Majmua-fil-Ḥadīth which are preserved in the Oriental Public Library of Patna show that these books had been read over by various women traditionists to their students, men as well as women who attended these lectures together.

NEUTRALITY TO THE STATE.

Another important feature of Ḥadīth-literature, is its development without any help or encouragement by the Caliphs, Umayyad or Abbaside. Most of the important traditionists had been either ill-treated by those who reigned in the name of Islamic religion or, in their pious stoicism, refused and rejected their help if it was ever offered.

None of the compilers of the important and generally accepted standard collections of Ḥadīth received by us, from Málík the author of the Muwatta down to Ibn Māja the author of one of the Sunan works, ever received any post or purse from any of the Caliphs or their officials. Almost the whole of the important part of Ḥadīth-literature which we have received, developed only as a result of the spontaneous religious enthusiasm of the Muslim divines in spite of the Caliphs and their courtiers and officials.

DEVOTION AND EXACTITUDE OF THE TRADITIONISTS.

Few of the devotees of any other branch of literature in Arabic, or probably in any other language also, can rival with the devotees of traditions, in their sincere devotion to their subjects and exactitude with regard to it. All the various compilers of the different collections of Ḥadīth laboured hard and suffered immensely for the sake of knowledge. Their devotion to it has been described by some of the modern European Orientalists as 'fanatical.' Their efforts after exactitude which has been characterised by some other Orientalists as 'scrupulous' and 'slavish' had been unsurpassable. They laid down definite strict principles about the methods of learning, teaching and scribing traditions, for the guidance of the students as well as of the teachers of Ḥadīth.

Calcutta.

(Concluded)

LITERARY BASIS FOR REVIVAL OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

S. C. MUKERJEE, B.A. (G.D. ARCH.), A.I.I.A.

Revival of Indian architecture, since long, has been engaging the attention of architects and art critics. It is now universally acknowledged that the indigenous architecture existing or otherwise should be revived. The most patent objections which were raised against its introduction on the score of costliness and as to its adaptability have effectively been met with. A distinct change is apparent in the tendency of architecture in India, for the pseudo-European (or as Havell calls it, Anglo-Indian) style which has been prevalent since the commencement of British rule, seems to be losing ground day by day. A consciousness with regard to the national architecture is slowly appearing. Attempts are now being made to use traditional forms, obtained from interesting relics of the country. Most common features in the street picture of an Indian town to-day are a tiny bit of chajja (sloping cornice), a cusped or Ajanta arch, some distorted south-Indian column, a bracket from Guzerat, Delhi or Bijapore. But this is not all that is meant by a revival.

It is a very mistaken idea that application of some tiny feature willy-nilly from ancient monuments change the style, although when properly handled they are aids to the expression of a particular purpose. The details only do not make up a style, and to revive and resuscitate Indian architecture, one must absorb the spirit in which those ornaments or features have been used. Every architectural detail has some meaning, has a story to tell, a proper grasp of which ensures right application. Besides architectural features, the grouping in plan or elevation, the orientation (*i.e.*, the arrangement of blocks with reference to the prevailing direction of wind) should be on the basis of our Silpa-Sastras, which though hedged in circumlocutory expressions, give clear hints as to the points to be emphasised in a certain building. The disposition of blocks in storeyed mansions or arrangement of rooms therein, is as scientific as can be adopted with advantage for present-day building purposes. Certain parts are projected out, and by an orderly difference of height in them, a pleasing composition, symmetrical or asymmetrical, is obtained. In Vardhamana mansion,¹ a type of which is fit for Kshatriyas, it is suggested that blocks in the south and west should be four-storeyed, the east, north, and central blocks should consist of a single storey only.² The general proportion is determined by six simple rules known as Aya, Vyaya, etc.,³ for ascertaining length, breadth, etc. The main heights of a building are determined by proportions known as Sāntikas,⁴ Paushtikas⁵ etc. The right application of those established principles should be the aim of those who are striving for revival, and the superficial embellishments are to be subordinated, which have now become

¹ It is the largest of the six types of storeyed mansions according to *Mānasāra*.

² *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Vol. IV, P. K. Acharya, pp. 392-93.

³ *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, P. K. Acharya, pp. 606-11.

⁴ *Sāntika* (height)-Breadth.

⁵ *Paushtika* (height) = $1\frac{1}{2}$ Breadth.

the chief means with so-called *sthāpatya-viśāradas* to blind the public as to the true self of Indian architecture.

The existing relics of the country are too meagre to afford us a thorough and systematic study of the architecture we have in view to revive. The ravages of time, vandalism, and iconoclastic outrage have left but little to develop the lost art of the country on scientific lines. Hence, we shall have to fall back upon a chaotic mass of architectural literature to gather useful information for the purpose. For a scientific development, a proper survey of the extant relics on a comparative method to verify the principles of our *Silpa-Sāstras*, and a study of those of which there are authentic records in ancient works must be undertaken. There are innumerable references to wonderful architecture not found existing which will perhaps be lost to India for ever, if steps are not taken to revive them. One looks with wonder at the American skyscrapers but we had buildings up to eighteen storeys in height. The existing *Gopuras* (i.e., the gateways) to the temples in South-India are eight to nine storeys in height. The invention of flying machines had become a monopoly of the western nations, but in *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sutrādhāra* by Bhojarāja¹ (an architectural treatise of the 11th century) there is a vivid description of the machine. Dr. Barua in an article in the *Calcutta Review*² suggests that the motive force for those machines were heated mercury. The Indian system of town or village planning is certainly of an advanced order. Mr. Geddes among others strongly supports its adoption. The grand manner of planning which has been adopted for modern American towns is much like our system. The chess-board pattern treatment of ancient Chinese towns is very similar to what we obtain in the *Mānasāra* and other *Silpa-Sāstras*.³ It is however to be regretted that the City Improvement Trusts of this country seem to be slow and indifferent as to its adoption. The only notable example is the modern town of Joypur, where the layout is on the principle of our *Silpa-Sāstras* with some variation to suit the contour of the site.

It is for the right understanding of a particular style of architecture in all its bearing that the study of literature relating to it is absolutely necessary. What is called the South Indian style to-day is not perhaps devoid of a Syrian element, and in reviving the same (which is predominately a Hindu style) it is imperative that purer forms should be adopted, after eliminating incoherent foreign elements. The *Martanda* (sun) temple at Kashmir, a Hindu work of the eighth century, is an example where traces of Indo-Bactrian influence (perhaps entering by way of *Gāndhāra*) are observed. A very permanent Moslem impress has also been left on the domestic architecture of the place, on account of continued Mahomedan domination for several centuries. Now in order to revive the ancient local style, apart from literary guidance, we shall have to look forward to the adjoining valley of Kangra for purely indigenous forms to replace those features which have been thrust upon it from outside. It is therefore always deceptive to rely mainly upon a superficial survey of monuments for the purpose of revival.

¹ *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sutrādhāra*, edited by T. G. Sastri, Chap. 31.

² *Calcutta Review*, December, 1933, pp. 289-91.

³ Compare the *Prastara* type of village plan from *Architecture of Mānasāra* by P. K. Acharya, Vol. V (plate on *Prastara* village, Chap. VII), with the plan of the city of Suchau, p. 163, Vol. II. Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*, 3rd edition.

There are other aspects equally important connected with the revival. A careful study of the system of construction and use of materials with the help of Sanskrit texts available on the subject should be undertaken. The existing monuments give some idea of the method of construction but that is not sufficient for our purpose. It will be necessary to study and compare the different texts relating to the subject to understand the scientific significance of the various methods adopted in olden days. Experiment with material must be carried on to standardise their use in the light of modern practice. Indian plaster and mortar (components of which vary in different texts) are proverbially strong and adhesive, as a result of which walls not very massive stand even to-day. Collection and seasoning of wood which have been treated in detail in most of the texts, may be accepted as a better process, as woodwork, three or four centuries old, is in a fairly good condition. Craftsmanship in wood as found in Guzerat and upper Deccan is excellent indeed and can be favourably compared with the best Chinese works of the Tang and succeeding dynasties. The method of joinery in wood and stone is so simple and effective that there is hardly any reason for us to copy from other sources and, proper direction being given, craftsmen will be able to follow this. There is an elaborate ritual with regard to the ceremony of laying foundation but the priests now-a-days, on account of their sheer ignorance of the Śāstras,¹ offer puja to Dakṣiṇa Kālīka² only. As a matter of fact, there is a presiding deity for each and every part of the site and it is obligatory on the Sthapati or his agent to offer puja to each of them. The old and neglected building practices are to be revived and modified where necessary to fit in with the modern practice. Thus in matters of construction also literary directions are of considerable importance.

There are many beautiful and well-preserved remains of Indo-Moslem architecture, claim of which for revival is equally strong. Here again the help of literature must be sought for. Of course it may be argued that certain principles or rules can be deduced from a survey of the existing monuments of the style but they will be hardly sufficient for the purpose. It is considered that Moslem architectural literature is rather scanty but research in this direction is still in its infancy. Briggs's, Rivoira's³ and others have worked on this subject but there is hardly anything, particularly about the Indo-Moslem style, in their works. Only the Archaeological Survey of India publications attempted to deal with the subject. But the authority of most of these works is the standing edifice upon which they make their own observations with appended historical notes. They have in solitary instances attempted to go into original texts in support of their contention and hence can hardly be relied upon. The manuscripts *Gour-i-Amīr* and *Amāl-i-Sāleh* which deal with important works of Persia and the bordering places (the latter refers to the Taj specially) deserve particular mention.⁴ At the present state of our knowledge Moslem architectural texts seem to be scanty.

¹ Besides works solely devoted to architecture, these rituals are to be found in the *Puranas* (*Matsya* and *Agni*) and *Āgamas* (*Suprabhedha*, *Kāmika*, and *Kāraṇa*).

² An incarnation of *Śakti* (Kālī) worshipped in Bengal.

³ Briggs, *Architecture of Syria and Palestine*; Rivoira of *Moslem Architecture*.

⁴ "What India owes to Central Asia in Islamic Architecture" in *Islamic Culture* Jan., 1934.

Regarding Hindu architecture, there is an unsystematised mass of literature in works of Astronomy, History (Puranas) and Religion besides several important texts written particularly on the subject. It will certainly pave the way smooth for revival if the laborious and irksome task of collecting and editing these with notes and illustrations be undertaken. The history of English Renaissance tells us that architects not only loaded their portfolios with sketches and measured drawings of Greek and Roman buildings but also the Latin work of Vitruvius, the father of classic architecture, appeared in different European languages within a short period. For an Indian renaissance, methods similar to those followed by the European architects of the period should necessarily be adopted. Hence, apart from a study of the existing monuments, the literary basis is one of the fundamentals which cannot be ignored if Indian architecture is to be revived and have an honoured place in the history of architecture of the world.

Miscellany

[*Halting Recovery in American Economy* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)—*Kautalya in Buddhist Perspectives* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)—*Japanese Shipping Economics* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)]

HALTING RECOVERY IN AMERICAN ECONOMY

It takes years to raise an economic recovery to the peak as it takes years to bring an economic depression to the bottom. We have become quite conscious of, or rather disgusted with this tedious process of getting back to the "normal" state of things during the last two years, first, in regard to the price of jute and, secondly, in regard to the gold-position. The story of recovery from every country to-day is the same. Nowhere do we find "roses, roses all the way." The course of recovery is generally considered to be dramatic in the U.S.A. And yet even in that country businessmen, economists and politicians have long given up the hopes of a speedy normalization. The halting, nay, almost provocatively slow processes, constitute the chief topic of discussion among business connoisseurs and persons adept in the handling of conjunctures and economic barometers, for instance, those connected with the *Nation's Business*.

It is very interesting that not even the most optimistic fortune-tellers of the stock exchanges and horoscopists of the economic cycle are venturing to predict today a really worthwhile consummation until 1937.

It is still the consensus of most technical Washington observers, of the non-political variety, that business in 1935, measured by a number of different standards, mainly industrial production, will be somewhat better than in 1934, but not much better, not spectacularly better.

The picture ahead looks like this. A spring peak in early spring, then a gradual but not a critical decline of business activity through the late spring and early summer—a little more than the let-down normally expected at that time of year, then a late fall upturn of moderate proportions. Thus there has been no sustained boom in 1935. Also no collapse, no big crisis.

Public expenditures will help sustain business, will keep it from going too far backward, but will not give it much of a definite push forward.

Recovery is a relative thing, and there are many ways of looking at it. There is no doubt that recovery has been under way for nearly two years.

We have now reached the stage in the business cycle where general business upturn can come only when durable goods have turned upward.

By "durable goods" is meant anything which will last from five years up—automobiles, electrical appliances, refrigerators, houses, and the things which go to make houses, also industrial equipment, steel, rails, locomotives, heavy construction projects, and the like.

The contrast with consumer goods is clear. There cannot be as much gain in consumer goods in the next couple of years as in the past couple of years, say the American experts. Most of the improvement to date has been in consumer goods—stuff which people buy to eat, or wear, or consume at once. Those trades and industries which are "feeling good," which don't understand the continued depression, are lines which make or sell consumer goods, or which depend on them.

In the line of consumer goods Unemployment and relief rolls are about as high now as a year ago. Even with the best of luck on government work relief, the actual purchasing power of the masses cannot be increased much within the next year. Thus, there seems to be no hope of anything like upturn in business based on upturn of consumer goods.

Gains in 1935 will be one-third due to consumer goods, perhaps, and two-thirds to durable goods.

Among industries, new expenditures for durable or capital goods will be largely of the defensive type. Factories will replace obsolete machines, not with the purpose of expansion, but with the idea of bringing production costs down.

These expenditures will not be of spectacular proportions, because, they will come out of surplus, not out of new issues to any great extent.

Housing cannot get going on a big scale in 1935. This refers to private construction of homes, rather than to government construction. The modernization movement will progress well, but the totals will not be great, will not supply the deficiency in the construction lines.

Government efforts to reform home mortgage financing are good, in the right direction, but it will take a year or more to make the effect felt strongly in actual new home construction. It takes time.

Automobiles will have a moderately good year, but the current enthusiastic talk about automobiles as the force to pull people out of depression is now at peak and will subside within a few months.

Electrical equipment and supplies ought to do relatively well, better than most durable goods lines, due largely to government boosting efforts. Air conditioning is a big new industry for the future, but it will take a number of years yet for development.

Railroad purchases will be very moderate. There is much talk about big buying by railroads, with R. F. C., financing, but those who know the inside of the railroad situation feel that buying will be limited to the "must" articles.

Steel production, it would seem cannot be much more than ten per cent. better in 1935 than in 1934.

Government regulations have been tempered and there is no doubt of some expansion of new capital issues, considerable amounts of refinancing. This will be good, but within well informed quarters there is no expectation of any great rise of new capital issues before late in the year.

The budget is unbalanced for the year ending the middle of 1936.

Under these circumstances, inflation is bound to win, for the public always likes inflation while it is on the up. It seems so easy, so stimulating, so beneficial. The politicians who advocate it seem so much more plausible than their long-faced opponents who must go back into history to prove that inflation has its morning after.

To balance the budget in 1936 is politically out of the question. To balance it in 1937 would mean drastic curtailment of the dispensation of public funds (for public works and relief) on the eve of an election. Or it would mean some tremendous increase in taxes, also on election eve. To the political mind, neither is thinkable.

Sometime, somehow, new tricks may be devised by the Government, plausible at the time, perhaps welcomed by the public, but leading inevitably to some form of credit inflation,—the kind of inflation which raises prices and creates speculative business excesses.

Credit inflation is the expansion of bank deposits, of "bank money," due mainly to government borrowings, which are transformed into bank credit.

As for currency inflation, the printing of new quantities of paper money, the chances are that it will not be done, despite numerous pending bills for it, and despite the big push of the inflationary bloc in Congress. Farm mortgages will not be refinanced by new currency. The bonus will not be paid in greenbacks.

Taxes, of course, must be increased. When and how much ? Uncertain. Officials up to the present have talked of business boom next year, 1936, and of rising activity and profits, which, with existing levels of tax rates, would raise ample revenues and make a start toward budget balancing, they said. Now, however, the expectations of business boom are more moderate ; consequently the estimates of revenue receipts are smaller.

There will be a new tax bill in Congress this session, at issue in May and June. It will surely extend most of the excise taxes which otherwise would expire in June. There is about a 50-50 chance that it will also impose new excise taxes on selected commodities or lines, thus raising the tax revenues next year.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

KAUTALYA IN BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVES

So far as literary evidences are concerned, it is *vis-à-vis* (1) Panini, (2) Patanjali, (3) the *Kamasutra*, (4) *Tantrakhyayika*, (5) the *Panchatantra*, (6) the *Yajnavalkya Smriti*, (7) the *Manu Samhita*, (8) the *Raghuvamsha*, (9) the *Sakuntala*, (10) the *Dasakumara Charita*, (11) the *Puranas*, (12) the *Kamandakiniti*, (13) the *Brihat Samhita*, (14) the *Charaka Samhita*, (15) the *Mudrarakshasa*, etc., that the orientations of the *Arthasastra* were investigated up till now. These are all Sanskritic and "Hindu" sources. A few Jaina sources were also studied, namely, the (1) *Nitivakyamrita*, (2) the *Nandi Sutta*, (3) *Anuyogadvara*.

The Buddhist and Pali sources had been neglected. Hopkins's reference to the *Jatakas* was very slight. New lights, therefore, have been thrown on the Kautalya question by the publication of H. E. Johnston's paper on 'Two Studies in the *Arthasastra* of Kautalya' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London) for January, 1929, because here the perspectives are derived from Buddhist sources, namely, (1) the works of Asvaghosa (second century A.C. ?) (2) Aryasura's *Jataka Mala* (fourth century A.C. ?) and (3) the *Lankavatara-sutra* (fourth century A.C. ?)

It is to be understood, however, that the dates of these Buddhist texts are in any case as questionable as those of the "Hindu" and Jaina texts mentioned above. Altogether, we encounter once more the eternal problem of Indian chronology,—namely, the ascertainment of an unknown with reference to another unknown or questionable.

Let us begin with Johnston's general orientations. On the one hand, he would not care to read into the *Arthasastra* the "ideas of a great statesman or a deep political thinker." On the other hand, he believes that "half its value is missed by treating it as the pedantic theories of a Pandit." In his judgment it is "in essence the work of a practical administrator" whose interest in political theories does not go beyond the considerations of the "King's advantage." The *Arthasastra* is, besides, alleged to be "unfettered by moral or religious prejudices except in so far as their existence in others affects the execution of policy."

In his *Saundarananda* Asvaghosa uses the concept of the "conquest of the earth," says Johnston. But the doctrine of *vijigishu* or world-conqueror in the chauvinistic sense was not used with the alleged "relentless logic" in Asvaghosa's days as in the days of Kautalya. In Johnston's logic Asvaghosa must therefore be earlier than Kautalya.

But this interpretation is questionable. One might perhaps argue, on the contrary, that although the Kautalyan category was already there

Asvaghosa's personal message happened to be different from, nay, the opposite of Kautalya's. Hence to the one it was very subsidiary while to the other it was a prominent item in thought. May be, even the same category of world-conquest was used in a humane manner by Asvaghosa while in Kautalya's mentality it was perhaps nothing but a creed of alleged self-aggrandisement of the most materialistic dye.

From the analysis of philosophical doctrines it is never safe to argue about their chronological relations. Let us take a historical fact. It was during the epoch of "pacifistic" propaganda by Sakya the Buddha's followers that Chandragupta Maurya knew how to organize his legions and consummate his *divijaya*. Sakya's teachings may have been unknown or unnoteworthy to the officials of the Maurya "general staff." This does not prove that the Buddha or his followers were later in time than Chandragupta Maurya or mere nonentities on any count.

Johnston does not likewise seem to be taking a commonsense view when he believes that in his *Buddhacharita* Asvaghosa might have seized the opportunity to condemn the *Realpolitik*, so to say, of the Kautalyan *Arthasastra*, had this latter treatise been known to be a "standard work" by this time.

As suggested above, the situation might be entirely otherwise. In other words the alleged Kautalyan chauvinism and cult of self-aggrandisement may have been quite dominant in the philosophical milieu of Hindustan for a number of centuries. But not everybody cared to take interest in it or to have the inspiration to condemn it,—not, at any rate, the professors of Sakyan cult of humanitarianism, Asokan *Dhamma* and so forth. The world was pluralistic enough for both the Asvaghosan and the Kautalyan strands of life and thought. From the indifference of Asvaghosa in regard to Kautalya we can infer nothing as to the chronological relations between the two. We understand simply that neither in *Saundarananda* nor in *Buddhacharita* are we to find the characteristic messages of the *Arthasastra*. To-day, for instance, every power in Eur-America and Asia is keeping its gun powder dry although a dominant political and moral philosophy of the hour is to be seen in the cult of world-peace, disarmament and what not. The philosophers of militaristic energism are plying their trade merrily although anti-militaristic preachings over the radio are frequent.

In *Aryasura's Jataka Mala* Johnston detects certain tenets which seem to be like those of Kautalya. The phrase *nitikautilyaprasangesu* used by Aryasura has been supposed to contain Kautalya's name. According to Johnston, therefore, "it is quite certain that Aryasura knew the *Arthasastra* of Kautalya and that in his day it was regarded as the standard work."

Unfortunately the passages cited indicate nothing more than a moralist's "shortest way" with politics. And as it is the object of the writer to condemn just those aspects of *Khattavijja* or *Ksatriyavidya*, the *Kastriya* science, or politics which deal with diplomatic manoeuvres, double dealings, intrigues, etc., the common noun *nitikautilya* has been used. No person need be understood here as a matter of course and there is no question of the *Arthasastra* being a standard book or even a book in the time of Aryasura.

Nitikautilya is crookedness of policy. It is not identical with *Kautilya-niti* (politics or political science or statecraft). There is no presumption to think that either a book or an author is meant here. Even if *Kautilyaniti* had been used by Aryasura one might suspect perhaps that we had here a sly hit at the book or the author or both. But in *nitikautilya* no suggestion along those lines can be automatically entertained.

However, Johnston's interpretations bring the *Arthashastra* between Asvaghosa of the second century A. C. and Aryasura of the fourth century. A. C. The lower limit of its composition can hardly be later than 250 A. C., says he.

The *Lankavatara-sutra* has an appendix of 884 slokas which belongs to the fifth century A. C. In the prophecy about future *risis* that are to arise, the appendix mentions them in the following order : (1) Panini, (2) Katyayana, (3) Yajñavalkya, (4) Valmiki, (5) Masuraksa, (6) Kautilya, (7) Asvalayana and (8) the scion of the Sakyas.

The mention of Kautilya in the fifth century list of *risis* without reference to the Mauryas leads Johnston to the following conclusion; Visnugupta Kautilya, the author of the *Arthashastra*, was a different person from the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, whose name perhaps was Chanakya.

This line of reasoning is not long followed by Johnston. One finds that it is arbitrary. In any case he hastens to conclude that the lower limit of the composition of the *Arthashastra* is certainly not later than about 250 A. C., and that the upper limit is perhaps the beginning of the Christian era.

Incidentally it is to be observed that Masuraksa is known as the author of *Nitisastra* in the Tibetan Tanjur. This work, be it noted further, is placed in that list "just after a slightly longer work called both *Chanakya nitisastra* and *Chanakya rajanitisastra*."

Johnston has approached the *Arthashastra* not only from the perspective of Buddhist ideology but also from that of administrative experience. He believes that "Kautilya's attitude comes naturally in fact to all who have been engaged in administrative work." And on the strength of such experience he has attempted explanations of certain passages on land tenure and agriculture which need not be discussed in this context. But it is worth while to observe that he finds himself unable to accept the theories set out in Breloer's *Kautiliya-Studien I. Das Grundeigentum in Indien* (Bonn 1927). His disagreement with Breloer on certain issues is radical.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

JAPANESE SHIPPING ECONOMICS

The progress of Japan in the shipping industry is an important phenomenon of recent years. And this is intimately connected with her industrial and commercial expansion. According to the reports published by the *Oriental Economist* it appears that among the many indices of economic recovery in the world-economy none is more important than the Japanese activities in the shipping world.

The main cause is the high-speed development of all branches of Japanese industry and the consequently brisk movements, both ways, of raw materials and finished merchandise. Last year's volume of foreign trade in both directions represented a 80% increase, giving employment to a far larger number of deep-sea vessels than in other years, and this had a beneficial effect on the near-sea (coasting) trade through a reduced supply of bottoms.

Besides being indicative of decided improvement in all departments of shipping activity last year over the previous year, the tabulations clearly disclose the fact that charter rates far outstripped freight rates in their upward movement. Under the circumstances, not only the tonnage of chartered foreign vessels, chiefly Chinese, gained at a rapid pace, but a general cry

was rising among shipping operators for a removal of the ban on foreign-ship imports.

The development is symptomatic both of boom shipping conditions and of a dearth in the supply of tonnage to a harmful degree. Dearth of tonnage is attested by complete absence of any idle tonnage even in these days of worldwide shipping stagnation. Many in shipping circles are already advocating at least a partial lifting of the ship import ban. These men contend that along with the enforcement of the Ship Improvement Law, ship import regulation has been largely accountable for the present prosperity. Its continuation is undoubtedly desirable. But another side to the question is the fact that Japanese operators are having recourse to foreign vessels aggregating 200,000 tons, evidencing an under-supply of bottoms. To obtain relief from the prevailing situation, modification of the ship import regulation has been in progress. Shipping opinion rather seems to favour of such a sentiment increasingly.

After protracted departmental negotiations the Government is now ready to give effect to the second Ship Improvement Measure, for which the direct incentive, of course, has been the encouraging result shown by the first one. The new measure provides that 30 yen be granted as subsidy for every ton of a superior ship built, and every ton of an old one scrapped. New tonnage to be constructed according to this plan is to be 50,000 tons and the law is to be in force for one year. It is clear that, like the previous one, the new measure will do much toward breaking up small and medium-size obsolete ships and toward adding many superior vessels to the Japanese merchant marine. Applications have already been filed in sufficient measure to fill up the prescribed tonnage, as follows: By the Nippon Yusen Kaisha for three 7000-ton vessels to be placed in its European service; the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, two ships of 7,000 tons each, also for European service; and the Mitsui Bushan Kaisha for two 7000-ton ships of special construction.

While the law is effective only for a year, the chances are for the legislation to be renewed so as to make it virtually a semi-permanent law.

Arguments by shipping corporations for subsidized building may obtain Government endorsement in view of the fact that Great Britain and other nations are now inclined to a vigorous merchant-shipping expansion policy by state subsidy.

Netherlands Indies-Japan shipping negotiations, a matter of outstanding importance for the future of Japanese shipping, have not made any progress to warrant a forecast. A successful conclusion, it is needless to say, should exercise a stabilizing influence on Japanese shipping activities.

Shipping prosperity is more than ever dependent on foreign trade conditions, domestic industrial activity, movements of foreign exchange, etc. In this respect President Kenkichi Kagami of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha made the following observation: "The outlook for 1935 shipping trade, it appears, is for a slightly less pronounced activity than in the year 1934. Unless some new constructive factors loom up, a recovery in world trade (the fundamental influence on shipping activity) will be difficult to attain, specially in view of the worldwide application of quota systems, contingent foreign exchange control, and other trade impediments whose efficacy should begin to manifest itself during the current year." Japanese trade prospects are said to be not encouraging. The higher costs of imported raw materials and a rise in commodity prices at home are tending to contract exports and lead to a retrogression in import activity also.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Yalmiki Ramayana condensed in the Poet's own words—Text in Devanagari and English Translation by Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A., with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL.D. published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Price Re. 1, 4 as.

This is an abridged version of the *Rāmāyana* executed with great caution and industry. The bulk has been reduced without jeopardising the connection or continuity of the story. As the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri points out in the Foreword, "no vestiges are visible of the dismemberment, no transfusion from a foreign organism, no prose links, no variation from the *anushtubh* metre." A plain narrative of the *Rāmāyana*, with a direct appeal, has been sought to be set before us; the varying sentiments that rise do not cease to be effective even without the artificial devices of ornament, so necessary for poetic excellence. The reader is put face to face with the inherent beauty of the form and is saved the obsession that the glittering garb inflicts. Yet the effect is hardly diminished. The reader is made to do his own thinking instead of being forced to follow the only course of the poet's thought.

S. N. M.

The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, with comparative notes on Plains Bhuiyas by Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A. (Man in India office, Ranchi, 1935, pp. 320 ; and Appendix of Anthropometrical measurements by Rameschandra Roy, M.Sc.).

The author, the well known veteran ethnographer of Chhota Nagpur, is to be congratulated on his 'fifth monograph on the aboriginal tribes of the Central Hill belt of India where he is working for the last twenty-five years.' Anybody who has had occasion to deal with his earliest works, still practically the only monographs of tribes like the Mundas, will appreciate the steady growth in intensity and depth, accuracy of observation and scientific presentation in the later works. In fact this work can be compared very favourably with such outstanding classics as on the Veddas or the Todas or the Andamanese.

First of all the discarded theory of the identity of the aboriginal Bhuiya tribes with the Baro-Bhuiyas is dealt with by him in brief. The chapter on 'Racial Affinities' takes up the previous suggestions of their affinities with 'Buis' of Madras by Campbell or with the 'Coles' as suggested by Stirling or with the 'Savaras' as noticed by Dalton. He mentions several cultural traits which this tribe possesses in common with the Mundas such as the cult of the ancestral spirits, several types of marriage, the village and kinship organization and classes it with the 'Munda tribes of the Central Belt of India' and not with the Dravidian-speaking tribes of the South. But with the hundred measurements taken by his son, a brilliant graduate in Anthropology, which are very nicely and statistically tabulated, naturally some co-efficient of Racial correlations worked out would have solved the problem more satisfactorily.

The anthropometric data as analysed show a dominant dolichocephalic platyrrhine type and one would have liked to know what groups it will fit in view of Zuckermann's recent revival of Risley's Northern and Southern Dravidian types or Eickstedt's proposal to distinguish between a Melanid Race and a Gondid Race in this tract.

The economic life and material culture of this tribe who still kindle fire by twirling fire-sticks and eke out a crude livelihood by collecting edible roots or fruits and a shifting cultivation in an inhospitable environment, is well described. Some attempts at correlation of economic types of life and their political organisation or the ecological nature of the material culture would have made the chapter complete. The ethnographic descriptions of marriage, disposal of the dead, religion and magic and folk-lore bring out the author at his best. So also a village consisting of the theoretical descendants of one ancestor with the priest Dieuri or Diuri coming from the elder branch and a Naik or Pradhan, the secular headman, coming from a younger branch, leads one to suspect the existence of a submerged dual organisation. Thus for matrimonial purposes the villages are grouped into *kutumb* (relatives) who do not intermarry amongst themselves but seek brides from the other moiety, the *bandhu* (friend) villages—a sort of territorial bifurcation. There is also a distinct splitting of relationship terms into 'baru' (father's side) and *māru* (mother's side) relations. Here, as in his previous monograph, the great ethnographer has drawn attention to the similarity of these tribes with the Melanesian Pentecost islanders and the Australian Dieris in joking relations between grandparents and grandchildren and the brilliant conjecture of Radcliffe Browne that the Melanesian, Australian and Dravidian (pre-Dravidian?) have ultimately diverged out of a common root-stock, should be tested by detailed analysis of an area of which the Rai Bahadur's first-hand knowledge is unrivalled and which has time and again evoked Australian comparisons.

Besides this functional bifurcation into priestly and headman groups in each village and grouping of the villages into two matrimonial groups, there is an interesting territorial grouping of the villages into groups of three, five, seven or thirty-two for administrative purposes known as 'Bārs' which constitute the council of village elders in the '*Bār-Panchāyets*.' The influence of religion as a controlling factor in the social organisation has been very clearly brought out and so also the distinction between the cultures of the Hill Bhuiyās and the more hinduised Plains Bhuiyās. The keynote of the culture of the former is stated to be the desire of placing himself in harmonious relations with his human neighbours and with the invisible supernatural world.' A Dravidian element is also said to have entered probably into the racial composition of the Plains Bhuiyās but they have more affinities with the Pani Bhuiyās of the hills. Ethnographers will welcome this fine succinct account of a people who were once dominant in the Keonjhar, Pal Lahera and Bonai States.

P. MITRA.

Science and Monism, by W. P. D. Wightman, M.Sc., Ph.D., Foreword by Sir Percy Nunn, M.A., D.Sc., Litt.D., LL.D., George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London., 15s. net.

No better apology could be conceived for the appearance of a book of this kind than the one made by Sir Percy Nunn in the *Foreword*. "In the intellectual life of our age there is nothing more striking, nor perhaps more significant, than the way in which Science and Philosophy, after a long

period of estrangement, have come together again and renewed their ancient comradeship. In such an atmosphere Dr. Wightman's book should have a ready welcome. For it is an able and thorough study of one of those great ideas that have inflamed the imagination and guided the inquiries both of philosophers and of men of science since the history of thought began, and is written with a breadth of competence which not many students could achieve." Having gone through the different chapters, we are readily inclined to endorse the statement *in toto*.

What has inspired this volume is the author's "belief that the time was ripe for a reinvestigation of the problem, as old as science itself, of the unity of nature" (*Preface*, p. 11). Assuredly, this discovery is as happy as it is opportune. It is a patent fact that efforts at philosophical synthesis have been, during the last century, mostly in a minor key. But a century's accumulation of scientific materials has once more set the inquiring mind on the way to philosophic construction—to envisage, in particular, "the problem of whether the scientific world-picture encourages us to adopt a monistic philosophy" (*ibid*). He does not, however, ignore or minimise the difficulties that stand in the way. For one thing he is right in declaring that at the present day the accumulation of scientific knowledge is so rapid and the esteem in which it is held so high, that its so-called "facts are often removed from their context and used to "prove" the validity of some philosophical belief to which they have no *immediate* relevance (*ibid*). Accordingly, "the hope of the future," he opines, "lies in a greater emphasis being placed upon the *history* of concepts." Agreeably to this conviction, the first part of the book pursues 'the History of the Monistic concept' through the 'classical period,' the 'Middle Ages and the Renaissance' to 'the Birth of Modern Science and Philosophy' as registered in the 'Realistic Monism Before Haeckel.' He considers in this connection the historical significance of the 'unqualified monism' of Spinoza, and 'the failure of Spinozism' in procuring for it a well-reasoned metaphysical status. For as against Descartes whose method was 'synthetic'—his argument proceeding from 'I' to the universe,—Spinoza "leapt intuitively to the idea of his synthesis, '*Deus sive natura*,' the working out of which proceeded analytically down to individual things" (p. 66). While we may unquestionably "regard Spinoza's philosophy as the most comprehensive and daring flight of man's unifying imagination,"—as "the inevitable starting-point of every future substantial monism,"—its "failure to achieve this without the collocation of an attributive dualism is a salutary warning to his successors." Further, it has through this signal failure of his demonstrated that the essential hollowness of all substantial monisms whose substance is characterised by what Professor Whitehead calls the "baseless metaphysical doctrine of undifferentiated endurance" (*Process and Reality*, p. 107) can be avoided by a reshaped form of the conception of substance as the *prius* of all other concepts' (p. 108).

Part II reviews 'the monistic tendencies in Science' down to the end of the Nineteenth century—particularly, the essential aspects of the historical development of those scientific facts upon which the superstructure of nineteenth century Science was raised. Part III institutes an enquiry into the 'Data and Concepts of Natural Science,' such as the laws of nature, the notion of causality and the validity of Induction. The main purpose of Part II is to establish 'the Unity of Matter,' the 'Unity of Natural Forces,' manifesting themselves in gravitation, heat, light, magnetism and electricity, etc., and finally the 'Unity of Life' as revealing itself in the 'Unity of Living Substance,' the 'Unity of Growth and Activity,' the 'Unity

of Origin,' and the 'Unity of the Living and the Non-Living.' The arguments adduced in this regard are far too technical to be examined here. But the point that has been conclusively established by the cumulative force of evidences is that "Natural Science is conceptual thinking" (p. 260). Accordingly, Part III, initiates an epistemological discussion regarding the value and validity of the 'data' and concepts of Natural Science—which is clearly focalised in the concluding reflection that 'the mere fact that a belief *does* work over a sufficiently wide field of experience is in itself a proof of its partaking of the nature of, though not identical with absolute truth' (p. 300). Now, on the basis of these findings Part IV essays a synthetic construction—not in the shape of demonstrable conclusions, but of speculative hints regarding "the *kind* of monism which the present state of science permits us to envisage" (*Preface*, p. 12). Conformably thereto, our author presses, 'beyond matter,' "beyond energy" of Natural Science, and inspires us in the end with "strong hope that the goal to which it is approaching is the one which has been the starting-point of many speculative philosophers.....the ONE in which *natura naturans* expresses itself eternally as *natura naturata* ; where the misted hills and the atoms composing them are alike real, alike limited by partaking of duration ; where the mind of man will at length understand, as his love *sub specie æternitatis* has always felt that

The One remains, the many change and pass ;
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly ;
Life like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity."

S. K. DAS.

Studies in the Land Economics of Bengal, by Sachin Sen, M.A. B.L., with a foreword by the Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Kt., The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta., Price Rs. 6, pp. 402.

In spite of the fact that the predominant bias of modern India is towards greater industrialisation it cannot be denied that rural economics is still the dominant fact in our life. It is, however, unfortunately true that until now Indian economists have not yet paid that amount of attention to land economics as the importance of the subject demands. The result of this neglect is to be found in the numerous propagandist literature that has been published on the subject from the day Permanent Settlement was an accomplished fact. There was a time when the Permanent Settlement was a live issue in current politics and it was no less a person than Mr. R. C. Dutta who had to take the cudgel on behalf of the permanently settled estates and advocate the extension of the principle of permanent settlement as an insurance against famine. Lord Curzon's Government however gave a quietus to the controversy by his fiat that under no circumstances permanent settlement would be extended to other provinces. The famous 1902 resolution of the Government of India marks perhaps a definite swing of official opinion against the Permanent Settlement and since that time we have side by side the two systems of land tenure to judge as to the comparative merits of each in the national economy. It cannot indeed be denied that the comparative wealth of the Bengal ryot and the middle classes and their greater taxable capacity are due to the operation of the Permanent Settlement. From the Government point of view even, it is to be noted that Bengal might have paid less in the shape of land revenue but she has

more than counterbalanced the deficit by paying more income-tax, customs duties and stamp duties. As a matter of fact, barring Bombay, Bengal is the only province in India where the incidence of taxation per capita is the highest. Mr. Sen rightly points out that "the inelasticity of the land revenue in the province has been amply compensated for by the contributions of the province under other heads. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is a fact that interference with the Permanent Settlement regulations may increase the land revenue but would affect stamp, income-tax and customs receipts (p. 72). It was indeed an addition of insult to injury when in justification of the inequities of the Meston Award Bengal was told that she must pay for the inelasticity of land revenue due to Permanent Settlement.

Was the Permanent Settlement a blunder? Mr. Sen puts the problem in its proper perspective when he reminds us that "our agricultural problems are not bound up with the question of ownership; they lie deeper and a more scientific approach to the question is desired. It is no doubt true that the Bengal zemindar did not prove equal to the high expectations of the authors of Permanent Settlement. The statement that 'the zemindars rose to the occasion; they extended agriculture, they saw to the interests of the ryots, they converted lands into economic holdings, in short they brought about peace and prosperity in the land' (p. 86), would however be disputed by many. Bengal has paid a very dear price for the evil of absentee landlordism for which the Permanent Settlement and the ring of intermediaries in land ownership that followed must be held liable to a considerable extent. Mr. Sen has indeed raised a very important point in favour of the landlord when he tries to put the whole blame for the indifference of the zemindar to tenancy legislation that has been introduced since the eighties of the last century. "Before the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 the landlord was the dominant partner. The landlord was responsible for many improvements; he sunk capital in drainage, land reclamation and other necessary improvements and relief works. But now legislation has relegated the landlord to the position of a receiver of rent. His power of control is negligible, low returns or no returns on the investment in agriculture have made capital extremely shy. The landlord's powers have been crippled, so his interest has slackened." Mr. Sen would go further in his drive against tenancy legislation—"The Bengal Tenancy Act is not a measure for the improvement of land; it has taken away the powers of the landlords on the plea of protesting the welfare of the ryots and it has managed also to screw more revenue under stamps by promising to decide every dispute in court." It is no doubt a fact that litigation is one of the indirect results of tenancy legislation and that in the duel that has inevitably followed between the landlord and the tenant for the ownership of the land the interest in the improvement of land has been forgotten. It is a pity that Mr. Sen did not pursue the point further and rests content with a mere assertion made in the introduction of his book in such an important matter like this. The tenancy legislation is an open recognition of the principle that the welfare of the ryots is the concern of the state and the advocates of this measure stressed its necessity on the ground that the zemindar had proved indifferent to the real needs of the tenants. Mr. Sen tries to prove the other way about, that much of the indifference that is ascribable to the zemindars was due to tenancy legislation. There is no doubt a vicious circle about the whole affair in a measure which is essentially a compromise between two opposite principles some evil is bound to follow. Mr. Sen would have certainly done real justice to the cause of

the landlords had he made tenancy legislation the subject matter of a special study and devoted a separate chapter to this all-important aspect of our land economics. There is already much uneasy talk about the nationalisation of land by publicists with the communists in the rear. The Government had also made a further encroachment into the rights of the landlords in their "Rural Development Bill" which is now on the legislative anvil. Not a session of the Bengal Legislative Council passes without a heated debate attacking the Permanent Settlement. In the controversy the essential fact is forgotten that "the land system on the basis of the Permanent Settlement has taken a deep root in the country; the economic and social structures of the country are broadbased on the system and any change thereof would prejudicially affect the entire rural organisation" and bring about a veritable revolution. The Bengali middle class with its culture and virile outlook on life is perhaps the best justification of the Permanent Settlement.

Mr. Sen has devoted six chapters out of seven to the elucidation and evaluation of the position of the landlord as he is the "dominant partner" in our land economics. The ryot has also been allotted a big chapter where many of the schemes for agricultural betterment suggested by the various Commissions and Committees beginning from the Royal Commission of Agriculture have been analysed. The need for the provision of cheap credit facilities to the ryot, the need for marketing, the problem of public health, transport, dead rivers of Bengal, water hyacinth, road development and the growth of uneconomic holdings have been analysed with a view to suggest a scheme for the betterment of the condition of the ryot.

Mr. Sen's studies are scholarly and the publication of the book is timely. The main interest in this useful publication is to be found in the fact that unlike the usual monographs on the land question it is not merely a research work; the author is fully alive to the necessity of making his studies up to date and suggesting solutions which are of current interest. Mr. Sen may find many to disagree with his main points. But he will find a great many more to thank him heartily for introducing life into a question which was the particular delight of research workers merely and for bringing a scholarly mind into a burning question of the day.

B. R. BISWAS

Secrets of Successful Teaching by Corrie (*née* Gordon) Fearon, p. 122, Srinivas Varadachari, Madras, 1934, Re. 1-4-0.

Mrs. Fearon is known to educators in India for her earlier writings on children's education and especially a handy co-operative volume on Elementary School Teaching published several years ago by the Oxford University Press under her supervision. The matter of the present volume under review formed the basis of a series of lectures to the senior students of the Froebel Training College, London, and several chapters of the book were included in the College Magazine. The work has been undertaken as an answer to the request of students of the Training College who often come to the authoress for some practical advice "on the eve of their leaving to take up a post."

The book is no doubt a good introduction for teachers and laymen who are interested in childhood education. It is hardly to be of much use to those who have already undergone a course of systematic training

in any recognised training institution. The sound practical hints included in its pages are fragmentary in character and though the writer has spared no pains to make her themes interesting with illustrations drawn from her own experience in India and England, she has not been able to do full justice to such topics as "What is in a name." "I dis-remember," "Mr. Faint-heart." The writer should have done well if she had given (i) more hints about dis-remembering, especially those types which we need most in India; (ii) description of a few typical experiments on memory, forgetting and display of personal fear. The first three chapters of the book deal with the new trends in education while the remaining nine chapters discuss various topics connected with educational psychology and school management. It is evident from the reading of the chapters dealing with psychological topics that psychology is not Mrs. Fearon's forte. However the popular style of the book will commend to all teachers under training and will even appeal to laymen who will profit more by reading its pages.

S. Roy.

Kaulajñananirnaya and some minor texts of the School of Matsyendranātha. Edited with an Introduction by Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., DOCTEUR ÈS LETTRES (Paris), Lecturer, Calcutta University. Pages 92 and 148. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. III, 1934.

The book under review is a valuable contribution to the study of the Tantras which, qualitatively and quantitatively, form the most important and indispensable source of our religious and cultural history of the period from the 8th to about the 13th century. An understanding of the Tantras is therefore essential for an understanding and interpretation of the religious and cultural history, especially of Bengal, Assam, Nepal and portions of Bihar. The first step towards that understanding is certainly a systematic search of Tantric texts of various schools, and next, a careful editing of texts so far as available. Dr. Bagchi has set himself to both these tasks, and the present book is the first outcome of his labours. The texts, five in number, were discovered by Dr. Bagchi in the archives of the State collection of MSS. of the Nepal Government, and are here published for the first time. They are: one text on *Kaulajñananirnaya*, two on *Akulavira-tantram*, one on *Kulānanda (tantram)*, and one on *Jñanakārikā*. All the texts relate themselves to Matsyendranātha and his school who play the most important rôle in the history of mediaeval Indian mysticism. The texts edited are very old and the manuscripts of some of them go back to the eleventh century. The doctrines preached by Matsyendranātha and his followers served as the basis of the various later mystic schools now prevalent in Bengal, Assam, Nepal, Maharashtra and other places. But though he occupies such an important place in the religious history of India, very little definite information was so far forthcoming regarding his doctrines and his times. The want is now removed to a great extent by these discoveries of Dr. Bagchi in Nepal.

In an elaborate Introduction the editor has brought together all the available information about the school and its founder. In regard to the time of Matsyendranātha he has refuted the earlier theories of Prof. S. Lévi and Dr. S. Shahidullah who believed that Matsyendranātha lived in the 7th century A. D. Dr. Bagchi has tried to show that Matsyendranātha could not have lived before the middle of the 10th century. He has ably

examined the various legends relating to Matsyendranātha current in different parts of northern India, and has come to the conclusion that "Matsyendranātha and his school originated and flourished in Bengal and most probably in Eastern Bengal. The teachings of the school later on spread to different parts of India and the original legend was elaborated and expanded in different fashions in those places." The identification of Lui Pa with Matsyendranātha seems to be evident; equally evident is the editor's statement that there is some truth in the tradition which associates Haṭhayoga with Matsyendranātha. The parallelisms and points of agreement, brought out by the editor, between these texts and the Buddhist Tantras must also be considered very happy indeed, but one may not be so inclined to accept his identification of Candradvipa, the birth place of Matsyendranātha, with Sandwip in opposition to its traditional identification with the coastal region of Backergunj. The most brilliant part of the Introduction is of course where Dr. Bagchi throws considerable new light on the history of the school, systematises the doctrines preached through the texts, and thus provides a sure basis for further study on the religious history of mediaeval India.

N. RAY.

Abstract

FUTURE OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

In the April number of *The Hibbert Journal*, Mr. Herbert L. Stewart discusses the defects and merits of parliamentary government with reference to its alternative suggested by implication by some modern political economists and practised by more than one country, in an article entitled, 'Can Parliamentary Government endure?' Of the faults of parliamentary government, he distinguishes those which belong to the machinery itself and others which are 'due either to incompetence or to dishonesty in those by whom the machine is managed.' In this connection he refers to the views of eminent economists and political philosophers like Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Josiah Stamp and Prof. Harold Laski which he accepts with a little comment here and there. The defect of the parliamentary government having been granted, he goes on to discuss the alternative of the Fascist dictatorship and shows that the picture it assumes is by no means flattering and certainly does not gain in comparison. In conclusion, the writer gives a fair description of the parliamentary government which shows another side of the shield different from that presented in the earlier part of the article. He says :

"What is the essence of parliamentary government? For purposes of caricature, it may be depicted as an appeal to the masses to judge, in heated and tumultuous assembly, the fine issues of trade and finance, of foreign affairs and international relationship. It is easy to show how slight is the assurance of good result where a task so delicate has to be attempted with an instrument so clumsy. Probabilities of disaster may be set forth in appalling figures of the logic of chance. But the aphorists, as usual, have sacrificed truth to an epigram, and it is because he recognises how far their argument has drifted from the facts that the average citizen hears unmoved their forecasts of calamity. In the first place, he knows that in an English, a Canadian or an American election, the choice is seldom or never between the party of safety and the party of ruin: it is rather between two parties for each of which a great deal may be said, to either of which public affairs can with considerable confidence be committed, and between which the differences are so inconsiderable that highly intelligent people often change their side from one contest to another. The average citizen whatever he has heard said, or has even joined in saying amid the heat of an election battle, knows that it is not the old prophetic alternative of choice between blessing and curse which he has to face at the ballot box. He expects that whichever way the result turns out, men of competent brain, and on the whole of honest patriotic purpose will be installed in power. So sure is he of this, that however strongly he may feel on the side of his own political group in the campaign, he will quickly after a defeat fall into a train of reflections about the value of a change, and the inevitable corruption of any party, even the best, when it has been in power too long. Moreover, every spectator of a contest can see how it is on no issues of technical or expert knowledge that the decision chiefly turns. As to which side is right on such points, the average voter is not more incompetent to judge than he is indisposed to inquire; and if Sir Josiah Stamp assails his ear with one story, while Mr. John Maynard Keynes insists upon its contradiction, the average voter assumes that he can follow either without involving the State in any irreparable collapse. Perhaps he decides, most wisely, of all,

that he will follow each of them some part of the way or follow them in turn and judge by results—as he might two rival physicians.

“It is just here—in his resolve to judge by results—that the average English or French or American voter will make his stand for the parliamentary system against any attempt to foist upon him a dictatorship based on pseudo-scientific reasoning. The essence of parliamentary government lies in the recurring opportunity to cashier our representatives for misuse of their trust. As in the case of doctors, we may be poor critics of their method, but we recognise to what condition we have been conducted by it. And in contrast with the case of the doctors, this time we have rival experts who will criticise one another in our presence with the utmost freedom!

“It has often been urged that changes in political constitution make no serious difference. Dr. Johnson said he would not pay half a guinea to live under one form of government rather than under another. There is a great deal to be said for such a view, if we limit the possible varieties to those which the people can periodically change. Granted the recurrence at intervals not too far removed of a public accounting, it may matter little whether we have a republic or a monarchy or even an oligarchy. There may be the largest devolution of trust, especially as at present in the United States, to a highly trained Executive, always provided that the power to recall is neither formally abolished nor rendered in practice too difficult of exercise. That no man, as Mr. Baldwin has lately said, is either wise enough or good enough to have the interests of others at his arbitrary disposal, is a first truth about government, of which we have had such long experience that we should be ashamed not only to doubt it but to reargue it.

“Why, then, all this recent ‘recoil from freedom,’ as a writer in *The Round Table* has put it? For explanation I think we must turn not to faults of structure, but to faults of management. Public confidence in leaders will recover from many a shock, but not easily or completely from all shocks, and of late in not a few countries this guarantee has been subjected to a greater strain than it will bear. Perhaps public men are not less scrupulous than they used to be: in that case the public must have become rather more sensitive and vigilant: explain, for example, French reactions to the Stavisky case either way you choose. The misuse of parliamentary institutions has indeed been such that there is less ground for surprise at their present insecurity than at the tenacious hold which it has taken so long to loosen. Doubt about our traditional dogmas on representative government has been like religious doubt, at first strictly forbidden, but growing stronger as the methods for repressing it became more obviously discreditable, until even the most resolute defenders of the ancient system have begun to welcome the critics who are merely modernists, not unbelieving. One observes the great source of trouble in that most depressing of scenes, an election campaign. To borrow a metaphor from a quite different field, party methods have meant such depreciating of the political currency, such debasing of the political coinage, that the arguments a speaker now presents in a campaign are looked at as men used to look at the Russian rouble or the German mark: every tender is received with suspicion. And for all this there seems to be no real remedy except moral deflation—a return in politics to the moral Gold Standard.

“To make the point clear, one must put it in a somewhat exaggerated form, taking advantage of what has been well called ‘the crude vigor of antithesis.’ It is not, I think, upon the leaders that criticism should

wholly or even chiefly fall. The mood of easy public indulgence towards the corruptions has gone far to make political leadership still more corrupt. We have intimated to our politicians that only some of us desire, and none really expect, them to be quite honest. One can see this in our very altered use of some old terms. When the young American or Canadian student reads in Aristotle that 'ethics is a branch of politics,' he wonders what such a paradox can mean, for he has commonly heard politics described as no serious enterprise, and not even an honest game, but only a game in which everyone is expected periodically to cheat, and to be deterred from cheating only when the national existence is at stake. Think of the sinister suggestiveness of the remark so usual on the eve of a trans-Atlantic general election, that the Government has an enormous advantage in control over the revision of the voters' lists and choice of the returning officers! Watch the building in an American presidential contest of what is called a "Platform." Listen to the pledges, proclaimed with full-throated unction by the candidate as the ideal by which he means to live or die: and remember how many of them were artfully plotted at a campaign Committee, on the assumption that electors are moved by material self-interest alone, so that the problem is so to combine the various appeals to selfishness that those disappointed will have fewer votes than those gratified. Think of the promises, on a scale which all intelligent and informed men know to be impossible of fulfilment, but relied upon to serve for temporary fascination of the masses. To 'lose one's vote' means, in Canadian and American political parlance, to have voted on the losing side; and as it is assumed that no man will do this deliberately—because the losing side will have no spoils with which to reward him—those who have done so are supposed to have guessed wrong. So definite is this conviction that, no matter how dark may be the confidential forecast of its party agents, each side on the eve of the polling invariably proclaims its own triumph to be 'now assured!'

"Another horror of our time is the newspaper press. The public is subject to more than enough intellectual handicaps by reason of the complexity of the issues with which it has to deal. But even on issues it is well able to grasp, its sources of knowledge are often poisoned or withheld. On the daily or weekly newspaper, supplemented now by wireless, the great mass of the voters must depend, not only for advice about how to vote, but for their whole conception of what it is that their votes will determine. To Mr. Chesterton we owe a suggestive epigram about the rare occasions—the moments of tense public excitement—when the Press is paralysed into probity and accuracy. Professor Laski's recent book, *Democracy in Crisis*, gives perhaps the clearest summary statement of the sombre facts up to date. But press corruption had begun long ago. There is a story which seems well authenticated, and which has indeed an unmistakable ring of truth, about Carlyle's prescient vision on the subject three quarters of a century back. One afternoon at a second-hand book-stall his eye caught this title on a cover: *Satan's Invisible World Displayed*. 'That volume, I should suppose,' said Carlyle, 'must be an account of the British newspaper press.' Would he not have returned with sardonic wit to that conjecture if he had known the press of the twentieth century; the gigantic growth in newspaper circulation, together with the methods by which this is so often attained; the rigour of control exercised by advertisers, the artifices ever more ingeniously perfected for colouring the news in the interests of those who buy the advertising space; the hideous portent of a

newspaper Trust fraught with even deadlier peril than a beef Trust; the almost complete disappearance of the independent editor? I think I can hear Carlyle say of it as he said of Puseyism: 'This also, in the cycle of revolving ages, this also was a thing we were to see!' The newspaper like the automobile and the aeroplane, has become an instrument not only of wider benefit but of subtler wickedness. Just as a recent report of the British Prison Commissioners pointed out how the development of science had been fertile of new sorts of crime, even the telephone presenting fresh possibilities of combination to the mind of the resourceful criminal, so we have to take account of the dexterous exploitation of public simplicity, especially by the artist in large type and press pictures. For he who writes the newspaper headlines can afford to be quite careless of him who writes only the editorials. And there is too much point in Mr. Wells's new definition of a free press, as a press free to be bought by anybody.

"Can parliamentary government overcome these disadvantages and survive? Does it contain within itself the means of its own adequate reform? One does not minimise the gravity of its faults, or forget that in our time they have had a special chance to work mischief. But one remembers how far democratic institutions have reformed themselves in the past; how much finer on the whole parliament has become within a few generations; and how if it often appears worse rather than better, this is largely because we have become more exacting in our demands upon it: and has not parliament itself taught us thus to demand more? In truth democratic representative institutions, with all their blemishes, seem alone in this, that they hold the means as well as the impulse of self-repair. Only a complete cynic will suppose that this, though true of parliaments past, is no longer true. And only a complete disregard for history will suggest that a like tendency to self-repair resides in despotism or dictatorship.

The true judgment is rather that of Mill, sixty years ago: 'There is a capacity,' he wrote, 'for self-denial in the masses of mankind which is never known until it is appealed to in the name of some great idea, some elevated sentiment.' The secure survival of parliament rests just on this—that through such representative institutions alone can the masses of mankind have a real organ of expression. They will not very long be content to be without one."

News and Views

[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.]

Annamalai University

The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of the Annamalai University. According to the present arrangement Mr. Sastri will not accept any salary, but will receive a fixed honorarium. The term of office is at present for three years, but it is expected that Mr. Sastri will continue as long as his health permits.

Advisory Board on Education

The Government of India have decided that the following will constitute the Central Advisory Board of Education.

The Board will consist of the Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands (Chairman); the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India; six nominees of the Government of India, of whom one at least shall be a woman; one member nominated by the Council of State; two members nominated by the Legislative Assembly; three members nominated by the Inter-University Board; and a representative of each local Government, either the Minister in charge of Education (or his deputy), or the Director of Public Instruction (or his deputy). The Secretary of the Board will be appointed by the Government of India. The recommendation of the Board will be purely of an advisory nature and will not be binding on provincial Governments and authorities. The Board will advise on any educational question which may be referred to it by the Government of India or by a local Government and will call for information and advice regarding educational developments of special interest or value to India. The Board will be at liberty to form standing and *ad hoc* committees, and will have power of appointing to those committees persons who are not members of the Board but possess special knowledge. Such committees will include at least two members of the Board. Generally, the membership will not exceed five. The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, assisted by the secretary of the Board will prepare the agenda and the explanatory memoranda of the Board. The composition of the Board will be announced shortly and the first meeting is expected to be held in October.

Fostering Research in Universities

A warning to students not to be satisfied with humdrum careers which the usual examinations opened to them was uttered by Mr. Justice H. D. C. Reilly, Chief Judge of the Mysore High Court, in his presidential speech at a meeting recently held under the auspices of the Mysore Graduates Welfare Committee. Mr. Reilly put in a strong plea for research, pure and applied, and said that in the years to come when all the millionaires and philanthropists of the present day were completely forgotten, the great scientists would always be remembered and their great discoveries would always

remain. Sir C. V. Raman, who addressed the gathering, said that if India was to live as a nation, it was imperative that the national leaders should foster the spirit of research not only in the universities but also in every walk of life. The undue emphasis laid on mere scholarliness and on the benefits of mere absorption of knowledge should yield to an emphasis on the benefits of discovering and radiating knowledge. The intellectual indigestion produced by mere cramming and memorising with a view to "crawling through the gates of a university," he declared, should go. The real purpose of education was to bring out the individual and afford him opportunities for self-expression. Research work gave the individual a chance to think for himself and do something really significant.

Dr. Meghnad Saha

It is understood that Dr. Meghnad Saha, who had been recommended for the award of a Carnegie Research Scholarship for 1935-36 by the Allahabad University Executive Council, has been selected by the Carnegie authorities for one of the scholarships. Dr. Saha will probably leave for America in October and will return to India after a year. Dr. Saha was President of the Indian Science Congress of 1934. He has gained an international repute in the world of Physics for his work on nuclear physics and was recently appointed a corresponding member for India of the German Academy of Sciences. On the absence of Dr. Saha from India, it is likely that Pandit Saligram Bhargava, seniormost Reader in the Physics Department, will be appointed as officiating Head of the Physics Department, Allahabad University.

Mysore University

The Financial Secretary to the Mysore Government has recently announced that the grant to the Mysore University, which stood at Rs. 8.75 lakhs will be raised in the next budget to Rs. 9.10 lakhs, in view of the extra expenditure to be incurred by the University on account of the reduction in rates of admission, etc.

Modern History Congress

The First All-India Modern History Congress held its session at Poona on June 8, 9 and 10 last. The Congress was inaugurated by Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay, and was presided over by Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan of the University of Allahabad. Sir Shafaat emphasised the need for detailed accounts of some of the smaller States whose contributions to the culture and art of India were considerable.

"Bengal has led the way," observed Dr. Khan, "in every movement and the apathy displayed by scholars of that province in the mediaeval history of that province, is all the more remarkable when we compare the brilliant work done by them in other periods of Indian history."

Bombay's Progress in Education

During the year 1933-34, the progress of education in the Bombay Presidency was steady and in spite of a slight reduction in the number of educational institutions there was an appreciable increase in the number of pupils under instruction. The decrease in the number of institutions was

chiefly due to the closure of those primary schools which had a poor attendance. Of the total number of pupils under instruction in recognised institutions 1,026,000 were boys and 307,000 girls, showing an increase of 19,000 and 15,000, respectively, over the previous year's figures. The total expenditure to public instruction was Rs. 3,98,10,000, or an increase of nearly Rs. 17 lakhs over last year's figures. Of the total expenditure 44·2 per cent. was met from provincial revenues, 19·4 per cent. from funds of local bodies, 23·2 per cent. from fees and 13·2 per cent. from miscellaneous sources.

Dealing with university education a Government of Bombay Resolution states that there was an increase of three colleges and 1,124 students. The department of Post-Graduate Teaching and Research, which was inaugurated by the University when it opened the School of Economics and Sociology, was further extended by opening a department of Chemical Technology.

A notable event of the year was the holding of a representative conference at Poona to consider the question of establishing a Maharashtra University. The problem of establishing regional universities was fully discussed. Opinion was against the formation of regional universities with powers of affiliation over external colleges, and for the establishment of unitary and residential universities.

History Teaching Conference

Opening the last History Teaching Conference in Bombay, Dewan Bahadur S. T. Kambli, Minister of Education, Bombay, is reported to have said that there was at present a considerable body of opinion which is profoundly dissatisfied with the standard of history teaching in Universities and secondary schools. He hoped that the deliberations of the conference would help to arrive at some conclusions which would serve to raise the teaching of history to its proper status. It was a truism that the importance of history lay in the key it furnished to the true significance of contemporary events, but in order that history should fulfil this function it was essential that the teaching of history should be based upon unbiassed rather than partisan views. He was glad to say that this was being done with increasing success by some modern historian both in this and other countries.

The Minister stressed the importance of shifting original evidence in preference to accepting the conclusions of contemporary writers. India, he was glad to say, possessed a rich storehouse of material which awaited the scrutiny of enthusiastic teachers and students of history. He referred in this connexion to the voluminous records in political, social and economic information which went by the name of *peshwas daftar* in Poona. History to-day, he said, was no longer a catalogue of dates and names of kings, wars and battles of kingdoms won and lost, but rather a connected story of the growth of nations—their manners, beliefs, modes of life, arts and achievements, their commerce and agriculture; in short, all that went to make the life of a nation.

Vizagapatam Medical College

It is understood that the Government have decided to retain the Vizagapatam Medical College which is affiliated to the Andhra University. They will make improvements in the college to make it conform to the British medical standard as suggested by All-India Medical Council. The financial implications of the scheme are under examination.

Education in Malabar

Leading citizens of Malabar District under the leadership of Mr. Madhava Raja of Kollengode, have asked the Education Minister to institute the University Groups in Physics, Chemistry, Economics and Malayalam in the Victoria College, Palghat, and also to transfer the Research Department in Malayalam of the Madras University and the Malayalam Department of the Oriental Library to the college. In a memorial of the subject, they contend that this transfer will facilitate research in Kerala culture and art and render it more effective, while it will result in considerable saving to Government in the matter of travelling allowances. They point out that Kerala has no University of her own, and that they are asking only for the same treatment as the Government colleges, at Anantpur, Kumbakonam and Rajmundry are receiving.

Bombay University

The University of Bombay has established a small research fund to assist investigators in various Educational branches. The Syndicate has been prepared to receive applications from ex-research workers for grants to help them in the work they have undertaken.

The Senate recently considered the ordinances passed by the Syndicate since the last meeting of the Senate in February regarding a new matriculation syllabus. The new syllabus was to come into force from June 1936 and would apply to the examination of 1937 and onwards. According to the new scheme candidates will be examined in the following five heads:—

1. General English, without texts,—one paper.
2. (a) One of the modern Indian languages, namely, Marathi, Gujrati, Kannada, Sindhi, Urdu and Hindi, with texts—one paper. Or an additional paper in English with texts. (b) One of the classical languages, namely, Sanskrit, Pali, Ardha-Magadhi, Avesta-Pahlavi, Arabic, Persian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew with texts—one paper.
3. Mathematics, consisting of Algebra and Geometry—only two papers.
4. History and Geography—one paper.
5. One of the following general sciences, Physics, and Chemistry, Botany and Zoology, Domestic Science, or Physiology and Hygiene—one paper.

Bengal Educational Policy under Review

It is understood that the future educational policy of Bengal is now engaging the attention of the local Government (Ministry of Education).

The defects of the present system, with special reference to primary and secondary education, are being considered from all points of view and the Government, it is understood, propose to adopt a new line of action in order to improve the system. A Government resolution on the subject is expected to be published shortly. Another important matter which is now under consideration by the Government is the holding of an educational week and exhibition in Calcutta during the next cold weather. In this connection it is proposed to organize a conference of school teachers and students from different parts of Bengal when the demonstrations on the best methods of teaching will be given, using charts, graphs and other exhibits for the purpose.

Gurselves

[I. New Matriculation Regulations.—II. Dr. C. E. Turner on Health Education.—III. Prof. Jaygopal Banerji.—IV. Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray.—V. Jatiya Ayurbijnan Vidyalaya.—VI. University Law College.—VII. Our Representatives on the Council of the Imperial Library.—VIII. Ghose Travelling Fellowships for 1935.—IX. Results of the B. A. and B. Sc. Examinations, 1935.—X. Results of the B. Com., L. T., and B. T. Examinations.—XI. Result of the D. P. H. Examination.—XII. Subject for Jubilee Research Prize, 1937.—XIII. University Budget for 1935-36.—XIV. University Rowing Club.—XV. Proposed Rules relating to the Admission, Transfer, Promotion, Leave, Fees, etc., of Pupils in High Schools recognised by Calcutta University.—XVI. Notification.]

I. NEW MATRICULATION REGULATIONS

The new Matriculation regulations of this University have received the final sanction of the Government of Bengal. For the history of the movement culminating in the regulations, the reader is referred to the March issue of our REVIEW.

It is hoped that under these regulations an average Matriculation student will be required to pay greater attention to history and geography as compulsory subjects besides acquiring an elementary scientific knowledge. Necessary safeguards have been provided to ensure that with the introduction of Vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination the teaching in English would not suffer in any way. It is expected that steps will be taken as early as possible to give effect to these regulations.

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II. DR. C. E. TURNER ON HEALTH EDUCATION

Dr. C. E. Turner, Chairman, Mass. Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., has been appointed a Special Reader of this University to deliver a course of six lectures on the following subjects relating to the "Organisation of Health Education":—

- (i) Underlying principles in health education.
- (ii) The construction of a curriculum in health education.
- (iii) School practices of health promotion.

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III. PROFESSOR JAYGOPAL BANERJEA

We are glad to announce that Professor Jaygopal Banerjea, M.A., has been given an extension of appointment as University Professor of English for a further period of one year from the 1st June, 1935. The decision will, we are sure, give universal satisfaction. The Post-Graduate Department could ill afford to lose the services of a professor who has endeared himself to his colleagues and pupils alike by his vast erudition, deep sympathy and uniform courtesy.

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IV. MR. NIBARANCHANDRA RAY

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to re-nominate Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, M.A., to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University with effect from the 19th July, 1935.

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V. JĀTIYA ĀYURVIJÑĀN VIDYĀLAYA

We are informed that Government are unable, on the material now before them, to sanction the affiliation of the Jātiya Āyurvijñān Vidyālaya, Calcutta, to the Preliminary Scientific M.B. standard. It will be recalled that the question came up before the Senate on 30th March last when there was prolonged discussion on the subject and very weighty arguments were advanced on the claim of the Vidyālaya to affiliation. Among the stalwarts who championed the cause were Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Upendranath Brahmachari and Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy. The Senate having given its sanction to affiliation, high hopes were raised that Government approval would not be denied. But the reverse has happened.

We understand Government have asked for further information from the University before deciding the question one way or the other. Meanwhile, the authorities of the Vidyālaya will have to continue their teaching on the existing basis, as it will not be possible for Government to reach a decision before the end of the session 1935-36.

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VI. UNIVERSITY LAW COLLEGE

... The Governing Body of the University Law College for the year 1935-36 has been constituted as follows :—

The Vice-Chancellor, President, <i>ex-officio</i> . The Hon'ble Mr Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, M A., D L. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S K. Ghose, M.A., I.C.S. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Syed Nasim Ali, M.A., B L	}	Nominated by the Hon. the Chief Justice in consultation with the Vice Chancellor.
The Advocate General, Bengal, <i>ex-officio</i> . The Senior Government Pleader, High Court, Calcutta, <i>ex officio</i> . Birajmohan Majumdar, Esq., M A., B.L. Sir Z. R. Zahid Suhrawardy, Kt., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukerji, Kt, M. A., B.L. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Kt., C I.E. C.B.E., M.A., LL.D.	}	Representatives of the Faculty of Law. Representative of the Incorporated Law Society.
The Legal Remembrancer of the Government of Bengal, <i>ex-officio</i> . The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, <i>ex-officio</i> . The Principal, University Law College, <i>ex-officio</i> . The Vice-Principal, University Law College, <i>ex-officio</i> . Dr. S. K. Gupta, M.A., B.L., B. Litt., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law. Panchanan Ghosh, Esq., M.A., B.L.	}	Representatives of the staff of the College.

VII. OUR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY

We are glad to announce that Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-law, M.L.C., and Professor Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A., Ph.D. have been appointed representatives of this University on the Council of the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

VIII. GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1935

The Ghose Travelling Fellowship for the year 1935 have been awarded on the usual conditions to the undermentioned gentlemen to enable them to prosecute advanced study and research in accordance with the scheme outlined in their applications and noted against their names.

In Literary Subject

Mr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A. Subject of Study—Library Science and Administration.

Place of Study—School of Librarianship, University College, London, and the University Libraries Berlin, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Rome, Paris, of Munich, Leyden and Prague.

In Scientific Subject

Prof. Sisirkumar Mitra, D.Sc. Radio Research in general and latest methods of investigating the Ionosphere in particular ; also modern developments in Television. Shall work in the Radio Research Board of England and visit the principal Broadcasting Stations and Radio Research Laboratories of England and Europe.

Dr. Kramadishwar Datta, B.Sc., (Cal.), B.Sc. (Rangoon), D.Sc. To complete his study and research work on the use of bamboos as reinforcement in concrete structures under Prof. Graf, Engineering University, Stuttgart, Germany.

An additional Fellowship in Arts of the value of Rs. 2,200, tenable for six months, has been awarded to Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., PH.D., to enable him to carry on his research work on Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, and an additional Fellowship in Science of the value of Rs. 2,200, tenable for six months, has been awarded to Mr. Bhableschandra Mukherjee, M.Sc. (Ghose Travelling Fellow for last year), to complete his training in Communication Engineering.

We offer our hearty congratulations to the worthy recipients of the Fellowships. We especially rejoice on the selection of Mr. Niharranjan Ray who has been connected with the management of the REVIEW for more than a couple of years. Mr. Ray is a promising young man who has already distinguished himself by his researches in Ancient Indian History and we have every reason to believe he will be able to do justice to the task he has set to himself.

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IX. RESULTS OF THE B.A. AND B.Sc. EXAMINATIONS, 1935

The results of the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, 1935, are reported as follows:—

B. A. Examination, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 3,626 (including those registered to appear in one and two subjects only), of whom 102 were absent and 11 were transferred to other centres and 1

was disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination in all subjects was 3,520, of whom 7 were expelled, 1,956 were successful and 1,557 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,625 were placed on the Pass List and 331 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 23 were placed in the First Class and 308 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 106 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 7 and in two subjects 19.

The percentage of passes is 55.5.

The percentage of passes was 61.1 in 1934.

B. Sc. Examination, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 945 (including those registered to appear in one subject only), of whom 39 were absent and three were transferred to other centres and none were disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination in all subjects was 906, of whom 3 were expelled, 580 were successful and 323 failed. Of the successful candidates 506 were placed in the Pass List and 74 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 8 were placed in the First Class and 66 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 118 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 1.

The percentage of passes is 64.2.

The percentage of passes was 57.7 in 1934.

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X. RESULTS OF B. COM., L. T. AND B. T. EXAMINATIONS, 1935

The results of the last B.Com., L.T. and B.T. Examinations have been reported as follows:—

B. Com. Examination

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1935 was 263, of whom 7 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 256.

The number of candidates who passed the examination was 134, of whom 1 passed in the First Division.

One candidate appeared in one subject only and he passed.

The percentage of passes is 52·3.

The percentage of passes in 1934 was 47·5.

L. T. Examination

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination was 16, of whom 15 passed and 1 failed.

Of the successful candidates 6 passed in the First Division and 9 in the Second Division.

The percentage of passes is 93·7.

The percentage of passes was 100 in 1934.

B. T. Examination

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination was 155, of whom 3 were absent, 80 passed and 72 failed.

Of the successful candidates 11 passed in the First Division and 61 in the Second Division.

Of the successful candidates 8 have passed the Theoretical portion of the Examination this year and they are declared to have passed the B. T. Examination, having previously passed the Practical portion of the Examination.

The percentage of passes in 52·6.

The percentage of passes was 70 in 1934.

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XI. RESULT OF THE D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART II, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 12, of whom 7 passed, 4 failed and 1 was absent.

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XII. SUBJECTS FOR JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE, 1937.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science for the year 1937 :—

ARTS

The Possibility of adopting a Uniform Script (Roman or otherwise) for Indian Languages.

Or

An Investigation into the Nature of Comedy as inferred from the Study of standard European Comedies.

SCIENCE

The Possibilities of Electrical Power in Bengal.

Or

The Mineral Contents of Indian Vegetables.

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XIII. UNIVERSITY BUDGET FOR 1935-36

The Budget Estimates of the Calcutta University for the year 1935-36 were presented before the Senate by Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, President, Board of Accounts, on the 29th June last and were passed without a division. While it is remarkable that the last year has been one of progress for the University in almost every department of its activity, the prospects of the current year have to be regarded as gloomy. Unfortunately, this to a very large extent will be due to the existing financial arrangement between the Government and the University. Under the terms of the arrangement the Government makes an annual grant of Rs. 3,60,000 to the University on condition that whenever the University Fee Fund would exceed Rs. 11,72,000, the recurring grant would be reduced by half the surplus of the income over that amount. This arrangement, however agreeable it might have been to either party at the time when it was made, has proved a stumbling-block to the University, for it precludes it from giving effect to the many schemes of reform and expansion which it has undertaken since, and which the Government themselves have approved. True, there has been a substantial increase in the fee-income of the University during the closing year but this is counterbalanced by a corresponding enhancement of expenditure owing to its growing needs and liabilities. The position of the Fee and Post-Graduate Teaching Funds, as disclosed by the Budget Estimates, is such that in the

current year there will be a deficit which will have to be made up by drawing upon the opening balance. In these circumstances and in view of the fact that Government are not in the same financial difficulty as they were faced with at the time when the existing arrangement was arrived at, it would be a great help to the University if Government would be reasonable enough to review the position, which has considerably changed since. Question of additional grant apart, the University, as the Vice-Chancellor pointed out, would be satisfied with the promised grant of Rs. 3,60,000 by the Government provided that the entire amount of this grant was made available to it. The University, as the readers of the REVIEW are aware, is in correspondence with Government on this subject. A decision favourable to the University is earnestly to be desired, and the sooner it is reached, the better.

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XIV. UNIVERSITY ROWING CLUB

Those who attended the last Annual Regatta of the University Rowing Club at the Dhakuria Club must have been impressed by the enthusiasm and ordered discipline of the members of the Club, as well as by the remarkable progress the Club has made during the short span of two years since its transfer to the present site. It has already become a live institution and is slowly and steadily attracting people into its fold. Much of it is due to the untiring efforts of Professor Syamlal Mukherjee, Secretary of the Club, who took the opportunity to meet certain criticisms which of late have appeared in the press. Some of his remarks may be quoted here for the enlightenment of those who are interested in the Club.

"It has been contended," said Professor Mukherjee, "that the Lake is far away from the northern quarter where students mostly live. But the Club did not thrive well on the canal where it was for about 10 years, and that there is hope for its improvement here is shown by the fact that after taking 150 members in course of 2 months only, of whom about 50 are coming from the northern quarter the admission had to be stopped for want of boats. Moreover there are some costly sports which are not meant for all, rowing being one of these.

"It has also been said that the money had better been spent in cheaper sports. In reply to this I merely quote the following lines from the *New York American* of the 24th March, 1933 :—

"Eight men that had rowed in the Harvard Crew in 1883, 50 years before, all rowed together (to celebrate their 50th reunion) and all were past 70 years of age and their 1883 Coxswain steered them. All of them were successful business and professional men."

"Further it says, 'A University that teaches men to take care of themselves, live long and return 50 years after graduation in good physical condition is more valuable than one that merely teaches boys to win races and football games.'

"We now believe that the University is soon going to have in this club an institution where professors will come in closer touch with students and teach them not from the pages of books but by love and example of their personal character; and a boy besides being strengthened in limb, health, and mind will have trained himself to submit to discipline, for a little inadvertence on his part will involve not only serious damage to the costly boats but also loss of lives in water perhaps. Here he will have learnt to accept discomfort cheerfully, to keep cool in adverse circumstances and to develop his power of endurance to the full strength.

"His absolute subordination of the individual self to the collective good of the crew, his duty and responsibility not only to the members of his own college and University but to those of other clubs, teach him to be unselfish and patriotic. Thus the *esprit de corps* which the members cultivate here, the friendship that knits them together remain with them wherever they may be. These are only a few of the results in a generation accused of foppery and idle luxury which no University curriculum could ever obtain within the walls.

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XV. PROPOSED RULES RELATING TO THE ADMISSION, TRANSFER, PROMOTION, LEAVE, FEES, ETC., OF PUPILS IN HIGH SCHOOLS RECOGNISED BY THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Syndicate have recently adopted a set of rules and regulations regarding admission, transfer, promotion, leave, fees, etc., of pupils in high schools affiliated to and recognised by the University for the guidance of school authorities. These rules which are printed below have been, in the first instance, forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction for approval. If Government accept them, a comprehensive circular based on the rules adopted will be issued by the University to all high schools. It is hoped that these rules will facilitate the administration of the schools to a great extent and provide a definite guidance to school authorities.

A copy of the rules has also been forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, for information with the request that the Syndicate may be favoured with his opinion regarding their application to schools in Assam.

GENERAL

1. These rules apply to all High Schools recognised by the University of Calcutta as competent to present pupils for its Matriculation Examination.
2. Supplementary Rules, not inconsistent with these Rules, for High Schools either maintained or aided by Government are issued by the Education Departments of Bengal.
3. A High School ordinarily consists of eight classes, the lowest being Class III and the highest Class X.

4. The School year corresponds with the calendar year and consists of three terms—
 First term—from the beginning of January until the end of the summer vacation.
 Second term—from the end of the summer vacation until the end of the Durga Pujah vacation.

Third term—from the end of the Durga Pujah vacation until the end of December.

Note.—The functions of the Inspector of Schools and of the Head Master referred to in these rules shall be exercised respectively by the Inspectress of Schools and the Head Mistress in the case of girls' schools.

ADMISSION

5. Conditions of first admission—

(i) No pupil may ordinarily be admitted to Class III or any higher class of a school who has not attained the age of 7 years.

(ii) No pupil shall be admitted into a school for the first time unless an application for his admission is made by his parent or guardian. This application shall be in the form prescribed in Appendix A.

(iii) A pupil may be admitted into a school for the first time only during the first six weeks of the school year. In special circumstances this rule may be relaxed by the Head Master who shall keep a record of such cases which will be available for inspection.

6. Conditions of admission on transfer from another High School—

(i) No pupil who has attended a recognised school shall be admitted to another except on production of a transfer certificate in the form prescribed in Appendix B.

(ii) Ordinarily a pupil may only be admitted on transfer during the first six weeks of the school year, but this rule may be relaxed by the Head Master in special circumstances such as ill-health, change of residence, or abolition or closing of the former school.

7. Conditions of admission on transfer from a Middle School.

(i) No pupil who has attended a recognised Middle School shall be admitted to a High School except on production of a transfer certificate in the form prescribed in Appendix C.

(ii) Ordinarily a pupil may only be admitted on transfer during the first six weeks of the school year, but this rule may be relaxed by the Head Master in special circumstances such as ill-health, change of residence, or abolition or closing of the former school.

(iii) A pupil admitted to a High School on transfer from a Middle School may be required to undergo an admission test by the Head Master of the High School [*vide* Rule 10 (ii)].

8. Conditions of admission on transfer from a Primery School—

The conditions of admission of pupils who come on transfer from a recognised Primary School are the same as those for admission on transfer from a Middle School. Pupils who have passed the Primary Final Examination of the Education Department are eligible for admission to Class V of a High School.

9. Conditions of re-admission—

(i) A pupil whose name has been removed from the rolls of a school for failure to pay fees may be re-admitted, at the discretion of the Head Master, provided that the pupil makes payment of all arrear fees and other dues as required under Rules 23, 25, 26 and 28.

(ii) A pupil whose name has been removed from the rolls of a school under Rule 23 for absence without leave may be re-admitted at the discretion of the Head Master, provided that the pupil produces a satisfactory explanation signed or countersigned by his parent or guardian and makes payment of all arrear fees and other dues as required under Rules 23, 25, 26 and 28.

(iii) A pupil who has failed in the Matriculation Examination, or who after paying his examination fees has been prevented from appearing at the examination may be re-admitted to the school in which he was studying if he applies for admission before the middle of July in the year in which the examination was held. For such pupils the school year shall be deemed to start from the beginning of July and they shall not be required to pay any admission fee.

(iv) A pupil who temporarily suspends his studies and leaves the school with due notice on account of ill-health or other reason deemed satisfactory by the Head Master may be re-admitted on payment of the usual admission fee.

(v) A pupil who has been rusticated from a school may be re-admitted to the same school after the expiry of the period of rustication, but must pay the usual admission fee.

(vi) A pupil who has been expelled from a school may not be re-admitted to the same school.

(vii) A pupil may, subject to the foregoing conditions, be re-admitted to a school at any time.

10. Admission Test—

(i) A pupil applying for admission to a recognised school for the first time or from a Primary school may be subjected to a test of his abilities and he shall be placed in the class for which he is found fit.

(ii) A similar test may, at the discretion of the Head Master, be applied to pupils admitted on transfer from a Middle School, or re-admitted to a school under Rule 9, provided that pupils re-admitted under sub-sections (i) and (ii) of that rule shall in no case be placed in a class higher than that in which they were reading before they left the school.

(iii) A pupil admitted into a school with a transfer certificate from another high school may not be required to undergo an admission test but if admitted, he shall be placed in the class equivalent to that in which he was reading in his former school or in the next higher class if the transfer certificate states that he has passed the examination for the promotion to that class.

11. The authorities of non-denominational schools shall see that facilities are given for the admission of pupils of all communities.

TRANSFER OF PUPILS

12. A pupil who leaves a recognised High School should obtain a transfer certificate as without it he will be unable to gain admission to another recognised High School.

13. A transfer certificate is issued by the Head Master of a school, and application for it should be made by the parent or guardian of the pupil concerned, in writing. In the case of a school which has ceased to exist without issuing transfer certificates to its pupils, application should be made to the Inspector of Schools.

14. Copies of all transfer certificates should be kept.

15. (i) A fee of Rs. 2 shall be charged for a transfer certificate.

(ii) A duplicate transfer certificate (which should be marked 'Duplicate') may be issued on payment of a fee of Rs. 2.

16. (i) The authority to whom an application for a transfer certificate is properly made must issue the certificate within three days or state in writing to the applicant his reasons for refusing the certificate

(ii) A transfer certificate for which application has been properly made may only be withheld for the following reasons :—

(a) if the school fees or other dues of the pupil have not been paid;

(b) if the pupil is rusticated from the school;

(c) if the pupil leaves the school in order to avoid punishment.

(iii) If a pupil is expelled from a school, he may be granted a transfer certificate but the fact of his expulsion shall be clearly noted on the certificate. Such a pupil may not be re-admitted to the school at any time, nor may he be admitted to any other school at any time, nor may he be admitted to any other school until the expiry of a period of one year from the date of the expulsion order and then only with the express permission of the Inspector of Schools (who shall, before granting the permission, obtain and consider a report from the Head Master of the former school).

17. (i) In cases covered by Rule 16 (ii) (a) the transfer certificate shall be issued, upon proper application being made when the school fees and other dues are paid, but if payment is not made within one month of the date on which the pupil's name is removed from the rolls of the school, a fee of Rs. 2 will be charged, which will be increased to Rs. 2, Rs. 4 or Rs. 6 if the one month extends to three months or six months respectively. If the payment of school fees and other dues is made after the expiry of six months, a fee of Rs. 10 will be charged for the transfer certificate.

(ii) In cases covered by Rule 16 (ii) (b) the transfer certificate shall be issued, upon proper application being made after the expiry of the period of rustication.

(iii) In cases covered by Rule 16 (ii) (c) the transfer certificate shall be issued, upon proper application being made, after the pupil has subjected himself to the punishment, if any, inflicted by the Head Master or the school authorities as the case may be. If the punishment inflicted is rustication, the case should come under Rule 17 (ii).

18. If a transfer certificate is refused an appeal shall lie to the Inspector of schools.

PROMOTIONS

19. (i) The promotion of pupils from one class to the next higher class shall be made by the Head Master at the end of the school year before the school is closed for Christmas holidays, and shall be determined mainly by the results of an examination called the "Annual Examination" to be held at that time.

(ii) All answer-books and records on the basis of which promotions are made shall be preserved for at least three months after the annual examination.

20. The Head Master of every school shall for the purpose of selecting candidates for the Matriculation Examination hold annually a "Test Examination" of pupils in Class X of his school and of such other candidates as may be directed either by the Inspector or by the University to appear at the examination.

21. Ordinarily a boy should not be allowed to remain in the same class in the same school for more than two years.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

22. (i) Pupils absenting themselves from school should obtain leave of absence.

(ii) Application for such leave should be submitted in writing within seven days from the first day's absence, and should be signed or countersigned by the parent or guardian of the pupil or, in the case of a hostel boarder by the Superintendent of the hostel.

(iii) Formal leave of absence shall be granted by the Head Master when the reasons for absence are considered satisfactory.

23. (i) The penalty for absence without leave shall ordinarily be a fine not exceeding one anna per day.

(ii) When a Head Master has reason to suspect concerted absence without leave on the part of pupils, he may deal with their cases by removing their names from the school rolls on or after the third day of absence, but his action is subject to confirmation by the Managing Committee.

(iii) If a pupil has been absent without leave for more than 15 consecutive days, the Head Master shall at the end of 15 days remove his name from the rolls of the school, provided that a warning is given to the parent or guardian of the pupil at least five days before such action is due.

(iv) A pupil whose name is removed from the school roll for absence without leave is liable to pay fees for the period of his absence, as well as the fines prescribed in sub-section (i) of this rule.

FEES

24. The following fees are charged from pupils of a school :—

- (i) Admission fees.
- (ii) Tuition fees.
- (iii) Miscellaneous fees.
- (iv) Transfer fees.

25. *Admission fees.*

A pupil on admission to a school either

(i) for the first time, or

(ii) on transfer from another school, or

(iii) under the provision of Rule 9 (i), (ii), (iv) and (v) shall pay an admission fee equal to the monthly tuition fee of the class to which he is admitted.

26. *Tuition fees.*

(a) The Managing Committee of a school shall determine the amounts of tuition fees to be paid by pupils of each class of the school, subject to the following minima :—

Class.	Fee.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
X and IX	3	0	0
VIII and VII	2	8	0
VI and V	2	0	0
IV and III	1	8	0

(b) A pupil who is admitted to a school for the first time shall pay tuition fees from the beginning of the school year.

(c) A pupil who is admitted to a school on transfer from another school shall pay tuition fees in arrear for the period reckoned from

(i) the month succeeding that in which he paid fees to his former school, or

(ii) the beginning of the school year whichever is shorter.

(d) A pupil who is re-admitted to a school under Rule 9 (i) or (ii) shall pay arrear tuition fees for the period reckoned from

(i) the month in which the pupil's name was removed from the rolls of a school, or

(ii) the beginning of the school year whichever is shorter.

(e) A pupil who is re-admitted to a school under Rule 9 (iv) shall not be required to pay arrear tuition fees.

(f) A pupil who is re-admitted to a school after rustication must pay arrear fees for the period of his rustication or for the period reckoned from the beginning of the school year, whichever is shorter.

27. *Miscellaneous fees.*

The Managing Committee of a school shall determine the nature and amounts of other fees to be paid by pupils.

28. *Date of payment of fees.*

(i) (a) Tuition fees are payable monthly in advance for each month or part of a month in which the pupil's name is on the roll of the school.

(b) The last date for payment of such fees is the 15th of the month. If this day is a holiday, the last day for payment shall be the last working day of the school preceding such a holiday.

(c) If the first 15 days of any month fall within a vacation the dues for that month shall be paid on or before the day on which the school closes for the vacation.

(ii) (a) Miscellaneous fees are payable yearly in advance for each year or part of a year in which the pupil's name is on the roll of the school.

(b) The date of payment of such fees shall be determined by the Head Master of the school.

(iii) (a) If tuition or other fees, together with fines, if any, are not paid by the due dates a fine not exceeding one anna per day may be levied.

(b) If tuition fees, including fines, be not paid on or before the last working day of the month for which the fees are due, the pupil's name shall be liable to be removed from the roll of the school.

(iv) The application of a pupil for permission to appear at the Matriculation Examination of the University shall not be forwarded to the Controller of Examinations until he has paid all sums due to the school in which he has been reading, including fees up to the end of March.

MISCELLANEOUS

29. The Managing Committee of a school may consistently with its financial resources grant concessions in the matter of fees to its pupils in suitable cases.

Notwithstanding anything contained in Rule 26, the authorities of a High School may, with the previous permission of the University, run the school without charging any fees, provided its income from endowments is sufficient to cover the normal expenditure of the school.

30. *False documents, etc.*

If a pupil is found to have produced a false document or to have made a false statement as to his attendance at any school, his name shall be reported by the Head Master through the Managing Committee to the Inspector of Schools for such disciplinary action as he thinks fit.

31. *Transgression and evasion of Rules.*

Wilful transgression or attempted evasion of these rules shall render a school liable to withdrawal of recognition.

32. *Disputes.*

Questions arising with regard to the interpretation of these rules shall be referred to the University through the Divisional Inspector of Schools.

33. *Authority of the Syndicate.*

Nothing in these rules shall in any way affect the authority of the Syndicate to deal with any special cases and pass such orders as may be deemed appropriate by them.

APPENDIX A.

(Form of Application for Admission to a Recognised School.)

1. Boy's name.....
 2. Father's name, occupation and address.....
 3. Guardian's name, occupation and address.....
 4. With whom the boy lives.....
 5. Date of birth.....
 6. Age on the date of application (to be recorded in years and completed months, calculated according to the English method).....
- I solemnly declare that the above particulars about.....
 are true and correct, and that he has not previously read in any school.

Signature of Father or Guardian.

Date.....

Note.—The Head Master may, at his direction, require that the application should be attested by some responsible person known to him.

APPENDIX B

(Form of Transfer Certificate for High Schools.)

Certified that..... son of
 an inhabitant of.....
 in the district....., left the.....
 school on..... His age at the date
according to the Admission Register, was..... years,
 months,days. He was reading in the.....Class and* passed the
 annual examination for promotion to the..... Class. All sums due by
 him have been paid, viz., fees and fines up to..... (date).

Character.....

Reasons for leaving—

- (i) Change of residence.
- (ii) Ill-health.
- (iii) Abolition or closing of the school.
- (iv) Expulsion.
- (v) Any other reason,

Head Master.

Date.....

.....School

P. O.

District.....

* Enter here "had" or "had not" as the case may be.

APPENDIX C.

(Form of Transfer Certificate for Middle and Primary Schools.)

Certified that..... son of
 an inhabitant of village
in thana....., and in sub-division
 of the district of....., left the
* school on..... His age
 (1) at the date, according to the admission register was.....
 (2) on that date is believed to have been.....

years,	months,	days. He was reading
in the,	Class and,	† passed the annual
examination for promotion to the,		Class. All sums
due by him have been paid, viz., fees and fines up to,		
.....	(date).	
Character,		
Reasons for leaving—		
(i) Change of residence.		
(ii) Ill-health.		
(iii) Abolition or closing of the school.		
(iv) Expulsion.		(1) <u>Head Master.</u>
(v) Any other reason.		(2) <u>Head Teacher.</u>
Date,		
.....	School.	
Village,		
P. O.		
District,		

* Enter here "middle" or "Primary" as the case may be.

† Enter here "had" or "had not" as the case may be.

Not necessary for Primary Schools,

(1) In case of middle Schools.

(2) In case of Primary Schools.

o.

*

*

*

XVI. NOTIFICATION

Public Service Commission, India.

Applications are invited for the following posts in Sind :

(1) *Agricultural Engineer*—Pay Rs. 300-20-420-(Efficiency Bar)-30-660-(Efficiency Bar)-40-900 *plus* overseas pay Rs. 300 per mensem, if admissible. Candidates must possess a Honours Degree or Diploma in Mechanical or Agricultural Engineering of an English, Scottish, Irish or Indian University or College with practical administrative experience and must have considerable practical experience in workshop organisation and management, design and improvement of agricultural implements and in engineering problems connected with irrigated agriculture. Preference to candidates with practical experience of mechanical cultivation and of working of power plant and machinery. Age not more than 40 years.

2. *Assistant Agricultural Engineer*—Pay Rs. 170-10-250-(Efficiency Bar)-15-400-(Efficiency Bar)-20-500. Candidates must be graduates in Science or Agriculture of a recognised University in India or elsewhere, should have sound practical knowledge of farm machinery, and experience in care and upkeep of steam and oil engines, agricultural machinery, etc. Age not more than 30 years.

3. *Two Deputy Chief Agricultural Officers*—Pay Rs. 300-20-420-(Efficiency Bar)-30-660-(Efficiency Bar)-40-900. Candidates must have a University degree in Agriculture. Preference to candidates possessing administrative experience and ability in connection with agricultural development especially in irrigated tracts. Age not more than 35 years approximately.

Posts temporary for a period of five years on usual contract. Probation one year. Starting pay according to experience and qualifications. Government servants eligible to apply if permitted by their Departments. Canvassing, in any form, will disqualify a candidate. Last date of receipt of applications 15th July, 1935. Prescribed application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Simla. Applicants for forms must mention the name of the post.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1935

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Platonic Ideas in Spenser

BY

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with a Foreword by

ÉMILE LEGOUIS

Honorary Professor in English Literature,
The Sorbonne, Paris.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1935

ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS SINCE THE 1921 TREATY

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

NOT quite fourteen years have elapsed since the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland" were ratified by the parliaments of the two nations. Many of the issues that were then causing friction between the two countries have already been adjusted. The prodigious effort put into the reconciling of the conflicting points of view has, to a large extent, been justified by the way it has helped to shape subsequent events.

Seldom was greater ingenuity shown in inventing formulas to bridge gulfs created by divergence of outlook, aspiration and interest. Under the formal, smooth phraseology lay, however, much matter of an explosive character. The members of the British and Irish delegations¹ were much too intelligent to be oblivious of its presence or ignorant of its potentiality for damage. Critics, of whom they had a legion on either side of the Irish Sea, accused them of entertaining mental reservations on many points and even of having subscribed

¹ These Delegates were, for Britain, Mr. D. Lloyd George; Mr. (afterwards Sir) Austen Chamberlain; Lord Birkenhead; Mr. Winston S. Churchill; Mr. L. Worthington Evans; Sir Hamer Greenwood and Sir Gordon Hewart. The Irish delegates were, Mr. Art. O Briobhtha (Arthur Griffith); Michael O'Coileain (Michael Collins); Riobard Bartun; Eudhmonn S. O'Dugain; and Seorsa Ghabhain Ui Dhubhthaigh.

their names to the pact on December 6, 1921, with their tongues in their cheeks. It would perhaps be more charitable to say that they hoped for the best, trusting to time and to growing goodwill to solve the difficulties over which they had temporised.

Among the provisions that produced a sense of unreality in students of constitutional history were those relating to an "All-Ireland Parliament." Numbered 11 to 15, these articles read as if there was at least a sporting chance for the coming together, for the administration of affairs of common concern, of "Northern Ireland" and "Southern Ireland"¹ the two unequal portions into which Ireland had been divided by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. There is warrant for believing that all efforts directed to that end had already failed.

Northern Ireland had not been assigned a place among the negotiators of the Treaty. Insistence upon according her representation would have given umbrage to the Irish delegates, who, refusing to recognize the partition effected by the Act of 1920, claimed to speak for the whole Island and would undoubtedly have gone back to Dublin had they been crossed in that matter. Even if they had not done so, the presence of a third party, determined to maintain its separate existence no matter at what cost, would have complicated the already onerous work of effecting a compromise.

In the absence of the "Northern Irish" from the conference, their interests, as they conceived them, did not seem to suffer. The British delegates, without an exception, were members of the Government responsible for the placing of the "Partition Act" on the statute book and its expeditious application to the only portion of the island that would have it. Some of these delegates had been open and uncompromising partisans of Ulster. One of them (Lord Birkenhead, erstwhile Mr. F. E. Smith) had earned the sobriquet of "Galloper Smith" because of the furious campaign he had conducted in support of Sir Edward (later Lord) Carson's defiance of the Home Rule Act of 1914, passed at the instance of a Government

¹ By "Northern Ireland" was meant the six counties in the north-east of the island, which the Act of 1920 had separated from the rest of Ireland and set up as an administrative entity. The term, though having statutory sanction, was inexact, as Donegal, the north-western county, was excluded, forming, as it did, a part of "Southern Ireland"—another faulty designation. "Ulster," though commonly employed, was equally misleading, inasmuch as the ancient division of the island given that name covered a far larger area than the six north-eastern counties. In this article "Northern Ireland" and "Southern Ireland" are employed in the statutory sense, while "Ulster" is used in the popular connotation.

headed by Mr. H. H. Asquith (afterwards the Earl of Asquith and Oxford) of which Mr. Lloyd George was an important member. They could well be trusted to voice Northern Ireland's aspirations and to echo her determination. They did not irrevocably commit themselves to any terms affecting Ulster until they had previously made sure that those terms would be acceptable to Sir James Craig (later Lord Craigavon)—then the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland—and his associates.¹

Seemingly the articles applicable to both parts of the island contrived to afford satisfaction, at one and the same time, to the "Southern Irish," who insisted upon Irish unity, and the Ulster-men, who insisted upon union, but union with London that implied a divorce from Dublin. This miracle was achieved by providing that:

(a) For one month after the ratification of the Treaty, the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State were not to exercise any authority over Northern Ireland. This Parliament was the Dail Eireann, which had begun its existence in defiance of Britain and had set up a Government, with Mr. Eamonn de Valera as the President of the Council of Ministers.

(b) During that period "the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920," relating to Northern Ireland were to "remain in full force and effect."

(c) No elections were to be held "for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland" unless a resolution was passed by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of holding such elections before the expiry of that month.

(d) The Parliament of Northern Ireland was given the option of retaining its separate existence by presenting, during that period, an address to His Majesty praying "that the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect....."

¹ Complaint was made that Ulster was not informed that her destiny was being affected until "a bold cut-and-dried scheme by which Ulster was expected to come into an All-Ireland Parliament" was handed to her. The words in quotation marks were used by one of the Northern Irish Members of Parliament in the House of Commons.—Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1, Cols. 55-56.

The phraseology used appeared to imply that the authority of the Irish Free State had extended over Northern Ireland. This suggestion was a legal fiction—pure and simple.

The Prime Minister (Mr. David Lloyd George, the head of the British delegation), gave, in the House of Commons, an ingenious explanation respecting these provisions. While he and his colleagues had refused to permit Ulster to be coerced into union with the rest of Ireland, he said, they had endeavoured “to persuade Ulster to come into an All-Ireland Parliament.” Surely Ulster was “not above being argued with.” He continued :

“I have heard.....my Right Hon. Friend Lord Carson set forward as the ultimate ideal the unity of Ireland. I have never heard an Ulster leader challenge the proposition that it was an ultimate ideal... If that be the ultimate ideal, was it unfair to Ulster to recommend that they should consider the question? That is all we have done...Ulster has her option to join an All-Ireland Parliament or to remain exactly as she is.”¹

It is true that Northern Ireland, at that time, was only in an embryonic stage. Her principal representative in the House of Commons—Captain Charles Curtis Craig (Antrim, South)—had made that fact abundantly plain. Speaking some five weeks prior to the signing of the Treaty, he had complained that though a year had elapsed since the passage of the Government of Ireland Bill the “Ulster Parliament” was being “conducted with money borrowed from the bank.” The Treasury had not been set up. He continued :

“The Parliament has the power to pass legislation, and, in fact, has passed it. Two or three Acts have already received the Royal Assent, and if these and other Acts which may be passed require executive or administrative action, that action cannot be taken because the powers have not been handed over. In the matter of the police, on which, as everybody knows, the peace and order of the country depend, the matter is in the same condition. The police in Belfast are under the control of an alien institution, namely, Dublin Castle....The powers which the Minister of Agriculture ought to have have never been handed over to him.”²

¹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1. Col. 39.

² Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 147, No. 133. Cols. 1390-91.

This state, still in the formative period, was offered certain advantages if she joined the All-Ireland Parliament. Her citizens would not only have to pay less in the form of taxation, but they would, in addition, enjoy fiscal autonomy.

The principal spokesman for Ulster in the House of Commons spoke of this offer as a "bribe." In so doing he reflected the temper of the men in power in the new state. For them membership of a common Irish legislature was not an open issue. Of this fact the British and Irish delegates must have been cognizant, at the time they subscribed their names to the Treaty. All arguments advanced—all pleas made—in the effort to dislodge Sir James Craig and his associates from their position of isolation from Southern Ireland failed. The provisions relating to an All-Ireland Parliament must, therefore, have been designed to "save the face" of the Irish negotiators.

The representatives of Northern Ireland exercised their option within the prescribed period as they were fully expected to do. The partition effected by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, was thereby solidified and the achievement of Irish unity, upon which the Irish majority built their hopes, was even more distant than it had been before.

Following the exercise of such option, a commission was to be set up for adjusting the frontiers of the two states. A provision to that effect had been inserted in the Treaty, it is believed at the instance of the Irish delegates, who expected to gain large slices of valuable territory at the expense of Northern Ireland.

That view appears to have been shared by Mr. Lloyd George, who stated in the House of Commons in the course of a debate over the motion for the ratification of the Treaty that there could be no doubt that the majority of inhabitants in the two counties at the moment incorporated in Ulster preferred to be with their southern neighbours. If Ulster elected to remain a separate entity, she could keep these people only by means of coercion upon her part. Such action would, however, create "trouble at" her door—trouble that would complicate her whole machinery and take her mind away from constructive work. She could not build up a good government so long as she had trouble of that sort on her own threshold—nay, inside her door.¹

¹ Parliamentary Debates in the House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1, Col. 40. The two counties that Mr. Lloyd George had in mind were believed to be Tyrone and Fermanagh.

The Prime Minister urged the readjustment of boundaries in a manner that would make the population of Northern Ireland homogeneous. In effecting such a change the geographical and economic considerations had to be borne in mind, as had been stipulated in the Treaty.

As years sped by and no action was taken by the Free State, even though it expected to benefit from boundary adjustment, to convoke article 12 of this instrument, the hope was formed that such adjustment would be made through representatives of both parts of Ireland sitting at a round-table and, by mutual give and take, coming to some sort of a settlement. Pressure was, however, being brought to bear upon the Government of that State, headed by Liam T. Mac Cosgair (William T. Cosgrave) by men of his way of political thinking incorporated in Ulster, to move in the matter. They were, at the same time, being twitted by Mr. de Valera and his partisans, who seemed to be making a rapid headway in the constituencies. No alternative was thus left to them but to ask His Majesty's Government to implement that stipulation in the Treaty.

A Boundary Commission was set up in the autumn of 1924. The Irish Free State appointed to it Dr. Eoin (John) MacNeill, the Minister for Education and a member of the Executive Council, regarded as an apostle of nationalism and an "Elder Statesman." Northern Ireland nominated Mr. J. R. Fisher. Britain appointed Mr. Justice Feetham of South Africa to act as Chairman and the choice was almost universally acclaimed.

The commission had virtually completed its work when Dr. MacNeill tendered his resignation, following the publication in the *MORNING POST* (*London*) of a forecast of the Commission's findings. It precipitated a crisis that convulsed the Free State and had important repercussions in Northern Ireland and Britain.

In a joint statement, his colleagues expressed surprise at MacNeill's action. Until November 20th, they declared, when, on his return from Dublin, he resigned, he

"...had made perfectly clear his intention of joining with us in signing the Commission's award embodying a boundary line, the general features of which were approved and recorded in our minutes as long ago as...October.¹

¹ *THE TIMES* (*London*), Nov. 24, 1925.

Dr. MacNeill, on the contrary, told the Dail of the

"...profound differences between himself and the chairman on fundamental principles of interpretation. He (Dr. MacNeill) held that article 12 meant that the people of the borderland were to be enabled to exercise a franchise that had been denied and withheld by the Act of 1920 ; in other words, that it was meant to revise that Act. Mr. Justice Feetham had a quite distinct view. He held that the 1920 Act and the time had elapsed had created a *status quo* which ought not to be departed from unless and when every element and every factor in the particular situation compelled the Commission to depart from it. Mr. Justice Feetham had imported into his mind a new condition into article 12, a political condition, which had nothing to do either with the wishes of the inhabitants or with considerations of economics or geography. This condition could only be read into article 12 by a constructional effort, but Mr. Justice Feetham made it the dominant feature of his interpretation. It was this—namely, that if the wishes of the inhabitants were found to indicate a desire to be included in the Free State, and if inclusion would have the effect of seriously reducing the area of the six counties so as to produce a political effect on the North, then this political consideration should override the wishes of the inhabitants.

He (Dr. MacNeill) never assented to that point of view..."¹

In Dr. MacNeill's opinion, the boundary line, as determined by his colleagues,

".....could not be defended. It was indefensible as a right interpretation of the Treaty."²

It was understood that Dr. MacNeill had been pressing for the rendition to the Free State of several important towns in Northern Ireland and portions of the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh. Mr. Justice Feetham and Mr. Fisher had, it was said, refused to concede that claim. They favoured only the ratification of the

¹ THE TIMES (London), Nov. 25, 1925. Article 12 had provided that if Northern Ireland exercised its option of retaining its separate existence, "a Commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland and one who shall be Chairman to be appointed by the British Government shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants as far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission."

² *Ibid.*

border and proposed to push back the north-western frontier of Northern Ireland by incorporating in it the richest portion of Donegal.

A situation of the utmost gravity had arisen for the Cosgrave Government, with which Dr. MacNeill had severed his connection immediately after resigning from the Commission. Their contention had been, as President Cosgrave explained in the Dail,

".....that the Commission has no right to take away any Free State territory. I go further and say that if the terms of reference contained in the Treaty were properly interpreted and effect given to the wishes of the inhabitants, this question could never arise, no boundary line could possibly be drawn consonant with the terms of reference which would infringe Free State territory. Even if, in the abstract, such power did in fact exist, I venture to say that at the time of the Treaty nobody had any doubt as to the work which the Boundary Commission was intended to perform. It was arranged by the Treaty that in the event of Northern Ireland remaining under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of the Free State, provision should be made for the protection of the Nationalist majority in that area. No such provision was to be made in the event of the Northern Parliament exercising its rights of continuing its association with Westminster. In that event the Boundary Commission was to bring the minority relief by returning them to the Government of their choice." ¹

In President Cosgrave's view, Dr. MacNeill left the Commission because he

".....has lost faith in the other members of the Commission, and has left himself in honour bound to dissociate himself from them. I must say that I also have lost faith in the other members of the Commission, and am forced to the conclusion that they have allowed themselves to be swayed in the discharge of their judicial duty by the threats and political influence which have been brought to bear on them. Dr. MacNeill left, not because we were not getting all we asked for, but because justice was not being done, because the rights of our people in the North were being shamefully flouted and their destinies being made the plaything of hostile prejudices." ²

¹ THE TIMES (London), November 29, 1925.

² Ibid.

President Cosgrave must have had in mind certain defiant statements made by leaders in Northern Ireland. Sir James Craig had, for instance, declared, in October, 1924, that in the event of any large transfer of Ulster territory "he and his ministers would resign office and, in their private capacities, lead the defence of Ulster."¹

The gravity of the situation lay in the fact that not only did the award framed by the Commission go counter to the claims put forward by Mr. Cosgrave's Government, but also that that award, even after Dr. MacNeill's resignation, was held to be valid. President Cosgrave himself admitted in the *Dail* that, once published, it "would have been legally binding."

In that event, the Free State Government had only two alternatives before it,

"...to put the award into effect and the other to fly in the face of law and Constitution and to resort to the arbitrament of force. Either of these pointed straight to chaos and disorder. The second was clearly unthinkable. The former would drive the country asunder."²

Not only was the Free State Government placed in a terrible predicament, but the peace of both parts of Ireland was thrown in jeopardy. The island bristled with arms.

The Free State Army, in itself, was not far short of 50,000 officers and men. Its upkeep had cost £7,000,000 during 1924, absorbing more than a quarter of the total revenue. So long as the border question remained unsettled, no one in authority dared to make a drastic reduction in the forces.

In addition to the army there were irregular armed men who had survived the warfare that the Free State had waged in self-preservation at a cost of many lives and £17,000,000. It was an open secret that dumps of arms existed in practically every one of the twenty-six counties.

Much the same was true north and east of the frontier. Northern Ireland was an armed camp, if ever there was one. The "Special Constabulary" maintained in "Northern Ireland" had cost £7,420,000 since that state had been set up. His Majesty's Government had contributed £6,780,000 towards meeting that cost.

¹ DAILY MAIL (*Continental Edition*), October 9, 1925,

² THE TIMES (*London*), August 8, 1925.

Mr. Lloyd George's estimate of the forces that would be required "for the maintenance of order in North and South, with all the possibilities of conflict which may arise," had been exceeded. "If you take the most sanguine view," he had declared in the House of Commons, "the numbers will not exceed, for the whole of Ireland, 40,000." ¹

A Conservative Member, representing the City of London the, nerve centre of British finance, asked the Premier how he expected "to enforce the limit." He replied:

"If Ireland breaks faith, breaks the Treaty, if such a situation has arisen, the British Empire has been quite capable of dealing with breaches of Treaties with much more formidable powers than Ireland but we want to feel perfectly clear that when she does so the responsibility is not ours but entirely on other shoulders." ²

Prudence no doubt restrained His Majesty's Government when he presided over it and later when Mr. Stanley Baldwin succeeded him, from enforcing the limit. The forces that had been organized to preserve law and order on either side of the border had, in the meantime, become a menace to the peace of both parts of the island.

Statesmanship required that the crisis created by the unauthorized publication of a somewhat garbled version of the Boundary Commission Award followed by the resignation from that body of the Free State representative, should not be permitted to act as a spark to light up the explosive material accumulated on both sides of the frontier. In that matter both the Irish states and Britain, their next-door neighbour, linked with them by many bonds, were vitally interested.

All three parties rose to the occasion. A series of conferences hastily convened led to an amicable settlement by which not only the border question but also other issues, financial and otherwise, left unsettled by the Treaty, were adjusted.

In virtue of article 5 of the Treaty, the Irish delegation had, it may be recalled, assumed "liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom, as existing at the date" of the Agreement "and towards the payment of War pensions as existing at that date in

¹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1, Col. 35,

² *Ibid*, Col. 36,

such proportion as may be fair and equitable." Mr. Lloyd George thus gave the *raison d'être* of this obligation:

"Every Dominion has its war debt and its pensions. Unless you make some arrangement with Ireland now Irishmen in Ireland would escape contribution to the Great War. Irishmen in this country (Britain), Irishmen in the Dominions, Irishmen in the United States of America, are all paying their share. Unless there were conditions in our Agreement that Irishmen in Ireland should also bear the same burden as Irishmen anywhere else, they would escape."¹

As a basis of discussion, a preliminary claim of £128,000,000 had been originally put forward. With accrued interest it had swelled to £155,000,000 by the end of November 1, 1925.

No Chancellor of the Free State Exchequer who might any day be called upon to find the ways and means to meet interest and sinking fund charges on an obligation anything like so heavy, could be expected to breathe freely. It would mean the paying of £6,250,000 a year for 60 years.

The resources at his disposal were meagre in the extreme. The annual revenue totalled only £26,000,000. The military establishment ate up £10,000,000 in 1923 and £7,000,000 in 1924. On account of the pensions and compensation due to persons discharged from the Civil Service and Police, £1,500,000 had to be paid out annually.² The Annuities in connection with the purchase of land to liquidate landlordism (to which reference will be made in another place), £3,000,000 or more had to be found every year. Then there were interest and sinking fund charges on debt assumed, largely on account of the civil war provoked by Irish opponents of the Treaty, which was estimated to have cost virtually a whole year's revenue.

The Irish negotiators had, on the other hand, succeeded in having a stipulation inserted in the Treaty that in assessing the Free State's liability upon the dissolution of Ireland's partnership with Britain, regard would be had to "any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claims." For decades it had been contended that during the period of Union the smaller island

¹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1.

² Article 10 reads: "The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of Police forces and other public servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance thereof."

had been taxed at a rate far in excess of what she should have been. The money due her, on this account, was placed at a figure that would not only relieve the Free State of any liability in connection with the Public Debt of the United Kingdom and payment of her war pensions, but would also entitle her to a considerable sum. Mr. Ernest Blythe, the Free State Minister for Finance, had estimated it at £280,000,000.

“ When they got down to brass tacks and attempted to estimate any value of Clause 5,” Mr. Stanley Baldwin admitted in the House of Commons, “ they could write it as *nil*.” Seeing Mr. Winston Churchill, a signatory of the Treaty, shake his head in disagreement, he added :

“ If Mr. Churchill anticipated very much revenue out of it, he hoped that if he was making any forecast on any other item it would prove more profitable than his anticipation in connection with this or God help them next April.” ¹

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Birkenhead) revealed, in the House of Lords, that if the financial claims and counter-claims were submitted to arbitration, Britain would have been awarded £40,000,000 or £50,000,000. “ Was it seriously suggested,” he asked, “ that there was available in Ireland any such sum ? ” He characterized the expectation as extravagant. Enforcement of such a claim would have bankrupted Ireland. “ But of what advantage ” to Britain, he enquired, “ would be bankrupt Ireland at her doors ? ”

Yet Lord Birkenhead was one of the British Ministers who had set their hands to an instrument containing those claims and counter-claims. With their penetrating intelligence they must, surely, have seen that Clause 5 of the Treaty was not worth the ink with which it was written.

This frank recognition led to a compromise whereby :

(1) The Irish Free State surrendered its claims to the adjustment of the boundary between her territory and Northern Ireland.

(2) She undertook, at the same time, to relieve Britain of the responsibility for compensating owners of property damaged from

¹ THE TIMES (London), December 9, 1925.

January 1, 1919 (during the "Black and Tan" period); to the truce of 1921 and to repay to Britain the amount she had already paid or was liable to pay under agreements then existing. To discharge this liability the Cosgrave Government undertook to make an initial payment of £150,000 and an annuity of £250,000 for 60 years. Against these amounts, they were to be given credit for £900,000 which would have been due to them under the old agreement.

(3) In addition to this financial undertaking, the Free State undertook to promote legislation increasing by ten per cent. the measure of compensation payable in respect of material damage done since the truce of 1921 for which she alone was responsible. The cost to that State would amount approximately to £1,000,000 payable in five per cent. stock redeemable in ten years.

(4) His Majesty's Government undertook to withdraw all financial claims in respect of the public debt and war pensions.

(5) Northern Ireland was relieved of an obligation for the administration of certain services (railways, diseases of animals and fisheries) by the Council of Ireland, consisting equally of representatives of the two Irish Governments, similar provision not being made in respect of the same services in the Free State. That State had been persuaded to agree, soon after it came into being, to postpone the demand, for the joint administration of these services for five years. That period would have ended in 1927 and if the right had not been waived, in the meantime, a situation of great peril might have resulted; for it was inconceivable that it could have been enforced in Ulster without bloodshed.

This provision was replaced by a clause reading:

"The two Governments of North and South shall meet together as and when necessary for the purpose of considering matters of common interests arising out of the exercise and administration of the powers in question." ¹

This tripartite agreement settled some of the most vexatious issues that had been left undetermined in the Treaty. Undoubtedly Northern Ireland benefited by it all along the line—it kept all the territory it had been given; it secured freedom from intervention by the Free State in certain services; and the prospect of peace would make it

¹ THE TIMES (London), December 9, 1925.

possible for it to relieve itself of some of the financial burden it had borne on account of the Special Constabulary. Britain forgave a debt that she considered unrealizable and secured the Free State's assent to assuming liabilities which would have cost the British Exchequer millions of pounds. The Free State had the consolation of having averted the calamity of losing considerable territory. She had, in addition, the relief that comes from the removal of financial uncertainties that had hung like a dark shadow over her horizon since coming into being.

It must have been with a pang that the Cosgrave Government agreed to the abrogation of the provision for joint administration that had survived the process of attrition. Its utility was no doubt questionable, since any attempt at enforcement was sure to have been resisted by Northern Ireland. But with the conclusion of the supplementary agreement even the legal right which had been originally conceded after great struggle, disappeared.¹

Dehra Dun.

(To be concluded.)

¹ The writer of this article, a notable author and publicist, had the privilege of studying the Irish constitutional development on the spot and with the constitution-makers themselves. He has been, therefore, able to give an account which while unvarnished, is authentic and, we believe, informing and interesting. The concluding instalment of the article will be published in our next issue.

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Ed. C. R.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS.

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INDIA'S constitutional status has become a much discussed subject both in England and in India since the publication of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reform. On 1st July last, Lord Snell proposed in the House of Lords the insertion in clause 5 of the Government of India Bill of a declaration that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress was the attainment of Dominion Status. He doubted if the declarations made in the course of the second reading of the Bill by Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir Thomas Inskip and Viscount Halifax bound future Parliaments and claimed that acceptance of his amendment would satisfy the whole of India and set the minds of the country free for the great task of social reconstitution. Lord Zetland, the new Secretary of State for India, however, in his reply repeated the arguments of Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney-General, that it was almost impossible to give a legal definition of Dominion Status. He further said that it appeared to him that a preamble or indeed a clause of an Act was no more binding than the statement of a Minister. Parliament could repeal or amend an Act on the Statute Book. The amendment of Lord Snell was negatived by 85 votes to 7.

Several facts connected with Indian Constitutional development in the 20th Century, may, however, serve to clarify the issue involved in the present discussion. India under the Morley-Minto Constitution of 1909 remained absolutely in the position of tutelage and the Morley-Minto reforms, merely tried, as the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report have pointed out, "to blend the principle of autocracy derived from Moghul Emperors with the principle of constitutionalism derived from the British Crown and Parliament." The system of Government was frankly a "Constitutional autocracy," and it became all the more intelligible in view of Lord Morley's disclaimer:—"If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it."

One of the results of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 was to speed up the political development of many countries in the world, and it speeded up enormously the political consciousness of India. India got a formal acknowledgment of her position in the Empire when Indian representatives for the first time were asked to be present at the Imperial War Conference of 1917. The Indian Government being a subordinate branch of the British Government in England had no representation in the Colonial Conferences of 1887, 1897, 1902 and 1907, and Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, attended only on certain occasions the first Imperial Conference of 1911. The Imperial War Conference of 1917, however, passed on the 16th April a very important constitutional resolution which for the first time recognised "India as an important portion of the Imperial Commonwealth having the right to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations."

Then came the famous Declaration of the 20th August, 1917, promising "the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire." This Declaration made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament was incorporated *in toto* in the preamble to The Government of India Act, 1919, on the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, presided over by Lord Selborne, on the Government of India Bill. Originally the preamble did not include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. But the Joint Select Committee enlarged the preamble so as to include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917, on the ground that "an attempt was made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement, and to attach a different value to each part according to opinion." This was to make clear and certain by the preamble of a Parliamentary Statute that every part of the declaration of the 20th August was a "binding pledge," and that no part was "a mere expression of opinion of no importance."

Sir John Simon in his speech in the House of Commons (3rd December, 1931) on the Indian White Paper of 1st December, 1931, recognised the wisdom and legal necessity of incorporating the entire Parliamentary announcement in the preamble of the statute. He said: "Indeed when the Government of India Bill of 1919 came to be examined in Committee, a change was made in the language of the preamble for the express purpose of making sure that what

would be found on our Statute Book corresponded exactly with the Declaration then made by the Secretary of State." So the present contention of Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir Thomas Inskip and Lord Zetland that there is no difference between a Parliamentary announcement and a preamble to an Act of Parliament, is untenable, and is contrary to the clear and distinct finding of the Joint Select Committee set up on the Government of India Bill, 1919. In this connection it is also interesting to note that Sir John Ward-law-Milne, the Chairman of the Conservative India Committee in the House of Commons, in the course of debate on the Report of the Joint Committee in the House of Commons, on December 10, 1934, gave it as his opinion that "no pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919." Lord Rankeillour, for many years Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons, said in his speech in the House of Lords on 13th December, 1934: "Preamble of the Act of 1919 binds us, but nothing else. No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment." In view of such divergent and even contradictory opinions expressed by constitutional experts on the value and strength of ministerial pronouncements, it is not surprising that enlightened Indian political opinion should insist on the necessity of incorporating the substance of Dominion Status into the legal phraseology of the preamble of an Act of Parliament.

In fact, the pledges given to India have been very many. The Declaration of the 20th August, 1917, has already been referred to. On the occasion of the inauguration on February 9, 1921, of the new Indian Legislature at Delhi, His Majesty the King-Emperor delivered through the Duke of Connaught the following message:—"For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy." The Duke of Connaught also announced that the "principle of autocracy had been abandoned," and speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of His Government, he repudiated in the most emphatic manner the idea that the administration of India ever could be based

on principles of force or terrorism. The same point is made in the revised Instrument of Instructions from His Majesty the King-Emperor to the Governor-General of India, dated the 15th March, 1921, which states: "For above all things it is our will and pleasure that the plans laid by our Parliament.....may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its true place among our Dominions." It was thus that India obtained a distinct status and that she was placed on the road to a position of equality with the Dominions. In June, 1921, Mr. Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Dominions and Colonies, in a public speech to the Prime Ministers of the British Dominions and Representatives of India said:—"There was another great part of the Empire represented at that gathering which had not yet become a Dominion, but which moved forward under the Montagu Scheme in the work which began with Lord Morley and was continued by Lord Chelmsford, towards a great Dominion Status. We owed India that deep debt, and we looked forward confidently to the days when Indian Government and people would have assumed fully and completely their Dominion Status."

But in the Imperial Conference, 1923, the Indian delegates received a rude shock that India was still very far from the desired and ultimate goal. The representative of the Irish Free State in the conference, Mr. Fitzgerald, openly proclaimed that Indian representatives could not claim equality with the representatives of the Dominions, because they were not really present in the Conference in a representative capacity. They were not really sent by an independent Indian Government and they could not really be regarded as equal with the rest of the members of the Conference. "The only way this Indian trouble is going to be solved," he said, "is that progress towards self-government must be hastened with all possible speed. We, in our country, must sympathise whole-heartedly with the Indians, both in their protest against their inferior race treatment, and in their feelings as to the freedom of their country."

On February 8, 1924, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Home Member of the Government of India, in his speech delivered in the Indian Legislative Assembly tried to show some "difference of substance" between responsible government as promised to India by the pronouncement of 20th August, 1917, and Dominion Status as enjoyed by the British Dominions. Sir Malcolm Hailey's arguments and the

implications of his arguments were at once repudiated, no doubt, by the members of the Legislative Assembly, and by Indian public opinion outside the Assembly, but the speech marked the beginning, as the Nehru Committee Report of 1928 pointed out, of a "new current of thought in official circles in India."

India's constitutional status was in no way advanced by the Imperial Conference of 1926. That Conference, while adopting the famous Balfour Declaration in regard to the equal status and free association of Great Britain and the Dominions as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, made the significant remark that "the position of India in the Empire was already defined by the Government of India Act, 1919." So that Conference did nothing to solve the difficulties created by Sir Malcolm Hailey's attempted distinction between "Responsible Government" and "Dominion Status." In 1927 was appointed the Simon Commission to report on the future Indian constitutional reforms, and in 1928 an All Parties' Conference met in India to produce, as an answer to the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, "a constitution which carried behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India." Lord Birkenhead emphatically said that such a contribution would be most carefully examined by the Government of India, by the Secretary of State and by the Indian Statutory Commission. The first clause of the recommendations of the All Parties' Conference Report, 1928, laid down the Constitutional Status of India. It ran as follows:—

"India shall have the same constitutional status in the community of Nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India."

This clause was copied from the first article of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, concluded on December 6, 1921. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was, however, given the force of law by an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed in 1922, and the Treaty also appeared as the Second Schedule to the Free State Constitution Act passed in the British Parliament on December 5, 1922.

The Report of the Nehru Committee was adopted by an All Parties' Convention which met in Calcutta in December, 1928. On the 31st October, 1929, Lord Irwin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, announced the setting up of a conference in which His Majesty's Government should meet representatives both of British India and of the States for the purpose of discussing the proposals for constitutional reform in India, and also made the important pronouncement on behalf of and with the authority of His Majesty's Government that "it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status." In 1930, Mr. Wedgewood Benn, the Secretary of State for India, in the Labour Government of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, said in the House of Commons that in India there was already "Dominion Status in action." In the same year again, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald spoke at the Guildhall Banquet on the 9th November, in the following terms:—"We shall be in conference with men and women who are representatives of a people with whom we have been thrown into contact, and the closest contact for centuries.....and with their representatives and with their Princes we shall be engaged in the same task of broadening liberty so that we may live with them under the same Crown, they enjoying Dominion Self-Government which is essential for national self-respect and contentment." Lastly there are the concluding words of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald at the final session of the First Indian Round Table Conference, in January, 1931, a declaration which he affirmed a year later as the head of the National Government, with the approval of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister said this:—"Finally I hope, and I trust, and I pray, that by our labours together India will come to possess the only thing she now lacks to give her the Status of a Dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations—what she now lacks for that—the responsibilities and the cares, the burdens and the difficulties, but the pride and the honour of responsible Self-government."

There can be no doubt that in India these various statements and pledges were understood in their natural meaning, that is to say, that India could look forward to attaining within a reasonable period of time the same status as that of the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth. But the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform which was published in November, 1934,

scrupulously avoids any reference to Dominion Status in the body of the Report ; on the other hand, it pins its faith to the preamble to the Act of 1919, and makes the significant remark that " Subsequent statements of policy have added nothing to the substance of the declaration embodied in the Preamble to the Act of 1919." The Government of India Bill, 1935, has been introduced in Parliament without any preamble. In moving the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Commons on the 6th February Sir Samuel Hoare said that there was no need for a preamble to the Bill, as the preamble to the Act of 1919 would stand unrepealed. That preamble had been interpreted by Lord Irwin in 1929 as meaning that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion Status. The Government, said Sir Samuel Hoare, stood firmly both by the pledge given in the 1919 preamble and the Viceroy's interpretation of it in 1929. There was, therefore, from the point of view of the Government of the day, no need to enshrine in an Act words and phrases which would add nothing new to the declaration of the preamble. The preamble to the Act of 1919 was described by the Joint Committee in their Report as " having set out finally and definitely the ultimate aims of British rule in India."

But Indian public opinion, as the Indian Delegates to the Joint Committee have said in their Memorandum, has been profoundly disturbed by the attempts made repeatedly during recent years to qualify the repeated pledges given by responsible Ministers on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Since it is apparently contended, both in Parliament and outside, that only a definite statement in an Act of Parliament would be binding on future Parliaments, and that even the solemn declaration made by His Majesty the King-Emperor on a formal occasion is not authoritative, it is necessary that a declaration should be inserted in a new preamble to the Bill of 1935 in order to remove present grave misgivings and avoid future misunderstandings. In other words, for an exact, unambiguous and accurate definition of India's present and future constitutional status it is absolutely essential that the present Bill should contain a new preamble defining the constitutional status of India in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The preamble to the Act of 1919 is hopelessly out of date, and no amount of " interpretation " put upon it can make it identical or consistent with the constitutional status of the dominions. That preamble binds India " as an integral part of the Empire," and this

implies the unrestricted control of the Imperial Legislature, the Imperial Executive and the Imperial Judiciary over the affairs of India. As a matter of fact, it has been explicitly stated in a part of the preamble that the "time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples." The constitutional status of the Dominions, on the other hand, according to the preamble to the Statute of Westminster, 1931, is based on the declaration that "the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" and that the members of the Commonwealth are "united by common allegiance to the Crown." The Balfour formula which was adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1926 and which was recognised by the preamble to the Statute of Westminster, 1931, runs :—"Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in Status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs." It is important to note further that since the Statute of Westminster, 1931, the Union of South Africa has passed two very important statutes, known as the Status of the Union Act, 1934, and the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act, 1934, which support the doctrines of (1) the divisibility of the Crown as regards the Union ; (2) the right of Union neutrality in the case of a war declared by the Crown on the advice of British Ministers ; and (3) the right of the Union to separate from the Commonwealth. General Hertzog, the Premier of the Union, has never swerved from these propositions, and it is natural to find them implied in the union legislations promoted to effect his purpose. The Status of the Union Act asserts, as Professor Berriedale Keith has pointed out recently in the Journal of Comparative Legislation, that the status of the Dominions enunciated by the Imperial Conference of 1926 is that of a sovereign independent state, and General Smuts in discussing the measure has argued that this follows from the fact that the Conference of 1926 placed the union on the footing of equality with the United Kingdom, which clearly is sovereign and independent. Far more important is the fact that the sovereign legislative power is declared by this Act to be vested in the Union Parliament alone, and in accordance with this doctrine the appropriate parts of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, are re-enacted as

Union Law. The vital point in the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act is the power which it gives to the Governor-General to exercise any royal function in respect either of internal or external affairs on the advice of the ministry without obtaining royal approval. Professor Keith thinks that "in strict law there seems no obstacle to the Governor-General issuing a proclamation of neutrality in the event of the Crown declaring war on the advice of British ministers. There seems further no obstacle to the Governor-General assenting to an Act which would sever the connection between the Union and the Crown. General Hertzog, therefore, may claim that the measure does provide a legal means for the assertion of the doctrines of the rights of neutrality and secession." The recent judgment of the Privy Council in *Moore v. Attorney-General*, which asserted the validity of the Act of 1933 of the Irish Free State abolishing the right of appeal to the King in Council, has still further strengthened the position of the Dominion Parliament. "We must," as Professor Keith has again observed in another article, "answer in favour of General Hertzog the vexed question whether by his Status of the Union Act and Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act in 1934 he has succeeded in establishing in law the divisibility of the Crown and the existence of the rights of neutrality and secession." Therefore, by no amount of legal subtlety or legal fiction, can the preamble to the Act of 1919 be interpreted as ultimately aiming at Dominion Status for India. That preamble is definitely circumscribed in its aim and scope, and it can never bear the meaning of the ultimate attainment of Dominion Status for India.

In course of the debate on the second reading of the Government of India Bill, 1935, the Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Inskip, said that Dominion Status could not be inserted in the preamble to the present Bill because "it would be extraordinarily difficult to frame suitable language as to the nature of the Dominion Status which was intended to be conferred upon the Indian people, and put it in the formal framework of the preamble." His Excellency Sir John Anderson, the present Governor of Bengal, also recently told the members of the Bengal Legislative Council that the term 'Dominion Status' was not a juridical conception at all and would, therefore, be out of place in the body of any statute. In reply to these objections it may be urged that India does not want the inclusion of the phrase 'Dominion Status' exactly in the

preamble. The term 'Dominion Status' is not a term of art, and it is perhaps incapable of precise legal definition. But it could certainly be declared without any legal difficulty or ambiguity in a preamble to the present Bill that India shall have ultimately the same constitutional status in the community of Nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament. Such a declaration is not without a precedent in the constitutional history of the British Commonwealth. An exact declaration like this constituted the first article of the Articles of Agreement for a treaty between Great Britain and Ireland concluded on December 6, 1921. Of course, there would be this difference that Ireland was to have this constitutional status immediately, and not at some future date, as in the case of India. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was given the force of law by an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed on December 5, 1922, and in the preamble to this Act it was declared that the "Irish Constitution shall be construed with reference to the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland set forth in the second schedule hereto annexed (hereinafter referred to as the scheduled treaty) which are hereby given the force of law."

So the future constitutional status of India is capable of legal definition like the constitutional status of the Irish Free State. By saying that we do not attempt to impose upon future India the constitutional status of the Irish Free State in 1921 "put into cold storage." The constitutional status of a Dominion to which India would aspire would be the most current and up-to-date status of that Dominion. An important declaration regarding the constitutional status of India was embodied in the Nehru Committee Report and was approved by the All-Parties Convention sitting in Calcutta in December, 1928. The British Parliament might easily, therefore, satisfy the legitimate demand of the Indian Nation by incorporating such a declaration in a preamble to the present Bill.

CO-EDUCATION

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SOMEWHERE in the eighteen-fifties in a dual secondary school in England (*i.e.* a school that receives both the sexes but educates them separately and where even the men and women teachers are often segregated) a male teacher had occasion one afternoon in order to make some perfectly harmless enquiry to enter the class-room of a woman colleague. She was so astounded at this breach of etiquette that she nearly fainted ; when however she sufficiently recovered, the first thing she did was to ring a bell to summon the head master who arrived in due course and led his erring colleague away. It is not clear whether the morals of the teacher or the *morale* of the taught which his promptitude of action preserved.

What is clear however is that great changes had come over educational practice and theory in England by the end of the 19th century. The dual secondary schools, actuated in the first place by considerations of convenience and economy and no doubt encouraged by the example of the mixed elementary schools in the country, often relaxed the barriers that segregated the sexes and girls and boys were taught together and no very obvious deterioration in manners or morals were observed to follow. A few ardent reformers like Badley, Reddie, Pice, Cecil Grant and others established co-educational schools in different parts of the country led by their conviction that distinct moral and social gains were to result from their introduction to the individual and the nation. Finally, there was the advance in public opinion with regard to the status of women and a corresponding lessening of the desire to afford girls a special protection. All these factors contributed to the decline of the dual school and its gradual suppression by the mixed school.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, co-education at the secondary stage has made such rapid strides in England that there are nearly 400 mixed secondary schools in England and Wales to-day as against 450 separate girls' and 463 separate boys' schools, *i.e.*, the mixed schools constitute nearly one-third of the entire secondary system in England and Wales and it has been calculated

that 2 boys out of every 7 receiving secondary education in England and Wales received it in schools to which girls were also admitted. Between them these mixed schools educate about one hundred thousand boys and girls, i.e., approximately one quarter of the total number of pupils receiving 'efficient' secondary education—a fact of tremendous significance and a great eye-opener to those who would still like to believe that, it does not matter what Scotland and influenced by her example America might have done, England at any rate has definitely set her face against this highly dangerous practice of co-education. In England these mixed schools were originally the products of economy and convenience but there has been a steady growth of a strong belief in them on educational and moral grounds. Conviction has come to replace mere considerations of convenience. This is true to such a remarkable extent that teachers who have had experience of both types of schools would hardly ever think of going back to the single sex school, though they might have spent a good portion of their lives there.

I have tried to focus attention on the secondary stage of education as co-education as a method or policy has won universal recognition in the elementary and the university stages all over the world and the battle rages fiercely still round the difficult period of adolescence. At the present moment Russia, China, Spain, Scotland, America, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and the northern countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark and partially England are co-educational at the secondary stage but even in some of these countries opinion is sharply divided on the question. If the co-educationists would agree to separate the sexes from the ages of 12 to 16 (which often means in practice from 11 to 18) there would not have been that sharp cleavage of opinion that exists with regard to this question. But that is precisely what the co-educationists cannot agree to do, since it is their contention that it is during the period of adolescence that the need for co-education is most urgent and that its moral, social and intellectual advantages most marked. But we must not forget that while they acclaim it as a great blessing and the best preparation for life, there are large numbers who see in it the seeds of individual and racial decay. (X

The attitude of hostility is to a large extent due to two things, (1) firstly to the misconception which still largely prevails as to what co-education is or what its programme may be ; (2) secondly,

the stultifying influence of prejudice and blind custom and the consequent lack of a scientific attitude to the question based on the considerable volume of data and evidence that have been collected in England and America. Co-education is forcing itself on the attention of the public at the present moment in India and a reasoned judgment strengthened by the available data and the experience not only of other countries but also of our own country should take the place of mere irresponsible opinion. By co-education, we mean boys and girls are educated together, usually in the same classes and are allowed some freedom of association both within and without school hours. It certainly does not mean that boys and girls shall be taught the same things, at the same time, in the same place, by the same faculty, with the same methods and under the same regimen. That is based upon the assumption that there are no differences between girls and boys and consequently they should be given precisely the same education. Co-education certainly recognizes difference in their physical and mental powers and needs, but it holds because of their fundamental similarities and because of the great gains that result from the association of the sexes, they should be educated together, uniting in classes, in many sports, and in much of their social life but modifying all these to suit their special differences. The co-educationist claims that he can make adequate provision for the slightly differing needs of the sexes within the organization of the same school. Take for instance the biological function of woman and her position in the home. Test-tube babies might have a fascination for some women or a few may be enamoured of Lord Birkenhead's vision of the future when babies would be grown in laboratories and incubators. Some would also perhaps point to the 1931 Census of Occupation of Women in England and Wales as presenting to the world the interesting fact that there is no profession or occupation left untouched by woman, but in spite of it all, the vast majority of women whether in the West or in the East, whether in the near or the distant future, would look forward to a married life and their position as the mistress of the home as a desirable objective in their lives. The woman's functions of child-birth and infant nurture are bound to give the average girl a bias of interest in home life and the better type of co-educational school makes ample provision for her needs by opening separate classes in domestic subjects such as mother-craft, nursing, cooking, sewing, laundry work, etc.

Those who concede co-education in principle are still assailed by doubts and misgivings as to the risks and dangers that are inherent in the new experiment. But what they forget is that segregation of the sexes at this period is ten times more risky and positively harmful. No-body denies that there are risks in bringing together the sexes at the difficult period of adolescence. But has educational statesmanship become so very bankrupt that it cannot provide adequate safeguards so that chances of harm might be reduced to nil and the proved benefits of the system reaped in full. Nothing worth achieving in this world is without its risks and we cannot take up the position of the man at the aerodrome who would not buy a ticket unless it was certified that there would be no accident.

What are then the real objections to co-education that still make people nervous about it ?

Broadly speaking the problem presents two different aspects calling for scientific examination and findings. First there is the imperative psychological consideration of the effects produced by boys and girls on one another during adolescence—among other things the fear of the sex lure.

Secondly the question of sex differences and how far they should affect the courses of study, their pace of progress and the organization of the curriculum and teaching. It is felt if these two difficulties are met, the others connected with the experiment would not very much matter.

Dominating every other consideration in the mind of the parent is the moral question—will the co-educational school be 'safe' for his son or daughter ? He does not fear, of course, the grosser forms of immorality but he has an uneasy feeling that to educate a girl with boys or a boy with girls is to invite a series of emotional disturbances which he would rather avoid or postpone. He forgets it is not the co-educationist who introduces the complication. It is Nature herself. She has put the age of puberty right in the middle of the child's school career. Repression or clandestine satisfaction of sex feelings is attended with grave risks and so the co-educational school provides an atmosphere where boys and girls sublimate their sex feeling through the thousand and one activities of school and make their adjustments under safe conditions. He apprehends his child will fall a victim to the sex lure: But it is precisely in the mixed school the co-educationist tells him that the sex lure can be most effectively counteracted.

There is also considerable irony in the apprehension of sex experimentation in the co-educational school as a number of these schools were deliberately established to combat as far as possible the low state of sex-morality in boys' boarding and to a lesser extent, in boys' day schools. It is acknowledged to-day by educationists that the mixed school, boarding or day, is a safer place for the average boy or girl as regards harmonious sexual development than the average one-sex school. A few years ago the English public was startled by the public school novel, *The Loom of Youth* by Alec Waugh, himself an ex-public school boy, painting its impurity in lurid colours. It focussed public attention on certain facts which had been perfectly well known to schoolmasters for years. A novel is not a scientific treatise but more significant than the novel was the reception that was accorded it—the matter-of-fact comments passed upon it by those who had been insiders and should know. Professor Findlay in warning his readers about the exaggeration of public school immorality could only say that a substantial minority of boys passed through the public schools unscathed. Day schools do not fare any better. It is not denied that most homes fail to furnish an atmosphere where the sexes might adjust themselves and the result is the growth of these abnormalities and vices in the boys' day schools as well. The same tale is told of girls' schools. The segregated girls' schools suffer also from a considerable amount of the same tendencies. The older girls continually fall in love with their mistresses and each other, they write silly little notes to equally segregated males in the outer world, they go girlish about film stars with wavy hair. Rosamond Lehman's description in her novel *Dusty Answer* of a girls' school at night dormitories of sleeping virgins with their loves and dreams has something dreadful and pitiful about it, and Olive Moore's novel, *Celestial Seraglio*, might almost be taken as a clinical study in this respect.

One does not need to go through the investigations of Psychoanalysts to understand that to segregate large numbers of either sex, to cut them off from the society of the other is not a natural proceeding and imposes a high degree of strain upon them. Under that strain their code of morals will often collapse and immorality in one form or another, impurity of thought, indecent language, self-abuse or something worse, will result. The instincts and emotions of adolescence with its quickening sexual awareness, are afforded no natural outlet—the boy is thrown back on himself and his

companies. He begins his sexual life with his own sex. Few will question to-day the fact that the presence of girls in a boy's school, day or boarding, has purified the atmosphere, that co-education has in fact remedied such evils, by offering in the healthy and regulated companionship of school life, silent opportunities for the subconscious satisfaction of dawning sex feeling and thus helping sexual growth quietly along normal channels. One doubts whether this vital aspect of the problem influences public opinion very much. If it did, the attitude of distrust towards co-education would quickly disappear.

By admitting boys and girls once for all, taking them for granted and unkindly robbing each of the glamour of the half-light and the delicately whispered confidence (girls and boys in a mixed school do not whisper delicately to each other), the co-educational school has to a great extent helped them to dismiss the whole subject of sex. It will seem alright later on, but for the time being it loses its appeal. Wherever else sex strain is to be found, it will not be found within the walls of the ordinary mixed school, for the atmosphere, all observers note, closely resembles that of the home and is definitely one of pleasant friendliness.

The atmosphere, free from sexual embarrassments, becomes one in which each contributes freely to the development of the other. They discover slowly (what many adults have yet to discover) that comradeship is possible between members of the opposite sexes on a healthy and unsentimental basis. They develop a capacity for intelligent friendship ; and they find out that friendliness can exist without familiarity and that boys and girls can help each other without wanting to flirt. It is not that mild flirtations do not sometimes occur but the whole sweep of public opinion is against sentimentality and softness and towards that firmness and fine comradeship that come of sublimation. And hence flirtations are very short-lived if they do occur at all.

Besides purifying the atmosphere of school life, a mixed school helps the co-educated boy to have a more dignified ideal of relationship between the sexes. Woman has been his playmate and co-worker. She is not the plaything of his lighter moments. He has come to have a more lasting respect for her, because he knows her better; true respect cannot be based on ignorance. He will expect more: and he knows if he expects more, he must give more. Thus on the basis of this understanding would an enduring friendship and a

harmonious sex life be possible. The segregation of the sexes is responsible for not a little of the misery in our lives. It has made sex adaptation almost an impossibility. As a consequence the Englishman is perhaps the dullest and the Indian the most sentimental of husbands in the world !

Segregation of the sexes is unnatural and unhealthy at any time, but particularly so during the formative years of childhood and the quickening years of adolescence. Yet this segregation is the basis of the existing orthodox educational system.

I have discussed at length the moral question as co-education is really condemned on the ground that it accelerates the sex-urge and introduces complications into the lives of young girls and boys. Enough has been said I think to remove the fears of over anxious parents and educationists.

If co-education is justified on moral grounds, there are very few who would question its great value as a training ground for citizenship and for imparting that sense of community which unites men and women to co-operate in the service of the state and makes them accommodate and adjust their differing points of view. The urgent need of society to-day is that men and women should come to understand and co-operate with each other more. Is separation or is association more likely to lead to a better understanding ? On the answer to that depends the value of the mixed school as a social institution. It is the plainest of common sense that the attempt that is often made to keep women in one sphere and men in another and then to expect them to mingle with one another for the tasks of life is nothing short of an absurdity.

With regard to the question of the physical and mental differences between the sexes, and their differing needs, psychological investigations and the evidence gathered by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in England conclusively prove that popular opinion is too prone to overemphasise and exaggerate these differences to an extent not recognised in a strictly scientific view. Take for instance the question of mental differences. The various intelligence tests have established beyond doubt that women are in no way inferior to men in mental capacity, though they may have differing interests and temperament. A sound system of intensive education is also revealing the further fact that the differences in capacity between the individuals of the same sex are just as many, and as

great as between the sexes, calling for differential treatment both in study and training. So sex differences cannot be regarded as introducing new complications into the problem. It is a matter of organising the teaching to suit these individual differences and all good schools, whether single-sex or mixed, are at least making an attempt to do this.

Experience, confirmed by scientific investigation however, shows that there is one point of difference which is somewhat inherent and fundamental. This is the rate of growth for boys and girls. Adolescence sets in the girl as a rule a couple of years earlier than in the boy and she generally gets at the start ahead of the boy in mental development, but only up to the age of 14. As against this must be set the fact of her greater liability to fatigue and overstrain after puberty. When this age-limit of 14 is reached, the boy who was initially outstripped picks up and overtakes the girl. It is apprehended that goaded by a sense of competition the girl makes efforts to make up for a growing deficiency that involves great strain and may end in a breakdown. But this danger, if it is not over-exaggerated, is not peculiar to co-education. It will operate wherever there is competition. As a matter of fact we have it on evidence that the strain is far more severe in English separate girls' schools. And we know that is equally the case in the Indian girls' schools. Led by a determination to show that girls and women could equal boys and men, they are more in danger of stimulating excess of industry in girls. They have proved their case but at what a sacrifice ! The Consultative Committee even suggested that the girls should take the First School Examination a year later than the boys, so that the girl of 17 would be equated to the boy of 16. In any case the remedy is not separation but a lessening of the spirit of competition. The danger will be far great in a separate than in a mixed school where girls and boys meet each other in a spirit of camaraderie and understand each other's difficulties more than when they are jealously kept apart as antagonistic rivals in separated schools. It should of course be a special point of attention of the staff that the girl after puberty, especially after the 14th year, needs to be sheltered from overstrain and helped more than the boy. The real remedy is of course specialisation along the lines of particular bent and natural aptitude of each sex and no examinations, but in an imperfect world like ours there is not much prospect of realising either in the near future.

The difference in the physical strength of the two sexes is understood and recognized. Nobody suggests that boys and girls should play football or hockey together but there is no objection to their joining in cricket, tennis, swimming, skipping, badminton, folk-dancing, rhythmic movements and small-space games that do not involve very great strain but make the life of the young generation happier and perhaps cleaner than ours has been.

It is also a matter of minor importance whether this or that subject of study is congenial to one sex or the other ; whether for example boys excel in the classics, science and mathematics or girls in literature, history and modern languages and fine art. The elaborate examination statistics collected have a good deal of academic interest but once you agree that boys and girls ought on other grounds to be educated together, you will not trouble greatly about these varieties of choice. It has never been proved that the differences in achievement between the sexes are so great that they cannot be taught together.

The examination statistics are sometimes used as evidence of sex incapacity ; it is held that because boys usually outstrip girls in mathematics, there is some congenital defect in the female make-up that leaves her helpless in front of quadratic equations and the argument can be reversed when boys are asked to write essays on Keats and Shelley. In both cases the hypothesis is not proved : the facts can be more simply and quite adequately accounted for in terms of desire and interest : the whole environment and outlook of the average girl leads her to become comparatively indifferent to mathematics and there are many tendencies in the present-day environment of boys that lead them away from poetry and every form of fine art. If either sex wishes to prove incompetence in the other, there are plenty of statistics to work on.

Further there are statistics to show that the average mathematical attainments of girls and literary attainments of boys in mixed schools are on a much higher level than in segregated schools. That is also the case with the percentage of passes (Sir Benjamin Gott's Middlesex figures). Neither does it matter very much that investigations have proved that constructiveness, initiative and independence come chiefly from boys and industry and conscientiousness from girls. If anything, it is an argument for and not against co-education for a diffusion of these qualities among the sexes is highly desirable.

It is agreed further that the broad lines of the curricula of the boys' and girls' secondary schools should be the same except that boys should take a course in some form of handicraft while girls study some form of housecraft. Even in Bengal in the New Syllabus we have made some provision for that and it should not be difficult for the mixed school to arrange separate classes for these purposes. As a matter of fact every large school, though confined to one sex, seeks to meet demands for variety—some boys want to be engineers, others to study languages and so forth: some again are backward while others press on rapidly. The presence of girls merely makes demands for qualifications in some of the women members of the staff to teach special subjects such as domestic science, fine arts, etc.

This brings me to one really very important feature of the co-education school which is fundamental if its success is to be ensured, *i.e.*, the staff should not be confined to one sex but be a mixed one. It does not matter very much what should be the proportion of men and women in the staff; it is better no doubt if it is well balanced but no great harm if it is not. It is imperative however that there must be some women on the staff not only to teach certain specific subjects but to understand the girls' points of view and help them to tide over their special difficulties.

The other arguments against co-education that it will effeminate the men and coarsen the women, that it will crush out love and romance from life, that there will be no discipline but perfect chaos in schools, etc., have been repeatedly disproved. The only objection that still remains is one of prejudice which shuts its eyes against inconvenient facts.

Co-education has become a living issue in India and particularly in Bengal. All the forces working in the country are making for a phenomenal transformation in the status of woman and the urgent need of her education. The greatest obstacles to women's progress and education in India have been social. They are, I am glad to say, crumbling down one by one. Instead of being generally hostile, men are now friendly to the education of their womenfolk. Purdah is quickly disappearing, the age of marriage has been pushed up by the Sarda Act. Women are gradually being released from the bondage of social fetters and coming to be recognised as partners in the home and the commonwealth. This is a movement of no small consequence

for it entails and demands the education of women as a necessary corollary. It is a patent fact that the separate institutions for girls either at the elementary stage or at the secondary stage are inadequate for their needs and considering the ridiculously low amount of money that is being spent on girls' education compared to the disproportionate expenditure on boys' education, there is no chance of our furnishing the institutions required very soon. That is the argument of those who put it on grounds of economy and convenience. But I have put it on other grounds as well. What is our answer to the ever increasing demand of women for education? Only a reluctant and practically a forced concession of the practice of co-education in *the elementary stage*. Sir George Anderson points out in the last Quinquennial Report on Indian Education that there is no alternative in the elementary stage between co-education and no education. This is a grudging recognition which is born of considerations of expediency and convenience and which totally ignores its possibilities as a great moral, social and intellectual influence. There is a growing demand for co-education in Bengal *at the secondary stage*, especially in the *moffasil* and in rural areas where there are no separate girls' schools. But such is our habit of perpetual distrust of childhood and youth that we have said an emphatic 'no' to such a revolutionary demand. The Syndicate of the Calcutta University passed a resolution some time ago putting an embargo on co-education in boys' schools beyond the age of ten. This is certainly a retrograde step and would retard the progress of women's secondary education in the province. If not on other grounds, at least on the ground that the marriagable age of girls has been raised to 14, the University ought to lift the ban. Under the present arrangements there are hundreds of girls in the villages whose education would be cut off at 10. The University should certainly insist on certain safeguards in the shape of a mixed staff, differentiation in the curriculum, etc., as a condition precedent to recognition of co-educational schools but it should not brush aside the whole question.

The objection is sometimes brought forward that it is not sanctioned by social usage in India. People forget that there is a considerable amount of co-education going on in the country at the present moment. There are nearly 2,000 girls in boys' secondary schools and about 300 women in men's colleges at the present moment in Bengal. The corresponding figures for Madras and Bombay are

higher. Is it anybody's case that there is a moral debacle in the girls and women who study at boys' and men' institutions? The Scottish Church College under the wise guidance of Dr. Urquhart has been trying for some years now the experiment of co-education at the most difficult period of adolescence, from 15 onwards. Has there been anything but a chorus of praise for his work? I am glad he is himself here to testify as to how women have always conducted themselves with great dignity, how their presence has been a refining influence upon the whole college, and has served as a challenge to the spirit of chivalry and good manners of our young men to which they have responded in a most splendid way. Aren't these young men and women coming together in debates, socials, the various college societies and participating in all the activities of the college union that constitute the real joy of college life and making their sex adjustments under conditions of wise superintendence and guidance? Could there be the faintest shadow of a doubt that the tragic dualism in Indian life to-day, the misunderstanding and the incompatibility of points of view, would gradually disappear if they are allowed to associate on terms of equality and friendship. We have a long and fine tradition of co-education, no doubt on a small scale, in Ancient India extending up to the period of the famous Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila that flourished still in the 11th century, and the inherent sense of chivalry and respect the Indian youth has towards the opposite sex is the surest guarantee of the success of the system. Only the attitude of distrust should be definitely abandoned and replaced by an enlightened vision and a policy of sympathy and guidance. Education will never be of value until it begins to concern itself more with life than with learning. The need is for a new conception of the meaning of education; a new sense of values—not examination-paper values but life values.¹

Calcutta.

¹ Adapted by the author from his address delivered at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

NILAKANTHA AND MITRA-MISRA, TWO HINDU POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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A SEVENTEENTH century *nibandha* (digest) writer on *nitisastra* is Nilakantha the jurist (c. 1610-1645). His patron was Bhagavantadeva, a Bundella ruler with capital at Bhareha near the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal.¹ It is to be observed that even now Nilakantha is held very high as jurist in Bombay, especially in the Maratha country. As his dates make him a contemporary of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Shivaji his work on *rajaniti* possesses a special value as throwing light on the intellectual ferment of that great epoch of new political movements.

The *Nitimayukha*² is described in the colophon as a part of the larger work *Bhagavad-bhaskara*. The author Nilakantha describes himself there as well as at the commencement as the son of Sankara Bhatta the Mimamsa scholar. There is no reference to his patron. He says only that *rajaniti* is *nripadrita*, i.e., appreciated by kings.

The work is small in size and its contents can be seen in the following account :

1. Invocation. 2. The Category *Rajan*. 3. The Consecration, described with verses from the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purana*, *Devi Purana*, *Brihat Samhita*, etc., as well as with a lengthy extract (prose) from the *Gopatha Brahmana* (pp. 7-42). 4. The *Saptamaga*. 5. The King's duties, described with long quotations from Kamandaka among others, e.g., Manu and Yajñavalkya. The *Nitisastra* is also cited without Kamandaka's name. 6. The Eighteen Vices of Kings. In this section also Kamandaka and *Nitisara* loom large. Varahamihira and Manu are cited among others. 7. The Daily Time-Table. 8. The Court of Justice. 9. Meals. The examination of food with reference to poison is described on the strength of verses from Kamandaka, Narada, and others, 10. Hunting. In this section Kamandaka is the

¹ Kane, *History of Dharmasastras* (Poona 1930), Vol. I, pp. 438-440.

² Text edited by M. G. Bakre and V. R. Lele (Bombay 1921) without preface.

chief authority. In regard to hunting on land Nilakantha once mentions Chanakya. 11. Evening Functions. 12. Policy. Nilakantha follows Manu who says that persons other than Brahmans also can be appointed as councillors and officers (p. 59). 13. Officers and Servants. Kamandaka is the chief authority. The *Mahabharata* is also quoted. There are two verses from Chanakya.

14. The *Gunas* (military attitudes), described virtually on the sole authority of Kamandaka. 15. The Sphere of Twelve Kings (*Dvadasarajamandala*). Nilakantha's authorities are Manu and Yajna-*valkya*. He has a verse from the *Rajamanasollasa*. But it is strange that his favourite author Kamandaka who is an authority on the doctrine of *mandala* has been ignored by him in connection with this important topic. Nilakantha has, however, thrown some fresh light on the kinds of friends, foes, etc. Each has to be taken as falling into three classes, says he (p. 67). The first is the *sahaja* (natural) friend or foe, coming from among intimate relatives. The *kritrima* friend or foe is one who because of benefits rendered or injuries inflicted by either side becomes friendly or inimical. The third class of friends, foes, etc., is called the *prakrita*. It comprises those states which are technically known as friends, foes, etc., on account of their territorial or geographical propinquity, The neighbour being the enemy, the one next to the neighbour being the friend and so on.

16. The Ministers, among whom the son is included. Kamandaka is the chief authority. 17. The Friend. 18. The Treasure. Varahamihira, the *Mahabharata* and Kamandaka are quoted. 19. The Country and the people. 20. Forts. 21. The Army. Varahamihira, Magha, Kamandaka, and the *Mahabharata* are the authorities. 22. Elephants. Four pages are devoted to this animal. The only authority quoted is Varahamihira. 23. Horses, described on the strength of Varahamihira. 24. The Representative or Ambassador. 25. The Spy. Kamandaka is the authority for these two sections. 26. The Expeditions and omens relating thereto. Varahamihira is quoted. 27. The Camping. 28. The General. Kamandaka is the chief authority in regard to these two items. 29. *Kutayuddha* (unfair war), *i.e.*, with forbidden *e.g.* poisoned weapons and other forms of generally forbidden things are justified under certain circumstances. The authorities are Kamandaka, Manu, Katyayana and Brihaspati. 30. Exhortation to war. This is a rather lengthy chapter for this book of short chapters. Varahamihira,

Yogayatra, *Mahabharata*, *Parasara*, *Gita*, *Manu*, *Narayana*, *Samkha* are quoted to show that even a sinner goes to heaven if he dies in the battlefield, etc. (pp. 101-108). 31. Game.

The *Nitimayukha* is virtually an abridgment of the *Kamandakiniti*. It is interesting that Nilakantha has not quoted *Puranas* among his authorities in an appreciable manner. The *Visnudharmottara* has been mentioned rather sparingly. He is especially interested in *Varahamihira* and quotes the earlier *Dharmasastras*, especially, *Manu* and *Yajnavalkya*. One can say that he is trying to revive the past. His atmosphere is that of a classicist. He is not interested in the latter-day writers. For all practical purposes his authorities belong mostly to the Gupta period.

An entirely new *milieu* is furnished by his contemporary, *Mitra-Misra*, another Northerner like himself. *Mitra-Misra* is a "modernist." To him the past has virtually buried its dead. He appreciates as a rule all those literary men who have risen in post-classic ages and written for their generations. The classics he does not hate. But he does not make any special propaganda in their favour. To him the *Puranas* embody the spirit of the age, and in the *Puranas* he sees the classics reborn or reinterpreted, modernized and popularized. *Mitra-Misra's* work enables us to feel the breath of the generation in which he lives.

The *Rajanitiprakasa* or *Mitra-Misra*¹ is another "virtually" dated work because its author is known in the colophons (pp. 195-96, 463) to have been associated as scholar with the court of *Virasimhadeva* (reigned 1605-1627), son of *Madhukarasaha*, and grandson of *Maharajadhiraja Prataparudra*, King of *Orchha*. The work then belongs to the first half of the seventeenth century and points to the philosophical and cultural *milieu* of the Hindus in the most brilliant epoch of the great *Moghuls*. From the dates given about King *Virasimhadeva* it is clear that his reign coincided from beginning to end with the Imperial rule of *Jahangir* (1605-27). *Akbar* died, be it noted, in 1606. We are told that *Mitra-Misra* was "ordered" (*ajnpto*) by *Virasimha* to prepare the *nibandha* called *Viramitrodaya* (p. 8). But whether it was completed by 1627 we do not know. Besides, the *Viramitrodaya* is an encyclopaedic work like *Hemadri's Chaturvargachintamani* and is a compendium on the most diverse branches of law.

¹ *Lala Sitaram*, "Bir Sing Deo" (*Calcutta Review*, May and July, 1924).

The *Rajanitiprakasa* is a part of this encyclopaedia and, as the title implies, deals with public law. The order in which the different portions were composed cannot yet be ascertained. It is not improbable that the volume *Rajanitiprakasa* as well as some other volumes, were composed after Virasimha's and Jahangir's time, i.e., during the Imperial rule of Shahjahan (1627-1658). In any case the *Vira-mitrodaya* is associated with the glorious age of Indo-Saracenic Renaissance, one of the greatest epochs of world culture.

The *Rajanitiprakasa* * is a bulky volume of 493 pages none of which are requisitioned by footnotes. From the standpoint of size it is as large as the *Kautaliya Arthasastra* and the *Sukranitisara*, if not larger. It is perhaps the most extensive treatise on politics in Hindu literature.

Incidentally be it observed that the *Rajanitiprakasa* is described as *ruchira* (beautiful) by the author while mentioning (p. 8) that it has been prepared by him under command of Virasimha, "the ornament or jewel of kings" (*ksitipatitilaka*).

There is no table of contents or preface published by the editor Pandit Visnu Prasad with the text. The more important topics can be seen however, in the following description :—

1. The King as a category (*rajasavda*) of political thought :—

- (i) any and every ruler or protector of people ? (*kimayam rajasavda jasminkasminscht prajapalake vartate?*)
- (ii) or only a *ksatriya* ?
- (iii) or a consecrated *ksatriya* ? (p. 10).

2. The Appreciation of Kingship. Mitra-Misra quotes the *Kalika Purana* which says that the king is the son of the sonless, the wealth of the unwealthy, the mother of the motherless, the father of the fatherless, the shelter or help of the unprotected, the husband of the husbandless, the servant of the servantless (*abhritiyasya nripo bhrityah*) and the comrade of men (*nripo eva nrinam sakha*) (p. 30).

3. The Appropriate Time of Consecration.

4. The Successor to the State : the eldest son. No title of the other sons to the state. No partition of the state (p. 31).

* Text in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (Benares 1916).

5. The Consecration ceremony, as described in the *Brahma Purana*, the *Ramayana*, *Visnudharmottara Purana*, *Vridhdhavasistha Purana*, *Aitareya Brahmana*.
 6. The Consecration hymn of the *Visnudharmottara*. The king is blest with the wish that he may enjoy the *prithivim samagram sasagaram* (entire world together with the seas) (p. 81).
 7. The Monthly Ceremonies.
 8. The Qualifications of kings.
 9. The Duties of kings. Mitra-Misra quotes the *Visnudharmottara* to say that the king does not have to make up for the householder's losses caused by thieving in case the latter's servants are the thieves. The ruling is in modification of that of Yajnavalkya whose recommendation to the effect that the subjects are to be compensated by the king for their losses due to thieving is considered to be too universal (p. 127).
 10. Things forbidden for kings.
 11. The Daily Time-table.
 12. The Annual Ceremonies.
 13. The King's Assistants: the ministers, officials and servants.
 14. The Residential Country, the Fort, the City.
 15. Things to be stored in the fort. This lengthy section is derived from the *Matsyapurana* (pp. 206-13).
 16. Town-planning, according to the *Devipurana*.
 17. House-construction according to the *Matsyapurana*, *Asvalayana Grihyasutra*, *Visnudharmottara*.
 18. Garden construction as recommended in the *Visnudharmottara*.
 19. The Territory as one of the Seven Limbs.
 20. The Treasure: This section dealing as it does with public finance is fairly lengthy and is derived from the *Visnudharmottara*, *Mahabharata*, *Manu*, *Gautama*, *Vrihaspati*, *Yajnavalkya*, *Vasistha* and so forth.
 21. The Army.
 22. The Ally.
 23. The Four *Upayas* (Policies or Forms of Dealings with Enemies).
 24. Punishment in one's own state as well as in the enemy's.
24. The Three Additional *Upayas* (*Upeksha* = Insult, *Maya* = Camouflage? *Indrajala* = magic).

26. Policy.
27. Energy (*Paurusa*).
28. Protection and Education of Princes.
29. Peace.
30. *Mandala* (or Sphere) of Twelve States (*Dvadasarajamandala*).
According to Mitra-Misra the *vijigisu* is the prince bent on or starting on a career of conquest (*vijetumabhyudyata*). In his definition the *madhyama* is the one that is able to overpower both the *vijigisu* as well as his *ari* (enemy) as long as they are uncombined (*asamhatayor nigrahe*), i.e., more powerful than either of the two. It is wrong, therefore, as has been usually done, to describe the *madhyama* as the medium or the middling power. The *udasina* as defined by Mitra-Misra is more powerful than each of the three states—the *vijigisu*, the *ari*, and the *madhyama*. He is such that he can subdue these three as long as they remain ununited (*asamhatanam nigrahasamartha*) (pp. 320-320).
31. The Six Attitudes or Measures *vis-a-vis* the enemy (*Sadgunya*).
32. Expeditions.
33. Dreams in connection with expeditions.
34. The War hymns in “consecration” of the umbrella, horse, flag, elephant, dagger, leather, drum, bow, etc.
35. Auspicious signs and inauspicious omens in connection with expeditions.
36. The *Jayabhiseka* (victory-sacrifice, to be undertaken on the eve of the expedition. The ceremony is calculated to ward off unnatural death, i.e., death in the battle-field and ensure the conquest of all enemies. This is the lengthiest section in the *Rajanitiprakasa*, and is derived from the *Lingapurana*.
37. The Troop-formations for the Expeditions.
38. The Duties in war. The *Mahabharata* is quoted to show that the Brahmana also has to fight. Devala is quoted to impress upon the soldiers that death in battle leads at once to heaven.
39. The Duties of the conqueror *vis-a-vis* the conquered.
40. Festivals and religious ceremonies during the fourth month while in foreign territories.
41. *Indradhajochechhraya* (festival in honour of Indra).

42. *Nirajanasanti* (festival to celebrate the peace).
 43. Worship of Kali.
 44. *Lohabhisarika*.
 45. *Gavotsarga*
 46. *Vasudhara*
 47. *Satrunasana*
 48. Miscellaneous. The Teachings of Vidura in the *Mahabharata*.
- } Post-war festivals.

Mitra-Misra's references, are varied. In erudition and scholarship he is not to be beaten either by Hemadri or by Chandesvara (thirteenth-fourteenth century). It is perhaps worth while to mention that he attaches great importance to the *Puranas*. The *Visnudharmotara Purana* has commanded his special attention. Evidently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this *Purana* held a very high place in the intellectual and social life of India.

Like all other *nibandhas* the *Rajanitiprakasa* is a compilation or digest of original texts. It is not a commentary on a text although it is once in a while furnished with explanations of words or phrases. Thus considered, the author or compiler of the *Viramitrodaya* may be taken to have contributed nothing to political science or to the other branches of law summarised in his encyclopaedia.

But it is interesting here to recall that all those treatises on *Dharma*, *Artha* or *Kama* which are known to be "original" as the works composed by an individual master or his followers (school) almost invariably describe themselves as summaries or compilations of the works written by previous sages. The place of "old masters" is an inevitable item in the history of Indian thought. Once we are adequately oriented to this item we should be careful not to make any great fuss about the problem of originality or the alleged author's own contribution in Hindu *sastras*. In other words, a *nibandha*, nay, a *bhasya* is not virtually to be treated as less original than the work on which the *bhasya* is written or on the basis of which the *nibandha* is compiled. Should the statements of the authors about their borrowings, compilations or summaries from "old masters" be taken at their face value, and not to be treated as occasioned by mock modesty or perhaps excessive indulgence in genuine humility, we have only to take them essentially as *nibandhas* although they have not cared to quote the texts *verbatim* such as has been done by the writers of

nibandhas in so many words. A man like Hemadri, Chandesvara or Mitra-Misra could easily have paraphrased in his own language all the texts he has reproduced with just an indication as to the source in the form of *iti Manuh*, *iti Agnih* and so forth. In that case they might have acquired the same place *proforma* in the imagination of the reading public as, say, Kautalya, Manu, Kamandaka, Brihaspati, Sukra and others.

In connection with the *Rajanitiprakasa* Mitra-Misra has shown as keen interest and as laborious research as Kautalya and Sukra in connection with their treatises. He has not tried to skip over the problems in a hurried manner. In detail he is plentiful. Whenever necessary he is prepared to enter into controversies, *i.e.*, quote original texts from the most heterogeneous sources. Although by profession a "mere scholar" or *Pandit* he is a practical man and writes with an eye to the utility of his *ruchira* (beautiful) science. He knows that his work is to be used by rulers, ministers, generals and statesmen. In regard to the questions of war and peace he is a *pucca* Brahmana and continues the tradition of the greatest of the Brahmanas since the Vedic ages, in so far as he considers them to be the most profound concerns of daily life. He has not, therefore, indulged in platitudes. Foreign policy, diplomacy, international relations,—these are the topics in which every Brahmana philosopher of politics from the earliest times has exhibited his *forte* as statesman and aye, as *Pandit* or scholar. And Mitra-Misra is a redoubtable "chip of the old block." Fifty per cent. of the huge volume (pp. 248-493) he has consecrated to the profoundest reality of *saptamga* and organized existence, namely, to foreign relations, and every word in these chapters has a message to all,—the ruler and the subjects,—as to the "duty that lies nearest thee."

As a writer on positive morality and secular happiness and as one endowed with hardheaded mastery over the realities of earthly life nobody is a greater man than Mitra-Misra in the entire range of Hindu culture. The seventeenth century is a great period of Hindu creativeness in the field of life's joys and worldly endeavours. In the *Rajanitiprakasa* we understand not only that the best of Hindu tradition was being maintained through the *Puranas* but also that Mitra-Misra himself knew which to select and which to propagate in the interests of his own generation. In this selective work he has really functioned as a creator, an original thinker, a man who knows that he has to remake the personality of his contemporaries, to reconstruct the Hindu states, and

to "whip the country into shape." Mitra-Misra deserves the same recognition in the annals of Hindu life and thought as Ramdas the *guru* of Shivaji (1627-1680). It is strange that such a work as the *Rajanitiprakasa* should have remained virtually unused in indology although it undoubtedly is one of the masterpieces of Hindu intellectual activity, albeit, be it observed once more, it is but a *nibandha* or digest.

Mitra-Misra is a Northerner from the "Middle-West" and is a most distinguished representative of the so-called Benares school. But his writings were not confined to any particular Indian region. The *Rajanitiprakasa* like the other parts of the *Viramitrodaya* was read throughout India. And it is the generation of *Pandits* or scholars nurtured on the great Mitra-Misra's teachings on the "politics of boundaries" and the theory of international relations (*dvadasarajamandalam*) that may be easily taken to have constituted the Brahmanic milieu that furnished the spiritual background of the still greater Shivaji's exploits in the Maratha country. Mitra-Misra wrote for a great age and for the most momentous issues and he was quite up to the needs and requirements of the generation that looked up to him for guidance. With him the *Rajanitiprakasa* is not an archaeological study or a dissertation of antiquarian research but an instrument of futurism, an agency in the remaking of the present. Nilakantha has not indeed omitted any important chapters but his archaeological spirit acts as a damper on the reader and one feels that he is not in touch with the times. And because Mitra-Misra has produced a voluminous work, the fullness of details and the diversity of viewpoints presented by him possess a charm of their own such as is entirely lacking in the almost niggardly manner in which Nilakantha has gone to business with political science.

The special importance attached by Mitra-Misra to the *Puranas* has rendered him quite acceptable as an author even for the Hindus of the twentieth century. It is even possible to build up a twentieth century school of Indian political theory on the foundations of Mitra-Misra. For the Hindus of today the *Puranas* represent the spirit of newspapers and journals, so to say, *i.e.*, the most familiar practical and life-serving literature conceivable. Manu and Yajnavalkya are authorities still by all means. But they are somewhat "archaic" and uncouth. They are respected, nay, perhaps, adored,—but from a distance. But in regard to the *Puranas* the attitudes and feelings of the Hindus are far otherwise. They are direct, personal, friendly.

The *Puranas* are the manuals for the man in the bazar. In so far as the *Rajanitiprakasa* is nurtured mainly on the *Puranas*, the folk-literature, so to say of Hindu India, we breathe in it a comradely atmosphere and through it come into contact with a democratic paraphernalia, the mass mind. Mitra-Misra as the author of this *liaison* between the folk and political *sastra* can therefore still be the starting point of new superstructures constructed in accordance with the novel requirements of intercourse between the East and the West.

In Mitra-Misra's hands political science did not remain the preserve of high-brows. It became attractive to the people, a philosophy in which the people might see reviewed some of their own categories of daily life. *Nitisastra* was thus brought into the market place. No matter what his views regarding the folk *vis-a-vis* the king happened to be, his very equipment as a literary workman served to make of him, unconsciously perhaps, a spokesman of the folk, a philosophical leader of the masses.

The position may be understood if we take a simple analogy from modern conditions. An Indian author to-day who writes in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil or Urdu is automatically taken as a man of the people, a representative of the people's aspirations, although he may not be writing specifically on the folk-interests. The contrast between such a writer and one who writes in a foreign tongue places him in bold relief in the folk imagination. The use of the mother-tongue, the language of the folk, as the vehicle of literary contributions establishes at once a spiritual nexus between the author's work and the mass mind. Mitra-Misra's dependance on the *Puranas*, those encyclopaedic storehouses of world-culture for the folk, those products of the Hindu Home University Library, as it were, and his extensive utilization of the *Purana* texts in season and out of season have contributed to the establishment of *nitisastra* as a *vidya* of the people and for the people. And in this tremendous expansion of its influence as well as in the transformation of its character is to be seen one of the most phenomenal achievements of Mitra-Misra.

From Kautalya to Mitra-Misra we have a story of growth and progress in the annals of the world's philosophical evolution.

Calcutta.

SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL TRENDS IN THE FAR EAST.

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I

IT is my desire to present a bare outline of fundamental ideals that are influencing the politics in the region that is generally known as the Far East *i.e.*, Eastern Asia. I shall also include India as a part of this region. Eastern Asia contains about half the population of the world ; and therefore political developments in this region have a special world significance.

I have to ask my readers to forget for the moment the preconceived notions cherished and taught in the West that there is fundamental difference between the East and the West—difference in human institutions, mental processes and even human anatomy of the people of the East and the West. To be sure there is the difference of colour ; and the colour-complex as well as race-complex has been playing havoc in regard to reasonings of scholars and legislators as well as laymen to such an extent that the index and standard of citizenship is now-a-days determined by the colour or racial origin of a man. Men of the type of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the late Dr. Nitobe, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore are not eligible for citizenship in this great democracy of the United States of America, because Asiatics however qualified morally are not eligible for citizenship. We also know that a great scientist like Dr. Einstein is not eligible for citizenship in Germany, although he was born in that great country, because he is a non-Aryan. I ask my readers to forget this ideal of racial discriminations ; because unless one does so, one will not be able to appreciate the spirit behind the political aspirations of the peoples of the Far East. They want racial equality before law, so that they may not be regarded as inferior, in practice, by the dominant peoples of the West.

I wish to emphasise the point that the concept of a society and state, based upon the ideal of human welfare is not the monopoly

of the modern western nations, which are after all comparatively newcomers in the arena of world civilizations. *The idea that is emphasised by western scholars in general, with the exception of a microscopic minority, is that the only form of Government that is traditional and suited to the people of the oriental countries is autocracy ; and therefore the term "oriental despotism" is generally used to characterise any form of absolutism of a ruler or a ruling class.* May I say that the people of the Orient,—in India, China and Japan in particular—had their political institutions which grew up with the ideal of the good of the people at large. I readily recognise that the conception of "the good of the people" has changed in course of time all over the world ; for instance there was a time, in the United States as well as all over the occident, when slavery was regarded as an institution needed for the promotion of civilization. Of course, political institutions of oriental countries had different forms in different periods of history of the country. For instance, large empires flourished in India and China ; there were city states with all attributes of small republics as well as their federations ; there were monarchies—benevolent and despotic—and even theocratic institutions of the Government of Japan. *To be sure there are tyrants in the Orient as there is no lack of despotism in the West and also of despotic rule of westerners who rule over oriental countries.*

Political scientists of the West generally ignore the necessity of comparative study of governmental institutions of the East and the West of the same period of history—such as those of ancient India with those of ancient Rome or Greece, and those of Europe of the Middle Ages and Feudal period with those of Asia of the same period. They find it convenient therefore to impress upon themselves and the rest of the world their superiority and excellence in governmental institutions. The "divine right of kingship" was well accepted in the West until very recently ; at the same time no great emphasis was placed on the political ideal of the obligations on the kings and ruling classes. Even the much vaunted Magna Charta was extracted by the combined pressure of the landed aristocracy upon the King and was not a charter of popular rights ; and until the French Revolution and the Declaration of American Independence, the ideal of democracy was rarely practised in the West. This was not the fault of the Western people ; but political institutions developed and changed to suit the growth of civilization and new conception of life.

The Government of China and India, in the past, centred more in the villages ; and often it happened that the government of the country as a whole changed by a foreign invasion, but the people were not greatly disturbed and their village governments, which were somewhat democratic in spirit went on as usual. In this connection I also wish to make an observation that governmental institutions of a country may be indigenous or adaptations of institutions of other lands to suit certain conditions. The nations of the Orient are trying to adopt some phases of the institutions of the West ; this however should not be regarded as an evidence that the people of the Orient are inherently inferior to the peoples of the West, nor that their institutions were bad. But it does indicate that the changed conditions in the Orient demand new institutions ; and the people of the Orient are willing to adopt some of the western institutions. *This fact also establishes that the people of the Orient are not so " conservative " and " unchanging " and " unchangeable " as many people think.*

II

At the present time, according to the judgment of political leaders of the countries of the Far East, the question that is of the utmost importance is recovery of sovereign rights and establishment of national states which will be able to withstand external aggression as well as elimination of foreign control in political and economic life of the people. This fact has influenced the development of governmental institutions of all the oriental countries during the last half of a century or longer. In the countries of the Far East, there is no philosophical opposition to the ideal of personal liberty. But under the present conditions of states, personal liberty is to be respected, in so far as this liberty does not in any way interfere with the development of a strong nationalistic state, which in its turn is to work for removing all obstacles, internal as well as external, which hinder the progress of people collectively or individually. Therefore in recent years, whenever any political movement, democratic, socialistic or communistic, has tried to spread its doctrine and organise a popular movement which might interfere with an existing state, working for the recovery of national rights, popular support has come to the state for the suppression of such an organization. But whenever a state has proved to be inefficient or alien, popular sympathy has been with such organi-

zations which have been working for the overthrow of the state. Therefore in the Orient, the political ideal of supremacy of a national state, as preached by Hegel and his followers and practised virtually all over the West, has received tremendous support among the leaders of the oriental peoples as a whole.

The revolutionary movements in India, Philippines, Dutch East Indies and Korea are fed with the ideal of supremacy of a national state which will be brought into existence through the efforts of the masses led by the intelligentsia. At the same time the movement for the suppression of individual liberty are being sustained by the honest belief of the rulers who think that all subversive movement—political and economic radicalism—must be crushed, so that the foundation of the existing state which is working for the development of National Power may not be undermined. If this is true, and I venture to say that it is true, then one may say that the philosophical background of movements against personal liberty in the oriental states is exactly the same as it is in the West. *May I again emphasise that there is no special brand of "oriental despotism," but all despotic states in the East and West have the same philosophical foundation.*

JAPAN.

Japan is the most westernised of the oriental states. The Japanese consciously and deliberately adopted certain western institutions and have super-imposed these institutions just to strengthen their national power. The Japanese suddenly overthrew the feudalistic form of government of the country and tried to adapt themselves to modern conditions with considerable personal sacrifice on the part of patrotic feudal barons and the samurai class. What was the spirit behind this? The Japanese were impressed with the superior political, military and naval power of western nations which opened Japan to intercourse with the rest of the world. The Japanese were anxious to adopt such institutions as would help them to strengthen their position. Furthermore extra-territorial jurisdiction in Japan would not have been removed, if Japan did not prove efficient in adapting herself to western methods and practices of government, without sacrificing her national tradition and institutions of vital importance. Therefore the Japanese transformation in the field of governmental institutions with modern constitution, Privy Council, House of Lords, the Representative

Assembly, civil and penal codes and up-to-date judiciary, etc., are the effects of efforts for the preservation of national sovereignty from external aggression. Japanese political institutions have developed towards a form of democracy, as it may be found in some of the western monarchies.

In Japan, the idea of maintaining supremacy of state has become a practical form of religion : and leaders of political parties are united in developing and strengthening the existing State which will be able to carry out its mission of eliminating western encroachment, affecting Japanese national life. It is well to remember that the differences among the political parties always disappear whenever there is any evidence or even remote possibility of foreign interference in Japan's external policies and economic activities in foreign lands. It has come to my knowledge that even some of the Japanese communist leaders are not opposed to Japan's foreign policy of strengthening herself in the continent of Asia and eliminating all possibility of any attack even from Soviet Russia. However there are Japanese leaders who strongly criticise inefficiency of Japanese authorities and the clumsiness of Japanese officials in carrying out the ideal of maintaining the supremacy of a stable and progressive state ; but they are opposed to any form of revolution or internal conflict which may hurt Japan's position as a first class power. This fact should be kept in mind in interpreting some incidents in Japanese political life. For instance the assassination of a man of the type of Inmukai, who was accused by the western statesmen as one who sanctioned violation of sovereign rights of China, through the invasion of Manchuria, was due to the fact that a group of Japanese sincerely felt that Inmukai was endangering the very existence of the Japanese State through his indecisive action. There is no question of Fascists *vs.* Socialists or militarists *vs.* democrats in Japan today. The question that is of supreme importance for her is this: Can she maintain her position as a great power and assert her national and racial equality inspite of powerful opposition of some of the great western states ? Individual liberty and rights must be sacrificed and even suppressed if the leaders of the state think that it is necessary. In recent years literally thousands of political and economic radicals have been imprisoned and ruthlessly suppressed in Japan for the reason that their activities were regarded as " dangerous to the State."

It is generally expected that because of economic pressure and

Japanese military expenditure and expansionist adventures in Asia there will be a revolution in Japan. I am of the opinion that foreign opposition to Japanese foreign policies and foreign criticism of Japanese policy of securing equality or parity in matters of naval defence, will lead to cementing national unity, ignoring the defect, and the nature of national administration. Just as in France recently the Flandin government received virtual unanimous support of the French deputies on the question of two years' military service, in the face of German re-armament programme and compulsory military service, similarly the Japanese are less apt to oppose any form of virtual dictatorship, in the face of foreign opposition to their national aspirations. However it may be that if the Japanese are plunged into an international conflict and be defeated, then there will be changes in the form of government, as was the case with Russia and Germany, after the World War. But one cannot be very optimistic about the possibility of a change towards a democratic form of government.

The Japanese leaders are not unmindful of the fact that economic pressure on the masses of the people may be disastrous to the State. Therefore, to prevent any possibility of a revolutionary outbreak, they are making efforts to expand their foreign trade which may help the cause of national prosperity and supply the means for the improvement of the economic condition of the masses. Such are the most significant trends in Japanese political life.

CHINA.

In China, the ideal of establishing a strong national State took the form of revolutionary movement for overthrowing a corrupt and inefficient monarchy and the establishment of a republic. The leaders of the revolutionary movement in China were democratic and champions of popular right, because it was essentially necessary for them to secure popular support ; and they also felt that with the establishment of a democratic state it will receive support from democratic western states such as the United States of America and Great Britain. When it was found that they could not accomplish their end of removing extra-territoriality and other limitation of sovereignty in China through the co-operation of Great Britain, the United States, Japan and other capitalistic states, the Chinese leaders turned towards communist Soviet Russia, which agreed to give up extra-

territoriality and extend aid in various forms, especially re-organization of the nationalist army. This led to the beginning of communist influence in the political life of China, through Soviet Russian influence in the Kuomintang Party, which had the object of establishing a powerful sovereign Chinese State which will not only be able to recover China's lost territories, but be able to take leadership in freeing other oppressed peoples in the Orient and other parts of the world. The leaders of the Kuomintang did not think much of the personal liberty of those who opposed their national aspirations and they branded those Chinese who were not willing to co-operate with them as traitors. But when the communistic influence in the Kuomintang became so strong that the nationalistic ideal of the Chinese leaders were being overshadowed by the communistic enterprise and Soviet Russian influence in Chinese politics, then leaders of the type of General Chiang Kai Shek and those who realised that the support of non-communist countries was essential to China's recovery, took strong measures in suppressing the so-called communist elements from the ranks of Kuomintang. There is no doubt about the fact that during the last few years thousands were killed by the nationalist right-wing ; and the Kuomintang party was purged of radical elements. Communism spread fast among the peasants in China, because they had just grievances against the oppressive system of taxation and awful poverty of the masses. The communists promised hope for better life to those who had nothing to lose by the proposed change. The Communist Party of China formed its own army and has been fighting civil wars against the nationalist forces and literally tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands have been killed in these wars. It is needless to add that there is no question of preserving " personal liberty " under the existing conditions.

In a State like China, where foreign influence plays an important part in domestic affairs, political parties are tinged with the colour of the political creed of that foreign state which supports a faction or a party. The so-called communists in China are looking for actual support and inspiration from Soviet Russia ; the Cantonese group of the radical or democratic group in the Kuomintang are seeking support of the United States and Great Britain, and they are champions of republicanism in China ; and the group that is being led by General Chiang Kai Shek is extremely nationalistic and realistic. The Nanking Government realises that the value of so-called support from the

Western States and the League of Nations is something like a pleasant dream and illusion ; and China must work out her own salvation through a strong army and centralised government, if need be, a dictatorship. Therefore it seeks inspiration from the strong centralised government of Japan, the Fascist regime of Il Duce in Italy and also the military genius of German Generals who have been acting as advisors. I do not mean to say that General Chiang Kai Shek and others are opposed to *personal liberty*. But their conduct regarding the rights and privileges of individuals is based upon the firm and honest conviction that an individual's right must be sacrificed to the glory of the State, so that a strong State will be able to offer effective service to the whole nation.

SIAM

Recent events in Siam show that the spirit of nationalism is marching fast in that land. A nationalist movement carried out a peaceful revolution, by forcing the monarch to grant greater power of control of the government to the popular and revolutionary leaders and limiting the authority of the King. This revolution was bloodless and quick, because the leaders of the military force, upon which depends the power of the State, were leading the revolution ; and the king had to surrender. However the very recent changes in the country show that the King of Siam left his country, abdicated the throne and decided to live in England. The King had abdicated because the Nationalist Party leaders encroached upon his power. The power controlling the Government of Siam is anti-democratic and nationalistic. Its ideal is that the establishment of a strong government freed from foreign western influence cannot be accomplished without a centralised authoritative form of Government. Its foreign policy is not to cater to Western Powers which in the past deprived Siam of her territories. This was clearly demonstrated from the fact that Siam, of all the governments represented in the League of Nations, voted in favour of Japan and against the League Resolution regarding Manchuria. These anti-democratic and nationalist leaders are working to develop a strong State in Siam with Japanese co-operation which is not agreeable to many Siamese who think that depending upon Japanese co-operation, Siam should not antagonise

Great Britain, France and Italy. The anti-democratic nationalist state of Siam is passing through a period of transition ; and as it is still very weak, it is to a great extent dependent upon foreign support and co-operation. Therefore it is quite possible, that in case of necessity and if ever a civil war breaks out in Siam, personal liberty of those who belong to the opposition will be ruthlessly suppressed. The present state of affairs in Siam indicates that the thing that concerns the leaders the most is the establishment of a strong nationalist State, overcoming all obstacles on its way.

INDIA

The trend of political life in India is most interesting as well as instructive. The country is ruled by one of the strongest governments in the world ; but it does not enjoy full confidence and support of the peoples. The function of the government, according to all honest students, has been primarily economic exploitation of the people for the benefit of the ruling class and incidentally also that of the masses of Great Britain. The Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald in his work, *The Government of India* has acknowledged this truism. Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland has graphically described the truth about India in detail in his studies.

At the outset, it should be remembered that India, for a long time, was ruled by a British Military Dictatorship ; and there was no question of personal freedom for those who ever challenged the authority of State. The British Government in India took special care to make it clear that it would not take any step to interfere with social and religious life of the people, so that there would not be any question of opposition to the Government on those grounds. But the people were denied the right to govern their own country and this power was invested the British officials. Under these circumstances rose the movement for securing freedom.

With the rise of this national sentiment, wisely but very cautiously directed by the leaders of the Indian National Congress, who were inspired by the achievements of the Continental Congress of the United States, the British Government in India adopted measures to safeguard the permanency of British sovereignty in India. It started with strict Press Act, to suppress vernacular press, fomenting anti-government feeling or spreading disaffection against the British rule in India.

This press law has been made more stringent and interpreted in such a way that those who expressed aspirations for complete independence of India from British rule might be regarded as violator of the law, which is upholding the supremacy of the State.

But such repressive measures cannot often crush the desire for freedom. Therefore the movement for political freedom grew and the moderate form of nationalism became extreme. Lord Morley, in his *Recollections* records that when the Indian Nationalist movement took an extreme form, it became necessary to make certain concessions to the "Moderates of India" and on the other hand, to crush the extreme nationalists through legalised form of persecution which the Indian nationalists term as "Lawless Laws." Therefore, following the policy of granting concessions on the one hand and pursuing the policy of repression on the other, Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, granted certain reforms in 1909. But these concessions were not sufficient to resist the rising tide of nationalism.

During the World War, when Great Britain was fighting for her very existence, the political condition of India was something like that of Ireland, where moderate Home Rulers were willing to support the British while the radical nationalists were anxious to promote a national revolution. The British authorities had to confer further concessions, with the hope of securing support of moderate Indian nationalists. But as the concessions were not sufficient and the oppression of the Indian nationalists seeking greater measure of freedom was unbelievably cruel, the Indian nationalists of moderate school demanded for greater concession. Thus after the Jalianwallabag massacre at Amritsar in 1919, Bloody Sunday of India, rose the Gandhi Movement. It is interesting to note that under the premiership of the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, an avowed Socialist, and also under the viceroyship of Lord Reading, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain, the British Government sanctioned the passage of new laws—if they can be called laws—by which any person, suspected of carrying on anti-government activities, can be put to prison without any formal trial; and a new type of criminal law was sanctioned by which a person can be tried *in camera*, without the help of a lawyer to defend him and witnesses for the prosecution will not have to be present in person, and there can be no appeal from the decision of the Star Chamber justice. But this did not stop the national movement; so the government of Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax)

and the present Viceroy, Lord Willingdon ruled India by ordinance and by outlawing all nationalist organisations, such as the All-India National Congress and even confiscating property and finances of these organizations. Many of the prominent Indian leaders were made "State Prisoners," without any form of trial and thousands were sent to concentration camps as "detenus" without any trial. But this method could not uproot the nationalist movement, so the third instalment of concessions in the form of a new constitution for a Federated India is in the process of being legalised by an Act of British Parliament. Before I say a few words about the nature of the much heralded new constitution, I must give a picture of individual liberty in British India, where the British people are trying to teach the Indian people the ideals of democracy.

In 1818 when India was ruled by military dictatorship of British rulers, any Indian—a prince or a commoner—who was regarded as dangerous to State, was sent to prison indefinitely and no trial was needed. This law was known as Regulation III of 1818. This law is still in force and according to information supplied by Sir Henry Craik, the Home Member of the Government of India, in answer to a question by Mr. Satyamurti of Indian Legislative Assembly at Delhi, on February 15, 1935, that "the number of State Prisoners under the Regulations III, 1818, was 72; of whom 40 were in jails; and that of detenus under different ordinances and Acts, in jail and detention camps were 1,661, excluding Burma in respect of which figures were not available." (*The Amrita Bazar Patrika, Weekly edition, Calcutta, February 21, 1935.*)

"At the Bengal Legislative Council at Calcutta on Wednesday (February 20, 1935), in reply to a series of questions by Ananda Mohan Poddar as to the number of persons at present under restraint under the Bengal Criminal Amendment Act and Regulation III of 1818, the Honourable R. N. Reid, Member in charge of the Political Department, said that in all 2,509 persons were detained under Bengal Criminal Amendment Act. Of these 2,480 were males and 29 females. 203 were imprisoned in the Bengal jails and 3 outside Bengal, 678 interned in Bengal villages other than their own homes, 154 interned in their own homes, 974 confined in detention camps in Bengal and 497 outside of Bengal."—*Ibid*, page 7.

There are some political prisoners in India who are denied any form of trial, but have been deprived of their personal liberty, because

their ideas, philosophy of life and political creed as well as activities are being regarded by the government as dangerous to the supremacy of State.

In this connection I wish to point out that an Indian Prince, Maharaja Guru Charan Singh of Nabha, and a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly (so-called Indian Parliament), Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Bar.-at-Law, of Calcutta High Court, are among the Regulation III prisoners. Mr. Bose has repeatedly asked for a trial ; but the Government of India refused to try him on any charge and yet kept him in prison for an indefinite term.¹ During the last election, Mr. Bose was elected as the Nationalist Candidate from Calcutta to the Indian Legislative Assembly. But he could not attend the sessions of the Assembly, because he was not released by the Government. In this connection a very interesting legal situation has developed. Mr. Satyamurti made a motion in the Indian Legislative Assembly that Mr. Bose should be released, so that he might be able to fulfil his obligations as a representative of the people. This motion was carried by a large majority ; but the Government of India refused to release him. It also refuses to try him by a duly constituted court, because Sir Henry Craik, representing the British Government in India, assured the law-makers that "no trial was necessary, because according to the Government there *is* satisfactory evidence for confinement." Here is then a perfect specimen of the Executive authority, performing legislative as well as judicial functions, violating the fundamental rights of political freedom and individual liberty.

I wish to mention another type of denial of personal freedom prevalent in India under the British rule. There are so-called Indian exiles in foreign lands. These Indians were advocates of Indian freedom. They either escaped from India to avoid persecution or carried on certain political activities against British rule in India, after coming to a foreign country. Now these persons are legally barred from entering India. Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghosh, who came to the United States about 20 years ago, as a political refugee, during the last few years, has asked several times the British authorities in Washington and London to supply him with such travelling papers as need be, so that he would be able to return to India and if

¹ Mr. Bose has just been unconditionally released from detention, to-day July 26, 1935.
Ed. C. R.

necessary stand trial for any charge pending against him ; but he cannot get permission to return home, although he is a British subject and is now in very difficult financial situation in the land of his refuge. Mr. Ghosh was a brilliant scholar of Calcutta University. One of the Indian residents in London, Mr. Saklatwala, who was for some time a member of the British Parliament, has been refused passport to return to India, because his presence in India may prove dangerous to the authority of the State.

These and many other cases prove that whenever an alien government becomes faced with movements for national independence, it crushes them ruthlessly to preserve the supremacy of the State. In such a condition, personal liberty of those who value human freedom is least secure. This was the case with the Armenians and Arabs under the Turkish rule. This is the case with the Koreans under the Japanese rule and the Javanese under the Dutch rule and the Annamites or Indo-Chinese under the French rule and the Filipinos also had to suffer until the government of the United States decided to grant independence to the Filipinos.

In this connection it may be said that an alien government never makes adequate concession to a subject people, unless it is forced to do so. From this standpoint the concession offered by the British Indian Government in the form of a new constitution is hardly adequate, because the supreme emergency has not yet arrived. The British Government has a loyal and strong military and police force to uphold its authority. It can depend upon the support of the Indian Princes and landlords and certain types of Indian capitalists. There is no foreign complication as yet menacing British rule in India. Therefore a careful examination of the proposed constitution for India will disclose that it will not give the people of India or the so-called Indian Parliament control over the National Defence, Finance, and Foreign Relations of the country. The proposed new constitution provides that if the legislative body refuses to enact a law at the bidding of the executive, *i.e.*, the Governor General or the Governor, these officials will have the power to enact such laws by issuing ordinances. The executive heads of the Government will have also the right to veto any law, which, according to their decision may not be to the interest of the State. Thus a new constitution in India will provide for a new type of legalised autocracy which will maintain supremacy of an alien government, in opposition to a growing nation-

alist movement, seeking to establish supremacy of National State. (*Vide Government of India Bill, 1935.*)

Whatever I have said regarding India under the British rule, to a more or less degree, is applicable to all countries under foreign yoke. Individual British or Japanese officials ruling in India or Korea may be very good men and prize personal liberty. But as administrators and champions of supremacy of state they are bound to crush all oppositions and thus personal liberty.

III

Putting aside all sentimentality, I may say that even a democratic state or a socialistic state or communistic state cannot place the ideal of individual liberty above the supremacy of state. Wherever this is done, it has resulted in the overthrow of the government.. The classic example before our eyes is the rise of National Socialism in Germany for two reasons: (1) inefficiency of the Socialist Government to maintain the supremacy of state against the subversive activities and (2) also because the subversive movement received greater popular support for it advocated a stronger State which promised to overthrow all foreign influence and control. On the other hand we see that the government of Soviet Russia which is regarded as the hope and last word of People's government, is still maintaining its power through ruthless suppression of all opposition, so that the United Socialist Soviet Republic in Russia may survive to carry out its own programme. The democratic states, like the United States of America, Great Britain, and France adopted the most drastic measures against their citizens, who, as conscientious objectors, during the World War refused to support the State, at the hour of grave danger. Fear is behind all repressive measures. It is the weakness of the State that makes the rulers at times unnecessarily nervous and thus makes them advocates of tyranny. This is universally true.

It is my conviction that a strong nationalistic state is not an enemy of individual liberty. In fact, real individual liberty can flourish only in a strong national state which is not afraid of internal trouble verging to revolution and has the strength to defy any foreign opposition. Whenever a State is faced with internal decay or foreign complications of serious nature, personal liberty is sacrificed at the

altar of a State, struggling to maintain its existence. However, at times of grave emergencies States make concessions and grant popular rights, with the object of securing popular support. This is happening in the States in the Orient as well as in the Occident.

IV

Political institutions in the countries of the Far East are in the process of evolution. The Japanese have a monarchy, and a constitution which gives the Emperor absolute authority ; but the Emperor in his turn seldom uses this prerogative without consulting his trusted advisors and leaders of the nation, who by years of service to the State have earned the distinction of becoming respected by all the Japanese irrespective of party affiliations. The Chinese are experimenting in the establishment of a Republican form of government, which has borrowed much from the western republics and even Soviet Russian Government as well as the spirit of Fascist dictatorship. They have tried to incorporate some of the Chinese ideals of government with the new form. The Government of Siam is in process of transformation. The rest of the Far East, being under alien domination, the political trend there is for revolution.

It should be noted that through development of industries and economic institutions which always influence the structure of political institutions, as the New Deal and N.R.A. are doing in the United States, we may reasonably expect to see some changes in the institutions of the Orient. For instance, even in India there is great deal of agitation for adoption of a form of planned economy. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, once the Prime Minister of Mysore and a well-known author on Indian economic problems, has just published a book entitled *Planned Economy for India*, in which he gives an outline of a Ten-Year Plan for India, by which he proposes " to provide for rapid expansion of industries, public works, public utility services, increase of production and effective check on the increased agriculturalisation of the country. It aims to spread mass education, importing upto-date machinery and tools making their use familiar to the peoples, spreading a knowledge of business principles and practices and equipping people with technical skill and business ability. The economic organization is to consist of one All-India Economic Council and its committees, associated with the Development Department of

the Central Government. Every provincial Government will have a similar organisation, consisting of a Development Department working in close co-operation with the Provincial Economic Council and its committees. There will be a local Economic Council in every district and town to carry out local improvements, its chief object being to encourage initiative and co-operation in the local population for promoting their common economic advance." This clearly demonstrates that India is not going to depend upon the spinning wheel of Gandhi and to discard industrialism.

In China the question of managed currency and development of industries are live issues. Needless to say that industrialisation of Japan has gone so far that she is in the vanguard of those great industrial and commercial nations, depending much upon her foreign trade. Japanese political expansion has a great bearing upon her necessity of economic expansion or dependence upon economic imperialism. Therefore one may safely say that the significance of the political trends in the Far East is to develop such States as will promote political institutions, guaranteeing economic and industrial efficiency of the nation.

One of the most important features of the political development in the West is the visible decay of the representative system of government. This is due to the fact that the present-day society is not organised for common good ; furthermore the present-day political democracy does not insure economic security. In the West, the feudal system produced a form of government suited to its social organization ; industrial revolution produced a condition which resulted in capitalist democracy without economic democracy. The order of the day is for a new social order. Evolution of governmental institutions in oriental countries will follow the same course. But the question that we have to face is this : Will the change in the Orient—a real and radical change in any social order—be possible without the use of force ? Apparently not. It may be peaceful, if the vast majority desires the change and the privileged classes agree to surrender without a fight.

The trend of political life in Asia will ultimately be the same as it is now in Europe and America. It will be influenced by the

problems of social security. It will depend upon the measures to be adopted so that national resources may be so controlled and utilised that the masses of the people will have greater security and result in good of the community at large than that of a few privileged ones. How will this be achieved and what form of political institution will lead to attain this end, cannot be prophesied. I have come to the conclusion that mere forms of government such as monarchy, republic or dictatorship of the Fascist type or proletariat dictatorship of the Soviet type—are not the determining factors for the goal to be attained. A supposed theocracy in Japan with the ideal of serving national welfare may accomplish more than what may be done in a republic like China under the present disorganised condition. A virtual dictatorship of the type of Mustapha Kamal of Turkey or Riza Khan in Persia or the rule of the anti-democratic nationalist party in Siam is undoubtedly rousing the people to demand higher standard of living. Revolutionary changes in the form of government may not accomplish much, but the change of the spirit behind the government and the political philosophy dominating the national life will lead to the establishment of more effective and stable changes in government consistent with the ideals and traditions of the peoples of the East. Such governments will assure greater personal liberty as a step towards real progress. Significance of the political trend of the Far East is for the establishment of strong national states which will assure economic security to the people and lead the nations towards real progress. There is no fundamental difference between the East and West except in the tempo of the march towards the required changes for a new social order.¹

Washington, D. C.

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SHERIDAN AND VANBRUGH : A STUDY IN ADAPTATION

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PROLIFIC as the latter half of the 18th century in England had been in dramatic literature, as names like Garrick, Foote and others serve to indicate, Sheridan looms large on the horizon, and his extensive interests—in stage-craft and state-craft, in dreamland and on solid earth—increase the effect. People in his day were dazzled by the brilliance and variety of his gifts. His father—Johnson's "Old Sherry"—was an actor and a professor of elocution; despite the slightly artificial language of his own comedies, they compare favourably with Goldsmith's, as besides the sparkle of wit in the dialogue, the characters are better drawn and the plots more ingeniously contrived. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, we are so often reminded, was advised in his literary efforts by Garrick, and presumably on such advice did he contribute to the Drury Lane Theatre his "Trip to Scarborough," an adaptation of Vanbrugh's comedy "The Relapse," which was brought out on the 24th February, 1777. A comparison of the two plays is interesting work, and let me hope, not altogether unprofitable.

Let us compare the two versions from the very beginning and start with the prologues.

Vanbrugh has two prologues—the first is a tissue of 'sparkling' talks addressed to ladies for their delectation by one of them. This is indicative of the spirit of the age but the second is less coarse. Sheridan's is more in tune with this second prologue, as regards the general tone. He is full of the idea that there has been a change between his time and Vanbrugh's, and noting down the difference in detail in the dress and outward appearances and fashions of the people, he gives this as the reason for his adaptation :

"As change thus circulates throughout the nation,
Some plays may justly call for alteration."

The first scene in Vanbrugh is omitted in Sheridan. In this scene Lovelace and Amanda appear on the boards, when Lovelace, about to leave for the town, professes his great love for her, his profusion of professions of constancy appearing like a case of irony. It was quite in place in the "Relapse" or "Virtue in Danger," but it would have failed in its effect in "A Trip to Scarborough" which disavows any central theme. Difference in this particular item simply suits the difference in the titles, and the initial omission in no way impairs the unity of interest. The second scene in Vanbrugh, however, corresponds to the first in Sheridan; Young Fashion has become Tom Fashion, and the waterman, the postilion; the hero has more dignity in Sheridan, because is it not he directly but his attendant Lory, that talks to the poor postilion who is going to be cheated—an apt introduction to the strange, funny, amusing world we are going to enter. Moreover, it is not Lory the attendant but Col. Townly, the friend senior in years, who assumes the rôle of Mentor to the young hero. In other respects, Sheridan condenses the scene, increasing its dramatic effect, but in point of diction the two are practically on the same level.

"A rascal, to be so cursed ready with his change"—the pungent sentence is an improvement on the model, but the other changes are of very slight interest.

In Sheridan's second scene, which corresponds to Vanbrugh's third, we continue to find the tendency towards condensation; the first ten lines in the original play are simply omitted, and the next dozen lines are quite different—but while the action does not advance in Vanbrugh, we get here an inkling into the intentions of Lord F. who delays going over to his intended spousa and proposes to flirt with Amanda.

Passing over the minor changes we find that it is Lory in Sheridan and not Tom Fashion who makes the first comment on his Lordship's extravagance. In his version Sheridan makes his lordship talk to Tom, which is more natural than ignoring him altogether, as in the earlier play. The sempstress has brought with her *ruffles* in Sheridan and *steenkirck* in Vanbrugh, for his lordship. In his directions to Mendleys about the stockings, Lord Foppington is different in the two plays,—he explains himself in Sheridan but is abrupt and haughty in Vanbrugh. The periwig-maker in the original is transformed into a jeweller. There are two more changes that may be

noted ; in Sheridan Lord F. is softer and more humorous, because he would direct his brother to other *ordinaries*, while in Vanbrugh he would invite his brother to the *family dinner* in his own absence ; here the change is hardly an improvement. The lady is said to be a great heiress of about £1,500 a year, in the earlier play, but no definite mention is made about the amount in the latter.

Whoever wishes to find out the contrast in the atmosphere of the two plays should read the Coupler scenes side by side. The words, brutal and vulgar, that occur in Vanbrugh are conspicuous by their absence in Sheridan, and this without sacrificing the interest of the plot. But is there a jar as we read the amended or adapted version ? Is Sheridan guilty of spoiling the absurdity of the artificial atmosphere, whose absurdity itself constitutes its excellence, by infusing a moral tone, as Lamb complained regarding " The School for Scandal " ?—I do not think so.

The second act consists of one scene only. Some of the changes are worth noting down. Here for the first time, for example, we come across the word ' Scarborough ' in Sheridan. The same tendency towards condensation is also visible. Thus all abstract speculation about the charming nature of plays between Loveless and Amanda is omitted, the compliments which Loveless and Berinthia exchange are also cut short. The effect of all this is to concentrate on action and the words seem to fly like action hints on the screen. But Vanbrugh has with more art drawn the confession episode—Loveless is betrayed into it by a sudden impulse while it is not sufficiently motivated in Sheridan. There is in this scene an amiable dispute regarding the propriety of ridiculing or laughing at human infirmities,—which is appropriately omitted in Sheridan, because in the earlier play it stands out as a rejoinder to the protestations of contemporary puritans, a need certainly not felt in Sheridan's time when the controversy had died out and there was a distinct turn in favour of religion and decency in public life. Hence " the town would be robbed of one of its chief diversions, if it should become a crime to laugh at a fool,"—this is passed over in silence in the adaptation. Sheridan makes Lord F. address Loveless more familiarly but keeps clear of the absurdities or vulgarities indulged in by Vanbrugh. A similar attempt is in Sheridan's ' I think ' from ' I think her name is B. ' which is, in Vanbrugh, rather impertinent. A comparison

of the daily pleasures of Lord Foppington in town is instructive. He leaves his bed about ten o'clock in Vanbrugh, but about twelve at Sheridan ; then he ' takes a turn in the park ' in Vanbrugh but rides in Sheridan ; ' I take a turn in the chocolate house ' (V.) but ' drink my chocolate ' (S.). Riding was more in favour and chocolate houses were decaying. Again, the later play omits all mention of dining out at Lacket's' and substitutes the opera by the church. All these changes were warranted by the condition of the times. Let us now pass on to the third act.

From the nondescript servant in Vanbrugh to La Varole in Sheridan is a great step—the portrait is full of colour and warmth. Similarly, Milor's instructions to La Varole are more specific. In the strings of excuses offered by Foppington 'periwigs' are replaced by 'bouquets'—because these were gone out of date, as so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott. It is also noteworthy that while Young Tom in Vanbrugh mentally curses his elder brother by saying " Pox take her (i.e., Nature)" for having "made you older" the later writer uses 'plague' for 'pox.' It is doubtful, however, if it is any improvement when we read " Farewell, brother " for " Farewell, snuff-box." In the beginning of the second scene we find Loveless's soliloquy considerably shortened, and there are other significant changes also. Amanda in the original is too forward but though in the adaptation she is still a little inviting so far as Col. Townley is concerned, she is there far less shamefaced and the change is altogether for the better. Lory in the third scene is sometimes more eloquent in Sheridan who knows how to add as well as to omit. It should be mentioned in this connection that the later play does not always seem to be at an advantage, as when Sir Tun. proceeds to describe his daughter's charm :— " what she wants in art she has in breeding " for " what she wants in art, she has by nature ; what she wants in experience, she has in breeding " in the original.

In the next scene we come across some more cases of pruning and minor changes ; of these the only one that needs a passing notice is ' tucker ' for ' smock.'

From what has been said above, it will appear that Sheridan does not always excel in adaptation. The last act will also bear out this impression. His touches are finer as a rule, but sometimes they fall flat. The horrid and coarse details narrated by the nurse have been no doubt happily omitted, but it is doubtful if the namelessness of the

Chaplain (Mr. Bull) is any improvement. Sheridan also omits a melodious love-lyric, and this can hardly be described as a change for the better. We cannot however speak with any disparagement of the exquisite peep into feminine fitfulness introduced by him:—

Maid. If you please, madam, whether you'll have me buy them or not ?

Aman. Yes—no—Go, teaser; I care not what you do: Prithee, leave me.

His skill in adaptation and originality appear at their best in this short scene. He has given us, instead of a boy placed as a clerk to an attorney in the trade of roguery, a woman in a delicate situation, a virtuous and loving wife to be experimented upon by an intriguing woman and a polished and practised beau. There have been more retouching and altering in this scene probably than in any other, and the contemporary society is reflected in his scenes—subtly: we must read between the lines to understand and appreciate.

Pope had summed up Vanbrugh in one line,

“ Van wants grace, who never wanted wit.”

Sheridan has tried to put in grace, and the result has been qualified success.

It is remarkable that while Vanbrugh, in spite of his coarseness, could excite admiration in a series of generations through a century, his rivals could but succeed in creating pale imitations which never drew a full house and which remain more or less curiosities of literature, despite honest attempts by a Dodd or a Mrs. Jordan, whose powers of acting Lamb so lustily cheered.

Calcutta.

THE KOM DANCE.

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA

AND

MINENDRANATH BASU.

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(The Kom is an unknown primitive tribe, inhabiting the hilly tract of Manipur.) Like other pre-literate human groups they live in isolated settlements far away from the reach of modern civilization. They live a simple life, following with religious regularity the customs and practices of their forefathers. This people are so much controlled by the precedents of the past that there is little chance of intellectual evolution, the primary condition of which is the freedom of thought and will. The entire life of the savage is ridden by superstitions and there is very little scope for the development of individuality. From the religious affairs down to the details of daily life the aborigines are to follow the examples of their forefathers. This extreme reverence for the past, orthodox conservatism of the society is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people and always tends to degeneration and stagnancy. But still it would be quite wrong to suppose that these primitive people are really without their pleasures. On the contrary, this pre-literate or illiterate humanity seems to be buoyed up with joy of youth amidst the servility to the traditions of the past. They seem to enjoy a blissful freedom in their games and dances, which also reflect their aesthetic ideas to no less extent.

(Though quite primitive in other respects the Kom people seem to have developed in respect of the art of dancing. The Kom people are very fond of dancing and all the religious and social ceremonies are accompanied with various sorts of dancing and merrymaking. The Kom dances are mainly of three types:—

(A) *The hunting dance.*—When a band of youthful Kom hunters return from the forest with the spoils there takes place in the village a dancing ceremony. This type of dancing is very simple but at the same time full of art and elegance. The young hunters with their spears raised aloft in the right hand and the shield held in the left stand in a file. Now the drum begins to beat aloud and the blowpipe (they use a native type made by their own men) fills the air with enchanting music. The hunters then begin to move the body right and left, now raising the spear and then lowering it down, imitating the postures of hunting. A few minutes after, the whole gang begins to move forward slowly, taking their steps with a slow and manly gait and moving rhythmically right and left along with the beats of the drum. In the hunting dance the women are not allowed to take part. They simply supply glasses of Zu (a country-made wine) to the dancing bachelors.

(B) *Love-dance.*—This type of dance is generally executed by the unmarried women of the village, though there is no restriction for the married women to join them. This dance may be performed by a single woman individually or 3 or 4 of them taking part at the same time. Of all the Kom dances this type is the most elegant and really indicative of high art. Though it is said to be the love dance still there is not the least sex-suggestion. The woman stands in the middle of the dancing arena which

is generally an open ground encircled by the enamoured bachelors, and slowly moves her lower limbs in harmony with the musical accompaniment. She raises her legs one after another and moves one pace forward and half a pace backward, rhythmically bending the upper part of her body slightly to the right, slightly to the left alternating with the movement of the lower limb. The hands are raised up forming a circle at the level of the head, with the palms stretched almost to meet one another. The palms are moved alternately so as to represent the movements of the waves. But what makes the whole thing all the more artistic is that the hands have little movements, while the lower limbs of the body and the palms are rhythmically moving to the tune of the blowpipe. The real charm of beauty of this dance are beyond all description. The woman in her dance appears almost like the budding branch of a flower plant waving slowly to the breath of the southern air.

(C) The third type is a religious dance and is performed only on special occasions. Here also the musical accompaniment is almost the same and the women take the main part, though the bachelors of the village also join them. So far as the movements of the limbs in the execution of the dance are concerned it is not much different from the "Baran" dance (mainly performed in connection with the Durga Puja ceremony) in vogue in Bengal. The meaning of this dance is simply saluting the deity and while performing this the woman, besides waving her hands and bending her body to and fro, also bends her head every now and then in a posture of salute.

Dancing among the Kom people is now becoming more and more rare due to their contact with missionary civilisation, and it will be no wonder if these dances are totally forgotten by the people within a decade or half. Though apparently it will be no loss to the people who are thrusting their own civilisation upon them, it will be a great loss to the people concerned, for it shows their distinctive development in the field of art.

Miscellany

[*Bolshevism through Nazi Eyes* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)—*Kautalya and His Boswell* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR).]

BOLSHEVISM THROUGH NAZI EYES.

A part of Adolf Hitler's speech delivered in the Reichstag on May 21, 1935, reads as follows in English:—

Germany to-day is a National-Socialist State. The ideas by which we are governed are diametrically opposed to those of Soviet Russia. National Socialism is a doctrine which applies exclusively to the German people. Bolshevism lays emphasis on its international mission.

We National-Socialists believe that in the long run man can be happy only in his own nation. We live in the belief that the happiness and the achievements of Europe are indissolubly connected with the existence of a system of free, independent national states. Bolshevism preaches the constitution of a world empire and only recognises sections of a central International.

We National-Socialists recognise that every people has the right to its own inner life according to its own needs and character. Bolshevism on the other hand sets up doctrinaire theories, to be accepted by all nations, without regard for their particular character, disposition and traditions.

National-Socialism strives to solve social problems, together with questions and conflicts in its own nation, by methods which are compatible with our general human, spiritual, cultural and economic ideas, traditions and circumstances. Bolshevism preaches an international class conflict and the carrying out of a world-revolution by means of terrors and force.

National-socialism aims at bridging over and equalising unfavourable contrasts in social life, and in uniting the whole population in collaborative work. Bolshevism teaches the overthrow of the rule of one class by means of a forcible dictatorship on the part of another class.

National-Socialism places no value upon a purely theoretical rule of the working class, but lays all the more value on the practical improvement of their conditions of life and way of living. Bolshevism fights for a theory and to this theory it sacrifices millions of human beings and incalculable cultural and traditional values. In comparison with ourselves it achieves only a very low general standard of living.

As National-Socialists we are filled with admiration and respect for the great achievements of the past, not only in our own nation but far beyond it. We are happy to belong to the European community of culture which has inspired the modern world to so large an extent. Bolshevism rejects this cultural achievement of humanity and asserts that real culture and human history began with the year in which Marxism was born.

We National-Socialists may perhaps not have the same views as our church communities in respect to this or that question of organisation. But we never want to see a lack of religion and faith and do not want our churches turned into clubrooms and cinemas. Bolshevism teaches godlessness and acts accordingly.

We National-Socialists see in private property a higher grade of human economic development which regulates the administration of rewards in proportion to the differences in achievement, but which in general makes possible and guarantees to all the advantages of a higher standard of living. Bolshevism destroys not only private property but also private initiative and zests for personal responsibility. In this way it has failed to save millions of men from starvation in Russia, the greatest agrarian state in the world.

The results of such a catastrophe in Germany would be inconceivable. In Russia there are 90 people on the land to only 10 living in the cities, whereas in Germany there are only 25 peasants to every 75 town-dwellers.

In so far as Bolshevism can be considered a purely Russian affair we have no interest in it whatever. Every nation must seek its salvation in its own way. So far as Bolshevism draws Germany into its range, however, we are its deadliest and most fanatical enemies.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

KAUTALYA AND HIS BOSWELL.

In regard to the alleged Maurya *milieu* of the *Arthashastra* materials or contents the Indian tradition remains unproven after thirty years of strenuous studies in Kautalyalogy. On the other hand, the arguments advanced against the Indian tradition from all sides have failed to prove anything. The benefit of doubt is therefore in favour of the Indian tradition to the effect that the *Arthashastra* is the work of the Mauryan, especially of the Chandraguptan, epoch.

In regard to the question about the authorship, likewise, nothing conclusive has yet been advanced to prove that Kautalya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, is the author of the *Arthashastra* in the form in which we have it. But on the other hand it is possible to argue strongly against its being *entirely* the work of one man and to suspect that somebody who is not Kautalya the minister himself has had a hand in its preparation. Although Kautalyan and Mauryan in the main, the *Arthashastra* has therefore to be regarded as a compilation, in the making of which a non-Kautalyan hand has to be admitted. These non-Kautalyan traces are separate from the eventual interpolations of words or phrases that may have crept in subsequently. The non-Kautalyan hand is to be seen in the substantial portions or main *corpus* of the work itself. We are speaking of the man who virtually "made" Kautalya and started the tradition about him.

The most commonsense and matter-of-fact view of the last chapter of the *Arthashastra* ought to be (1) that the writer of this chapter is not the same man as Kautalya, (2) that Kautalya is a famous name and is very highly adored by the writer, (3) that the writer has collected together

the Kautalyan ideas for publication under his editorship. As for the relation in which the writer of the last chapter stands to Kautalya two alternatives may be suggested. First, the writer is a pupil, colleague or secretary of Kautalya. Or perhaps the writer is exploiting Kautalya's name in order to palm his own ideas off as Kautalyan. Now, it appears that there is nobody to challenge the alleged Kautalyan authorship of the main body of the book. It has, therefore, been accepted by the people as emanating from Kautalya himself on the assurance or authority of the editor, *i. e.*, the writer of the last chapter. The origin of the Indian tradition about the Kautalyan school or system may have to be sought in these circumstances. The tradition may have been started by this editor and it caught the imagination of the folk or the literary public.

The very opening lines of the first chapter say that the work is a summary and compilation from the works of previous authors. This statement may have been written by the writer of the last chapter, *i. e.*, the editor or publisher, who was perhaps a compiler or the compiler-in-chief.

All those 72 places in which Kautalya has been quoted by name as against other professors of *Niti* or *Artha* philosophy indicate, likewise, that a person who is different from Kautalya has been at work. No normal-minded person can ever believe that Kautalya as author was mentioning himself in the third person as arrayed against others in the discussions. The style indicates that diverse views were presented by a student of comparative politics and that in his judgment Kautalya loomed large.

All through this work we have to feel the breath of two persons. The first is the hero, the demi-god, the *avatara*, Kautalya himself. The second is the person who is making Kautalya the subject of his study, propaganda, glorification and what not. This second man may be regarded as Kautalya's editor, publisher, advertiser, etc., as the person who places Kautalya before the world of letters, who institutes comparisons between Kautalya and his precursors, and who narrates to mankind all that his superman is alleged to have accomplished. This man is Kautalya's Boswell,—a St. Paul to the Jesus of Nazareth. Whether there was a Visnugupta, Chanakya, Kautalya or Kautilya we do not know, nay, need not know. His Boswell has created such a living personality, such a veritable *avatara* like Valmiki in his Rama that the actual historicity of Kautalya becomes a question of eighth-rate importance. Thanks to the brilliant propaganda made by this pious Anonym, the *Arthashastra* passed into the literary tradition of India as an integral part of the folk's political consciousness.

The Boswell and the Johnson, the Paul and the Jesus, are two different persons by all means. But they are contemporaries, they belong to the same age like Valmiki and Rama. In the present instance the *Arthashastra* belongs to the Maurya epoch according to the Indian tradition such as has been created by the editor. Thus considered, the situation is quite akin to or rather almost identical with Hillebrandt's hypothesis in 1908 about the school or pupils of Kautalya as being responsible for the *Arthashastra* as compiled in the form in which we have it to-day. The school constitutes, however, the immediate *entourage* of the master himself and does not have to be regarded as any the least remote from him in time.

The Indian tradition about the Kautalyan authorship is not marred by the recognition of the second person, the Boswell, in the *Arthashastra* complex. Nor is the Maurya milieu of the work tampered with because of this circumstance. The suggested dichotomy into the editor and Kautalya does not lead us to the position of Winternitz about the negation

of Kautalya and the Mauryan origin. In the scheme suggested in the present paper, the Indian tradition does not have to be discarded or modified in any way, because the tradition may have been created by the Boswellism of the editor. Let us go farther.

Even if in the last analysis Kautalya should turn out to be a contemporary of Kalidasa (fourth-fifth century A.C.) and a citizen of the Gupta Empire, the Maurya milieu of the *Arthasastra* cannot be negated by any means. We ought never to overlook the fact that the author or editor of this treatise commences his work by saying categorically that he prepared it by condensing "almost all" the *Arthasastras* that had been composed by "old masters." One does not know how much or how little of originality is to be ascribed to the Kautalyan summary or compilation. But it is reasonable to believe that plenty of data bearing on olden times,—Maurya, pre-Maurya and what not, are to be discovered in this work.

The Indian tradition about the Maurya origin of the *Arthasastra* remains unshaken in spite of the desperate efforts, mostly illogical although learned as they are, of Jolly, Stein, Winternitz, Keith and Johnston.

It is worth while to mention, as has been indicated in other contents, that the controversy has not taken the form of Indian vs. European. Among the Europeans themselves there have been two camps from the very beginning. Pre-war indology in Germany, so far as Kautalyalogy is concerned, yielded the following situation :

For Indian Tradition.

Jacobi.

Against Indian Tradition.

Jolly.

In the Jolly-Jacobi controversy Hillebrandt was virtually neutral. He did not commit himself to any definite date. At any rate, he did not maintain in so many words that the *Arthasastra* was post-Maurya or un-Maurya.

In that controversy the British indologist Smith was on Jacobi's side although he does not appear to have referred to the latter by name. To the same camp belonged two other British indologists J. F. Fleet and F. W. Thomas.

Subsequent Kautalya scholarship in Germany yields the following situation :

For Indian Tradition.

Jacobi (unshaken still)

Meyer (aggressive)

Breloer (aggressive)

Against Indian Tradition.

Jolly (aggressive).

Stein (somewhat objective and tentative).

Winternitz (aggressive).

In this latter-day controversy the British indologist Keith belongs to the Jolly group and is therefore opposed to his compatriot Smith.

Among the British indologists the following grouping may be noticed :

For Indian Tradition.

Smith

Fleet

Thomas

Pargiter

Monahan

Against Indian Tradition.

Keith

Johnston

Among Italian indologists both Formichi and Bottazzi are on the side of the Indian tradition. In Mario Vallauri's Italian translation of Book I, there is no discussion of the Kautalya question.

But as the work was done under the guidance of Jolly at Wuerzburg he may perhaps find himself against the Indian tradition. It is interesting that in these things European scholarship goes very often along the lines of *gurus* as in ancient India.

Thus we have already the following:—

<i>Guru.</i>	<i>Pupil.</i>	<i>Tendency.</i>
1. Winternitz	Stein	Against Indian Tradition.
2. Jacobi	Breloer	For Indian Tradition.

As long as a tradition is there about the Maurya milieu of the text and its author it is for the anti-tradition party to adduce internal and external evidences such as may demolish the tradition. Unfortunately, up till now the evidences advanced are poor and mostly in the nature of (1) probabilities, (2) guesses, (3) *argumentum ex silentio*, (4) postulates about the interval between a borrower and his original, (5) comparison with a foreigner who was known in some circles as a liar and whose objectivity is very often questionable, and (6) hypothesis as to the probable degree of the technocratic, industrial, political and juridical developments in pre-Christian India. Naturally, the logic behind such arguments cannot appear to be convincing.

Last but not least, the anti-tradition group is not adequately oriented to the implications of its admission that the *Arthashastra* is the work of a scholar (*Pandit*). In so far as it is such a work it cannot and ought not to be called in for evidence for the objective accounts about social, economic, legal or political conditions. Every attempt on this basis is *ultra vires*.

As for the Indian Kautalyalogists all of whom virtually belong to the pro-tradition group with the exception R. G. Bhandarkar and Pran Nath it is time for them to accept the proposition often referred to in other contexts, namely, that the *Arthashastra* is a *darsanam*, a *sastra*, a book of *vidya* and just like other *sastras* of Hindu literature written by a *Pandit*. It contains "pious wishes" of all sorts, norms, platitudes, ideals, duties, things that "ought to be" done, and what not, such as belong to every philosophical treatise. Besides, it is impossible to argue out of existence the innumerable hair-splitting groupifications, the hyperlogical discussions *pro* and *contra*, etc., in the manner of the Sakyan (Buddhist) *Nikayas*, for instance, that mark many of the chapters.

The very last chapter of the *Arthashastra* describing the thirty-two *tantra yuktis* is a good illustration of the grammatical mood and ultralogical classifying mentality in which the treatise often appear to us. All these philosophical and logical aspects, be it observed once more, can tally quite well with the profoundly realistic, objective, statistical and statesmanlike grasp of the realities of flesh and blood that constitute the seven-limbed (*saptamga*) organism known as the state.

And finally, this leads to the item to which Indian indologists have likewise need to be adequately oriented, namely, that many of the ideals,

dharma (duties), norms, etc., expounded in the *Arthashastra* are frankly and hundred per cent. Machiavellian. It is fallacious to believe that "ideals" and "pious wishes" must always be holy, humane, high-souled, or philanthropic as one generally understands them according to one's lights. The Machiavellian ideals are also ideals,—and whatever they may mean,—have never been seriously repudiated in the *Realpolitik* as well as in the political philosophy of the world. As an exponent of Machiavellism Kautalya is in excellent company. Eastern and Western, and the *Arthashastra* is one of the greatest works of mankind in the realm of political ethics or logic (*Staatsrasson*). It is a glory to the Hindu brain that this powerfully conceived philosophical masterpiece on the problems and solutions of group life, of man in society and of man in state, has not been excelled, so far as it goes, in any quarter of the globe and in any epoch of culture-history.

If our Mother India is great and divine because she gave birth to a Sakya the Buddha (Awakened) let us all worship our Mother India as equally great and divine because she produced a V'snugupta-Chanakya, the Kautalya or the Kautilya (Cunning or Crooked). It is in this worship that we do justice to the glorious "positive background" of Hindu sociology as furnishing the folk-elements, the materialistic complex, the worldly group consciousness and the rationalistic perspectives of India's transcendental and spiritual achievements. Kautalya completes Buddha.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Counter-attack from the East, by C. E. M. Joad. Allen and Unwin Co., Ltd. Museum Street, London.

This is a study of the philosophy of Radhakrishnan and in particular of his 'Idealist view of Life.' Briefly, Radhakrishnan's philosophy may be summed up as an attempt to reconcile the rival claims of science and religion. The intellect seeks to explain the riddle of the universe in terms of mechanical laws and science is the instrument it has forged for the purpose. Any of the findings of science do not however square with those of the religious spirit and yet religion and science seem equally necessary to man.

Radhakrishnan's solution amounts in effect to a denial of the supposed opposition between religion and science. He shows that the separation between them is unreal, for the intellect, if taken in isolation from intuition, is not adequate even to science. In fact, knowledge of the pure intellect inevitably leads to self-contradiction and cannot therefore claim to be ultimate. On the other hand, the religious consciousness of man cannot be denied and is a fact of immediate experience. It has therefore just the same right to consideration as the fact of the rational consciousness. Thus Radhakrishnan tries to show that negatively, the intellect is not adequate to a knowledge of the universe, while positively, intuition is necessary for even empirical knowledge and claims that it can give us knowledge also of the ultimate reality.

This is of course the barest skeleton of Radhakrishnan's argument, and cannot give an adequate idea of the care and thoroughness with which he develops his thesis. Joad has little by way of comment on Radhakrishnan's general position. He is content to give merely a report of Radhakrishnan and present him in a way which Joad thinks will be interesting to the average reader of the West. This is what makes Joad's book so disappointing. Radhakrishnan is the last man who needs anyone else to explain him to others, for his style is remarkable for its clarity and lucidity. Joad himself writes beautifully but it is doubtful if his style is in any way superior to that of Radhakrishnan. In any case we should have expected from Joad a critical estimate rather than a mere newspaper report of the philosophy of Radhakrishnan. Perhaps it might be said in Joad's defence that Radhakrishnan's style reveals a personality so disarming and so full of charm that Joad forgot that a critic is expected to estimate and sometimes even to disagree with his author's findings.

H. Z. A. KABIR

Raghunāthābhyudaya of Rāmabhadra edited by T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

The number of historical poems in Sanskrit is small, yet it is gratifying to note that the contribution made by women whose writings are generally rare is quite appreciable. And in this direction as in many others South India has a unique position being the birth place of many authoresses.

About 1367 A.D. there was a king, Kampana by name, ruling at Conjeeveram. His queen was Gaṅgādevī. She wrote a kāvyā *Madhurāvijaya* or *Virakamparāyacarita* describing the life of her husband and the history of Vijayanagara. In 1916 it was jointly edited by Pandits H. Harihara Sastri and V. Śrinivāsa Śāstrī.

The present work is also a historical poem by a lady named Rāma-bhadrambā. She was a mistress, as says the editor, of Raghunātha Nāyaka, a king of Tañjāpura or Tanjore in the first quarter of the 16th century A.D. The Kāvya itself says (Canto XI) that in his Court there were gifted and talented ladies who were proficient in different branches of learning and could compose works in various languages. One of them was Madhuravāṇī who wrote a compendium of the Rāmāyana.

The poem clearly shows commendable poetical merit and good historical sense of its authoress. Her style is also praiseworthy.

It may be noted in passing that in the work among the names of countries *Vaṅgas* and *Vaṅgālas* (XII. 6) are taken differently.

We are really glad to read the poem for which our thanks are due to the editor, Dr. Chintamani. We also thank the authorities of the University of Madras for starting the valuable Sanskrit series in which so many important books including the present one are published in rapid succession.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Sgra-la-bjug-pa or **Sabdavatāra**, by Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana of India and Lo.tsa.ba no. no Tshe.brten.phun.tshogs of Ladak (mar yul). To be had of Kazi a Phags Tshering, Bhotiya basti, Darjeeling.

To scholars who are interested in Buddhism in India the name of Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana is well known. In order to study Chinese and Japanese Buddhism he is now in Japan. He knows many languages. As regards Tibetan there is no Indian equal to him. He crossed not only the shores of India but also her high mountains and visited Tibet twice and learnt there Tibetan Buddhism through that language. He studied Ceylonese Buddhism in Ceylon learning there Pali. He has already given us some volumes on Buddhist literature.

While in Tibet which he wants to visit at least once more to complete the work left there unfinished, he discovered MSS. of a large number of original Sanskrit works, chiefly Buddhist, which were regarded as lost for ever. He has brought some of them with him. And we are expecting to have from him soon two of the most important works included in his collection, viz., *Vādanyāya* of Vasubandhu and Prajñākaragupta's *Vārttikālāṅkāra* on the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti. Both the works are going through the press.

The small book before us is a Tibetan grammar, specially meant for Tibetan students in the Tibetan language. The special feature of it is that it is written on the model of a Sanskrit grammar. That it will produce the effect desired we doubt not.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Old Treasure, a Bible Anthology: New Treasure, a study of Psychology of Love, by the Earl of Lytton, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 1934. 3s. 6d., and 5s. respectively.

In these two volumes there may be detected the same tendency to hold on to love as the mainspring of all religions; the 'old' treasure containing selections from the Bible, the key-note of which has been missed by churchmen and moralists, the 'new' describing the novel ideas and experiments of Homer Lane, an earnest seeker of truth in life. Both the volumes have been prepared very carefully and have an educative value.

The Old Treasure is a Bible anthology; but the selections have a purpose which it will not do to miss through oversight. The central thought of Christianity at its developed (not primitive) stage is not God's vengeance on the sinner, but His love and mercy. Hence we find throughout "the love of God" deliberately substituted for "the fear of God;" and though the Old Testament is prominent and outspoken in its old-world ideas, even from that the anthologist has with discrimination selected significant passages which bear out his interpretation. The selection has been divided into five sections,—each prefaced by a brief introductory note. The sections are as follows: (1) The God of Nature, in which the forces of nature are graphically described as so many expressions of God; (2) the nature of God, as a helper and comforter or inspirer in human affairs; (3) the Christian year, in which the spiritual significance (as the distinguished anthologist understands it) of the four great festivals of the Christian year—Advent, Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide—is brought out; (4) and (5), the quest and finding of wisdom which develops into Christian love. The volume of selections is no doubt small, but it effectively presents the new interpretation, which ought to gain greater currency and which seems to be the only true interpretation in spite of being a 'novel' one to many a Churchman more concerned with discipline than improvement.

Even a cursory glance will convince the reader that the healing advice of the Bible is more honoured in breach than in observance, and that the new orientation of views even of devout Christians is still a far cry. One citation in point, I trust, will be permitted.

"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (Isaiah ii. 4)

When will the spirit of this spiritual lesson be absorbed by man and conformed to in practice?

In the New Treasure, His Lordship has been more subjective and in the first chapter has shown his inheritance, if we may be allowed to word it thus, in the field of thought. Sophocles, Emerson, Stevenson, George Russel, Browning had inspired in him a radiant humanism, but it was Homer Lane, a most complete and fearless exponent of Christian love as a principle of conduct and rule of life, who stirred to life the germs of ideas that had found a congenial soil in his mind. The brief and loving notice of Homer Lane is stimulating, and in the book under review Lord Lytton presents a tendency of thought which he shared with Homer Lane. It is, in short, an exposition of Christian Love which men have all along ignored or corrupted, consciously or unconsciously; and the noble writer cries out against the tragedy of Christ which has been perpetrated. The words penned by him contain an unrefutable condemnation of man the moralist. "The priests of good and evil no longer call themselves Pharisees; to-day they call themselves Christians, but they continue to

crucify Christ daily; they still shout their blasphemous accusations against the handiwork of God. The diseases which Christ could heal with a touch have multiplied. The cant and hypocrisy which he denounced are now vested with His authority. The poverty for which He so surely stated the remedy has spread over the world. The mammon with which He pleaded for the recognition of the authority of God is more firmly established than ever as the rival of God in the hearts of men."

But the writer is not cast down on that account; instead, he sets about dwelling on the redeeming force of Love, panacea of evils, because it does not war on them but transmutes them into gold. There is therefore a discord between the religion of Christ and that of the Christian Churches. Love and fearlessness are the heritage of man, and the book proposes to indicate how they may be found in the gospel of Christ and practised in our everyday life. The Sermon on the Mount has been explained from this view-point, and in a glowing passage which is worth reproducing *in extenso* the writer says:

"The Law of Moses says, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth hate evil and fight against it, repay wrong with wrong and injury with injury.' The Law of Love does not allow resistance. Resistance strengthens. Evil can only be destroyed by love. It is the resistance of moralist to evil—his condemnation of it and opposition to it—which has kept evil strong in the world; but if you can meet evil with love, it will be disarmed. To cure evil you must not condemn it, not resist it, not ignore it or tolerate it, but meet it with love. To do this you must be capable of detecting and appreciating the misdirected good which has actuated evil as well as the injurious consequences which have flowed from it. To turn the other cheek to a bully who has struck, in the hope of placating him, is not an act of love but an act of fear. To be able to offer the other cheek in love you must have power and no fear, you must be capable of felling the man who has smitten you and only refrain from doing so because love has enabled you to sympathise with his act, however much you may have suffered from it. Not to grudge your coat to one who has forcibly taken your cloak you must be able to spare both and to appreciate the other's need. To go two miles with one who has already taken you one mile out of your way you must have strength to go ten, and time to spend without a grudge."

In passing, it may be said that this contains in a nutshell what approaches very near, if it is not coincident with, the philosophy of Civil Disobedience as enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi.

Moralists have not only tampered with Christ's message and done harm to His religion, but also made sick what had been originally whole, perverted men's mind's and caused diseases which baffle the skill of healing experts. Homer Lane tried, and with success, to re-educate the soul gone astray and therefore preyed on by various diseases, and the process of re-education lay through an appeal to the unconscious mind. Interesting examples of cure effected by Homer Lane through this process are given at the end of the book, to show the results of a philosophy of love followed in practice. The educationist and the healer were at one in him, because he took his stand on the philosophy of love, newly and comprehensively interpreted.

The book thus contains much that is of profound interest to all, and it will be read with profit and enjoyment by the discerning student of Christianity and education. The style is vigorous, compact, occasionally incisive and exhilarating.

P. R. SEN

Annie Besant and the Changing World, by Bhagavan Das, D. LITT. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. 1934.

The memory of Annie Besant (1847-1933) has already grown dim, so brief is the career of great men and women in the eyes of the people, specially when they do not know how to revere greatness and are to that extent degenerate. She had passed through fire in her youth and has served apprenticeship for public life under Bradlaugh in the later days of Victorian England. Her richer and more mature life was spent in the service of Humanity through India which she made her home. Her eloquence and power of organization were harnessed to the cause of Brahmagvidya, which did not shut itself out from the world but which found its proper outlet or expression in beneficent action for the good of men and women all over the earth.

She passed away at Madras on the 20th September, 1933, and a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Benares, under the presidentship of Dr. Bhagavan Das, on the 1st October next, after her ashes had been taken out in a huge and representative procession headed by Dr. Das and consigned to the Ganges at Benares. The present book is an English rendering of Dr. Bhagavan Das's presidential remarks delivered on the occasion in Hindustani.

Annie Besant identified herself with the cause of Theosophy. Her indefatigable work for this mission has been mentioned by Dr. Das ; and the capacity for extremely strenuous work, which she showed at times whenever the occasion required it, was simply wonderful. One feels tempted however to enquire whether it was not the inexplicable and magnetic charm of her personality which made Theosophy so popular in her life-time, and whether deprived of her presence and support it is likely to flourish any further as a public movement. The time is not yet, surely, for any final judgment, and it must also be admitted that these remarks apply equally to any mission or movement started by any saint or Carlylean hero ; that weakness or degeneracy is in the nature of humanity, it cannot hold on to the greatness imparted to it by great men. The second part of the title of the book indicates the scope of theosophy, but the reader feels more interested in Annie Besant than in " the changing world."

The book is a translation, but it is in Dr. Bhagavan Das's usual style—replete with choice quotations and abounding with the fulness of phrases in his characteristic way, indicative of his enthusiasm in the cause of Theosophy and India and his devotion to Annie Besant, and whatever is written with enthusiasm is read with zest.

P. R. SEN

The Brahma Sutras (edited with short and easy Sanskrit annotations and an English commentary giving expository and critical summary of the contents), by Sitanath Tattvabhushan, and Satishchandra Chakravarti, M.A., pp. 438 + cxx + (a - c) as *Preface*.

While reviewing some four years ago Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan's *Pancharshi* in the pages of this REVIEW, we expressed the hope that that booklet was not the last of its kind from the prolific pen of the Pandit. Happily that expectation has materialised in the shape of the work under review—which is undoubtedly a lasting monument to his critical scholarship and labour of love. "The annotations," we are

told in the *Preface*, "were completed as early as 1907 ;" and these "long-completed annotations" have at the time of publication "undergone a thorough revision." Herein the main purpose has been "to find out by an independent study of the aphorisms, helped indeed by Saṃkara's literal exposition of them, what the real philosophy of the Sūtrakāra is, and to expound it in the English *bhāṣya* forming the introduction to this book." This qualified acceptance of Saṃkara's authority is, however, rendered nugatory when Saṃkarā's "interpretation, based on his doctrine of illusion," appears to the author "often forced and biased." Whether the basic standpoint of Saṃkara, his *Weltanschauung*, lends itself to this construction, or, rather, to the doctrine of phenomenality of the world we shall not offer to discuss here. But indefeasible difference between the two cannot be explained away as a matter of nomenclature, or terminological purism. It is something touching the vitals of two distinct philosophical positions. The view sponsored by our author is neither a negligible, nor an entirely novel one ; but it is certainly not a view which is above criticism.

It is in the fitness of things that having commented previously on the (twelve principal) *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad gītā*—the first two of the three institutes of the Vedānta' (*Prasthānatrayam*)—he should turn his hands in the direction of the third institute, the *Brahmasūtras*, which is known as the *Nyayaprasthānam*, the stadium of philosophical knowledge. His annotation which has been christened *Rammohan bhāṣya*, is professedly "a summary, expository and critical, of all the sixteen pādas of the sūtras." In the framing of the topical headings, of sections, etc., he has departed from the beaten track, and has everywhere justified such departures. The four chapters have been designated as follows: the first, as '*samanvaya*,' the second, '*avirodha*,' the third, '*sādhana*' and the fourth, '*Phala*.' Each of these again is split up into four quarters, dealing with different topics of philosophical interest. The running summary of all these sixteen Pādas, as they are technically called, will prove eminently instructive even to the philosophically uninitiated, and acquaint all its readers with a fairly accurate meaning of the *Sūtras*. "A clear idea of the entire *Sūtra* teaching will," as it has been rightfully claimed by the Editor, "be got from it even without going through the annotations and their translations."

While we have nothing but unstinted admiration for the clarity and brevity of his exposition, we cannot but note our dissent from some of his observations in the critical portion of the summary. In the context of the 'Motive of Creation' (II. 1. xxxii and xxxiii), the *Sūtrakāra* answers that 'as a king having no wants still acts as a matter of sport, or pleasure, so may God be conceived as acting though without any motive.' Commenting hereon our author observes: "The answer must be pronounced very unsatisfactory. The king takes to sport out of inanity, his vast resources failing to satisfy him. This cannot be said of God" (p. xlviii). This is just the point that the great Āchāryya Saṃkara is concerned to deny. Without initiating an elaborate discussion on the point, what we may conveniently note is the analogy of the creative act to 'Play' or spontaneous activity. The analogy drawn upon in this regard is that of a sovereign lord of all earth, engaged in a game of dice (" *sārva-bhaumasya dyūtakṛiḍadivat*)." As it is *prima facie* impossible for such a sovereign to play the game and lay a wager with a view to fresh acquisitions, so is the act of the Creator characterised by the absence of all constraint or determination entailed by a purpose, acknowledged or unacknowledged. If the creative act, designated *Līlā*, is to be conceived from the

human end at all, the analogy in question is the nearest approximation to the uniqueness and individuality of its Divine prototype. It should be remembered that analogies do not walk on all fours. Furthermore, Sankarāchāryya has taken meticulous care to divest the creative act of the last vestige of 'purposiveness' in order to make it applicable to Divine authorship of the world. The whole point of the illustration consists in showing that the activity in both these cases proceeds not from any supposed indigence or 'inanity,' but from a sense of fulness within, from plenitude of powers or possessions.

Again, in reference to the soul's journey along the *Devayāna Path*, the author holds that "the soul reaches successively the regions of Agni, Vayu, Aditya, Varuna, Indra, Prajapati and Brahman. The first six seem to mean Heno-theistic forms of religion—the identification of the Supreme Being with one or another of the Vedic gods until a pure idea of God freed from anthropomorphism is reached in the seventh stage" (pp. cxiv-v). But strangely enough, in his description of this 'seventh stage,' he is, unwarily perhaps, betrayed into the language of anthropomorphism in so far as he clinches the argument with the forceful query: "Can the father keep anything from his son?" This is, however, the inevitable anthropomorphism of all conceptual thinking and formulation.

We conclude this review with a renewed hope that this critical edition of the *Brahmasūtras* will soon acquire the wide publicity it deserves.

S. K. DAS

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals: Kamala Lectures, by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, C.I.E., LL.D. Published by Calcutta University, 1935.

According to the lecturer's statement in the preface, these lectures were intended to serve the double purpose of refuting the Sanatanist Hindus on the one hand and the Christian critics of Hinduism on the other. The Sanatanists are the extremists within Hinduism who preach the absurd doctrine that Hinduism not only embodies all that is best and highest in man but has never been anything else than the most perfect of human organisations. The lecturer makes short work of these extravagant Sanatanist claims by tracing the evolution of Hinduism through the ages from crude and rudimentary beginnings. As regards the Christian critics, the lecturer has a comparatively difficult task in meeting their charges, and though it will be too much to say that he has altogether succeeded in his avowed object, yet it must be admitted that he has presented the case for Hinduism in as favourable a light as is possible under the circumstances. It must not be overlooked however that in his rôle of a defender of Hindu morals, the lecturer has paid far more attention to positive Hindu morality than to Hindu reflection on Hindu morals and customs. In this respect the title "Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals" is a misnomer, the lectures being an exposition of the positive morality of the Hindus as it has gradually taken shape through the centuries rather than an exposition of Hindu ethical thought and reflection.

The work is divided into thirteen chapters to which are added a preface and an index both of which are very useful to the reader. The first chapter which is Introductory deals with the baffling question of a sufficiently comprehensive definition of Hinduism. Chapters II-III cover a very wide field and present us with a picture of Hinduism as it has evolved

in relation to Woman, Caste, Slavery, Law and Justice, Rulers and Subjects, etc. Chapter IX deals with the Doctrine of Karma, while XI is devoted to the rebutting of the customary charges against Hinduism. Chapter XIII, where the lecturer shines at his very best, is full of constructive suggestions towards a higher and more liberal Hinduism that will meet modern requirements without discarding anything that is of real value in the older traditions.

Hinduism as ordinarily understood, the lecturer tells us, "connotes among other things belief in the authority of the Vedas and other sacred writings of the ancient sages, in the immortality of the soul and in a future life, in the existence of a Supreme God, in the theory of Karma and rebirth, in the worship of ancestors, in the social organisation represented by the four main castes, in the theory of the four main stages of the human life and in the theory of the four Purusārthas or ends of human endeavour" (Introductory Chapter). It is doubtful however whether all Hindus ever did, or even now do, subscribe to all of these beliefs. It is at least certain that many Hindus never subscribed to the theistic dogma of the existence of a Supreme God as the Creator and the Ruler of the universe. Nor is the immortality of the soul in the ordinary sense a universal belief amongst Hindus either past or present. Some of the other views expressed by the lecturer also call for comment. The lecturer's remarks about happiness being the ultimate end of Hindu ethics is an assertion which no competent scholar of Hinduism will be prepared to enclose. The lecturer confidently asserts that "in so far as the condition of the emancipated soul is described as one of ineffable bliss, it may be held that happiness is the ultimate end adopted in ethics." (P. 153). But is "the condition of the emancipated soul" always "described as one of ineffable bliss?" What about Sankhya Philosophers who prefer a negative to a positive description of the *mokṣa* state? How about those Naiyāyikas who also adhere to the negative view of liberation as freedom from experience and its miseries? Vaiśeṣikas describe the *mokṣa* state as freedom from the nine specific attributes of the self or Atman, and pleasure or happiness is one of these nine specific attributes which the self becomes free from in the *mukta* or liberated state. The lecturer evidently is obsessed by the Sankarite view of *mokṣa* as a state of unsurpassed blissfulness or Ananda. But Hinduism is certainly wider than Vedantism or Sankarism, embracing as it does not merely Happiness or Blissfulness Theories but also many other theories such as the Nyāya and the Sankhya which have no positive Blissfulness to offer as the essence of the liberated state. What the lecturer says on page 162 about the elements of the imperative also betray some confusion between the conditions of voluntary action and the conditions of the moral imperative. *Iṣṭasādhana-tājūāna*, etc., which the lecturer confidently describes as the elements of the moral imperative, are only conditions of voluntary action according to Naiyāyikas. What the lecturer says on page 143 about the things that have no ascertainable beginning also show a similar confusion between Sankarism and Hinduism. The distinction between the Lord and the individual soul (*Jiveśabhedah*) is said to be one of those things that are admitted to be without any ascertainable being. But is this really the case? Do all Hindus admit this distinction? What about those Sankhya philosophers who consider the question of the existence of God to be incapable of a satisfactory answer? And how is a beginningless distinction between the individual soul and the Lord to be affirmed when the existence of the Lord remains unsolved and problematic?

In spite of these minor inaccuracies, the lectures make good reading as an outline history of Hindu morals and customs. As an exposition of Hindu ethics, however, or as a critical study of Hindu ethical thought as thought, the work is likely to be disappointing to the inquisitive reader.

S. K. M.

Lectures and Addresses. by Rabindranath Tagore. Selected by Anthony K. Soares. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1928. 160 pp. Indian Edition, Re. 1.

"This little volume is an attempt to bring together in a convenient form a selection from the lectures and addresses of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore with a view to presenting to the reader a coherent account of his life, thought, convictions and ideals." The editor's choice has been satisfactory, though a happy selection from a large number of speeches delivered at different times, in various countries and places and at various stages in the growth of the poet's mind is by no means an easy task. The introduction is interesting and appreciative, and a course through the selections helps the reader towards a fair understanding of the poet's mind and thought, and the editor may feel gratified that his aim has been fully achieved. One wishes these selections were read as texts in our undergraduate classes.

N. RAY

East and West in Religion. by S. Radhakrishnan. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. 1933. 143 pp. 4s. 6d.

This is one of Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's latest, comprising five lectures and sermons delivered at different places, mostly at the Manchester College, Oxford, and at different times between 1929 and 1931. As usual with Professor Radhakrishnan, the lectures are full of interesting reflections on current problems affecting life in the East and the West, but they deal mainly with the attitudes and approaches to religious life from the standpoints of the East and the West. The author's views on the subject, which in this book is contained in his first four lectures on "Comparative Religion," "East and West in Religion," "Chaos and Creation," and "Revolution through Suffering," are well known. In a way these four lectures are but further illustrations of his idealist view of life enunciated in his Hibbert Lectures. The fifth lecture, that on Rabindranath Tagore, is not so much on the poet, as on the traditional Indian view of life, for in Rabindranath "we find the eternal voice of India, old and yet new." It is here that this lecture comes in as an essential chapter of the book.

N. RAY

The Imperial Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume (Souvenir Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*). Edited by Amal Home. Central Municipal Office, Calcutta. Rs. 2.

Of all special editions and souvenir numbers of journals and periodicals brought out in India to commemorate the Imperial Silver Jubilee the one under notice ranks undoubtedly as the most magnificent and best—a volume superb in artistic conception and execution and dignified in the manner of the presentation of its matter, a really “permanent record in words and pictures of a memorable reign and of an empire’s homage on its completion of a quarter of a century.” A generous contribution generously made by the city-fathers of this second city of the British Empire has been most worthily spent over the production of a volume that is worthy of this great city and of the great occasion as well. As one turns over its one hundred and twenty-eight pages, each one decked with neat half-tones printed in different shades, one admires the editor’s standard of artistic excellence and the skill and resourcefulness of both the editor and the printer. Full plates, coloured and monochrome, illustrating royalties, and rare portraits and pictures, interspersed at close intervals, provide a feast to the eyes, and the neat and clear print of the type-scripts is really inviting. It is no vain claim that “every device known to the art of printing has gone to the making of this book.” Printed throughout on rich art paper and elegantly bound in silver and blue the volume is a most fine specimen of the Indian book-producer’s art.

Equally remarkable are the articles contributed by writers of repute, English and Indian, that have been gathered under different heads. They are fully representative and make up a complete record of the last twenty-five years with special reference to Their Majesties themselves, our own country, and the city of Calcutta. One can find here all about Their Majesties’ private and personal life followed by an account of “Twenty-five years a king.” But the most eminently readable is the section on “India in Transition” where the history of the Indian struggle has been admirably summed up. This is followed by two well-conceived and well-co-ordinated sections on “India and the Royal House” and the “Story of Calcutta.” The last section on “An Empire’s Homage” gives a full account of the Jubilee celebration in England and the Dominions, in Calcutta and other places of India. From the historical standpoint the volume has a distinct value and is well worth possessing.

Most fittingly the Mayor of Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, writes a Foreword. One feels like congratulating the Editor and the Corporation of Calcutta for the production of such a valuable and magnificent commemorative record of an historic occasion.

N. RAY

Abstract

THE PROGRESS OF ART IN INDIA

In the special Silver Jubilee Number of the MODERN STUDENT (*Calcutta, Monthly*) Mr. O. C. Gangoly contributes a very interesting article on "Twenty-five Years of Progress of Art in India," in course of which he reviews the history of the modern movement in Indian Painting that was initiated by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. No one else in India is more fitted to write on this subject than Mr. Gangoly who besides having the insight and intellectual equipment necessary for the purpose has been keeping himself all along closely in touch with the movement ; indeed he has been one who has himself taken a prominent part in it. The summary he gives has therefore the seal of authority on it, and is the latest and best authentic account within a short compass of the vicissitudes of the modern school of Indian Painting in which Bengal took the most active part. A considerable portion of the article is reproduced below.

" However much we may deplore the mid-Victorian attitude of English educationists to Indian Art, we have to make the grateful admission that the first impulse to create a Modern Indian Art came from an Englishman. To Lord Curzon, the greatest Viceroy, we owe a liberal policy for a systematic survey of Indian Antiquities and a scientific study of India's artistic monuments. To E. B. Havell (whose death we all mourn to-day and to whose invaluable services, we have yet to devise a worthy memorial), we owe the discovery of Indian Art, and the inspiration for the birth of the New Indian School of Painting, led by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, C.I.E. Protesting against the futility of borrowing the technique and mechanical formulas of European studios, made fashionable, for a time, by Raja Ravi Varma of Travancore, and Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar of Bombay, Dr. A. N. Tagore successfully demonstrated that the methods, technique, and the conventions of Indian Painting have bequeathed to us a valuable body of artistic heritage which could be easily developed on new lines and novel applications demanded by the changed outlook, intellectual and spiritual, which the new outlook and conditions have brought about in Indian Life and in the ways of living in India. On the solid heritage of the principles of old Indian schools of Painting, Buddhist, Moghul, and Rajput, Dr. Tagore laid the foundation of a living School of Modern Painting, sometime in the year 1896, which has borne rich and varied fruits of diverse tastes and fragrances which have won the admiration and the critical appreciation of the most exacting critics in Europe and America. There is a popular misconception that Dr. Tagore is conservative and retrograde in his outlook. As a matter of fact he has been very liberal and eclectic in his methods, never disdaining to pick up and assimilate lessons from European Art, whenever they have been found useful for the development of his own. His maxim has been: Let Indian Art be *enriched*, but it need not be

dominated by the ideals and the methods of the West. Indeed, throughout the numerous series of exquisite and poetic miniatures with which he has weaved the garland of Modern Indian Art,—he has utilized the principles of modelling, of spacing, of design and composition, frankly derived from the traditions of Western studios. Yet he has faithfully stuck to the traditions of India, in the methods of linear presentation, the blending and tonality of colour, and in the types of figures, and in the local and indigenous atmosphere of Indian life and thought. He has indeed looked at Indian life from the Indian point of view and visualized the inner gesture and the spirit of Indian life in the true colours of Indian spirituality. Despised and derided by his own countrymen but warmly applauded by English artists and connoisseurs, Tagore slowly built up his New School of Painting ("L'ecole du Calcutta," as his French critics chose to call it), associating with him a group of talented artists, viz.,—his own brother Mr. G. N. Tagore, an artist of singular originality, Nandalal Bose (now the Director of the Department of Art, Visva-Bharati University, Santi-Niketan), Asitakumar Halder (now the Principal of the Government School of Art, Lucknow), Samarendranath Gupta (now the Principal of the School of Arts, Lahore), Mukulchandra De (now the Principal of the Government School of Art Calcutta), and Khitindranath Mazumdar (Head Master of the School of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta). Dr. Tagore's triumph came in 1914, when the fruits of his labour, and those of his pupils named above, were sent to Paris, the vortex of the artistic centre of Europe, and submitted to the ruthless judgment of the leading critics who make or mar the reputations of modern artists. A selected group of the works of the Tagore School were exhibited in Pavilion Mason (*Grand Palais*), Paris, and the exhibition was opened by the President of the French Republic. The exhibition of this New Indian School of Painting drew a chorus of encomiums from the French critics and were applauded in the French Press and in the Art Journals. The writer of this article as the sponsor of the Exhibition had to take an intimate part and to collect all the opinions and reviews that were published in the French Press which filled an album of cuttings. But we have space, here, to give a short extract from *L'ART DECORATIF*, the leading Art Journal of Paris which is available in an English translation: 'The end of art is not merely the reproductions of things we see, but the search for the secret verities which they mask and of which they are the most imperfect expressions. After so many centuries, a Tagore and his disciples again invoke the idealistic principles which have created the Hindu religions..... Their work is full of charm, distinction and meditative repose. They show what can be done by collective effort when it rallies under the influence of a common inspiration. These sincere and well-dowered artists have subordinated the demands of their individual temperaments to giving a new life to the technique and ideals of painting which are proper to India.'

"The praise of the Parisian critics and the comments of the *TIMES* induced the English connoisseurs in London to bring the Exhibition across the English Channel and the pictures were exhibited at the Imperial Institute, London (May, 1914), and received warm tributes in the English Press—the echoes of which failed to reach India, having been raised on the eve of the Great War, the booming guns of which drowned the spiritual voice of Art and the exclamations of artistic ecstasies. The exhibition drew the attention of English connoisseurs to the necessity of a systematic study of Indian Art and a group of English friends of Indian Art founded the India Society—which has since been an able and emphatic champion of Indian Art in England.

"The success of the exhibitions of the works of the Tagore School in Europe led to enthusiastic interest in the works of these artists in different parts of India. And a representative exhibition of the School held in Madras in January, 1916, at the Young Men's Indian Association (sponsored by Dr. J. H. Cousins) evoked lively discussion in the local press particularly in the columns of *NEW INDIA* to which critical contributions were made by Prof. Rollo, Prof. W. D. S. Brown, and Principal Hadaway—which helped to popularize the new school and to establish it on the sure foundation of Indian appreciation, "broad-based on the people's will." Many students from Madras, Mysore, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Rajputana flocked to the school of Doctor Tagore, assiduously learning the lessons in the new Art, at the feet of the founder of the school. Of these interprovincial students, K. Venkatappa (Mysore), Hakim Khan (Lucknow), Roopa Krishna (Lahore), Iswari Prasad (Patna), and Kesava Rao (Madras) deserve special mention. These new recruits to the new movement who flocked enthusiastically under the banner of Dr. Tagore helped to spread the movement across the far corners of the Indian continent. More provincial exhibitions followed in different parts of India at Lahore, at Lucknow, at Benares, at Bangalore and even at far-off Colombo. The interest aroused bore rich fruit in the active co-operation of sympathetic collectors and Indian connoisseurs many of whom started buying up finest specimens of modern Indian painting and to build local collections. This was a great necessity as most of the best specimens were snapped by European collectors and were taken away from India—the most important specimens having gone to the collection of Sir John Woodroffe, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. Norman Blount, and Lord Carmichael. The corrective to this exodus of modern Art was furnished by a group of Indian collectors in Calcutta, notably by the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Maharaja of Cooch-Bihar and by Mr. P. N. Tagore of Calcutta who now possess some of the finest works of Dr. A. N. Tagore and Nandalal Bose. Of the Indian Collectors outside Bengal who have helped the growth of the movement—the names of Mr. S. V. Mudaliar of Madras, Mr. B. N. Treasurywalla of Bombay, and Mr. Rai Krishna Das of Benares, deserve special mention.

"Dr. Cousin's part in the growth of the movement has been considerable and it was under his inspiration that the Maharaja of Mysore founded a special Gallery of Modern Indian Art—in his Kalasala, which now contain several fine examples of the New School. To the inspiration of the same friend of Indian culture we are indebted for the establishment of a new centre of the new movement—*viz.*, the Andhra Kalasala at Rajhamundry. The widespread interest in Indian Art and the patriotic desire to develop the old Art in new forms of expression in all parts of India, called for provincial leaders and art-teachers to guide the growth of new creative efforts. And many of Dr. Tagore's pupils were summoned from Bengal to take charge of art-revivals in other parts of India. Of this demand the most typical are the migration of Mr. Pramodekumar Chatterjee who went to Baroda to take charge of the Kala-bhavan of H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda and, later on to Rajhamundry as the Director of Andhra Kalasala and Mr. S. N. De's invitation to the Art centre at Benares. Mr. Pulinbehary Dutt, another of Dr. Tagore's pupils, who won many prizes at the Calcutta exhibitions was invited to Bombay and has been in charge of the Art Department of the Theosophical Fellowship School for several years past and has helped and inspired the growth of Indian Art in diverse forms and shapes.

In the meantime the calls of European friends and admirers have not been neglected. In May 1923, in answer to the invitation of some German

friends an exhibition of the representative pictures of new Indian School (a hundred in number) was sponsored by Professor Benoykumar Sarkar in collaboration with the writer. And the collection of Indian pictures was exhibited in the Palace of the Crown Prince, now an *annexé* to the National Gallery in Berlin. Crowds of art-lovers of Germany flocked to see the pictures, and the German Press were full of appreciative notices from the pen of eminent critics such as Dr. Max Osborn, Geheimrat Justi, Dr. A. G. Hartmann, Dr. Paul Fechter, and Dr. Herman Goetz. We have space only for one quotation from Dr. Osborn's review of the exhibition. 'The attention and admiration of the German art-lovers have been aroused by the Indian individuality of the pictures which have come to us. We felt how everything in these works is divided towards the aim of interpreting the peculiar mind and the essential characteristics of the Indian people and to bring them nearer to the conscience of the people. And we recognized this truth:—the old manual faculties, the deep, dreamy sentiments, the distinction and refinement of principles—these elements which were the outstanding features of the grand old Indian Art have not died out. There exist again the forces of art and handicraft to cultivate these elements and to continue them in a new spirit. A new world of enchanted riches and quiet beauty has opened before our eyes. Even more than that: a monument of the great mind and of imaginative creations of a great people was unveiled before us, of a people who steps with strong and crafty hands into the treasure-trove of its past in order to find itself again.'

"The modern movement in Indian Art easily won the critical recognition and appreciation of art lovers all over Europe and the names and the fames of the artists soon travelled across the Atlantic. And in October, 1927, the Secretary of American Federation of Art of Washington (U. S. A.) invited the writer of this article to send out a selected group of paintings by the modern Indian masters for a travelling exhibition through all the important cities of the United States. A small collection of only sixty-five miniatures was sent out and travelled for a period of two years, through thirty cities, drawing admiring crowds and winning appreciative notices and reviews in the local press in each city. The most typical of these appreciative reviews was the one published in the AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF ART (December, 1927) from the pen of Mr. J. Arthur Maclean, Curator of the Toledo Museum of Art: 'A special word of praise and our thanks are due to the grand family of Tagores, especially to Abanindranath Tagore, whose skill and personality has held together a group of modern artists whose work is so excellent that they will be appreciated the world over. In portraiture, we have the great masterpieces of D. P. Roy-Chowdhury. Behind them all are centuries of India's thought, when, men like this, once saw the gods come down and sit with them in the garden. They are pictures that age may elevate to a position equal to similar works of the famous early schools of painting in India. In reviewing them it is difficult to keep one's feet on the ground because they excite the senses to unwarranted heights of ecstasy due, possibly, to a delicate subtle presentation of subject-matter, a spiritual, or rather religious emanation of suggested thought and a charming intimacy because of the small compass of the pictures and the medium used.' This exhibition in America (in 1927-29), was followed by a one-man exhibition of a series of 12 pictures illustrating the 'Life of the Buddha' from the pen of Mr. Ramendra Chakravarti (Head Master of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, a pupil of Mr. Nandalal Bose). They were shown in all the cities of the State under the auspices of the Art Museums in each city, winning warm praise and admiration. By a fortunate chance, they have

been acquired by H. H. The Maharani of Travancore and have not been lost to India, like so many other works of the Modern School. When Mr. Nandalal Bose, left Calcutta to take charge of the Art Department (Kala Bhavan) of the Santiniketan University,—the movement obtained a definite footing in the curriculum of an educational institution. For, hitherto Fine Art in any form or shape has had no place in the Indian Universities, notwithstanding the fact that Dr. A. N. Tagore delivered a brilliant series of lectures as Bageswari Professor at the Calcutta University. Mr. Bose's work and personality have drawn to Tagore's University numerous art students from all parts of India. Of his pupils outside Bengal three have won considerable distinction, viz., V. R. Chitra, Masoji, Konu Desai, P. Hariharan, and Kumari Hathising. But Mr. Bose's best pupils are represented by Dhirendrakrishna Varma, Ramendra Chakravarti and Mani B. Gupta. The growth of the movement and the fame that it won in Europe and America landed the exponents of the School—in the realm of 'politics.' The establishment of their merits naturally led to a claim for a recognition of 'rights.' And it was claimed that the pupils of Dr. Tagore were fully qualified to take charge of the Government Schools of Art in the different provinces as principals of these institutions, posts hitherto reserved for the members of the Indian Educational Service. Persistent agitation have led to an official recognition of the 'rights' of the talented members of the movement and excepting the one at Bombay, all the posts of the Principals of the Government Schools of Art in India are now held by the pupils of Dr. A. N. Tagore. As Principals the members of this New School of painting have given good account of themselves and have trained numerous qualified artists who have won and are winning fame and distinction in various phases of art and industry. Charu Ch. Roy, an old pupil of Dr. Tagore, has won for him an honoured place in the production of Indian films, while the works of Mr. Jamini Roy, formerly an able worker in Western technique, but now a most conservative adherent to the old traditions of old Bengali *pat* paintings, has given an impetus to new movements in Stagecrafts and theatrical sets and scenarios. To the inspiration of Mr. Samarendra Gupta, Principal of the Government School of Art, we owe the success of A. R. Chughatai, Alla Bux, and of M. Inayat Ullah. Mr. Asitakumar Halder, Principal of the Government School of Art and Crafts, Lucknow, and his worthy associate Mr. Bireswar Sen, (both pupils of Dr. A. N. Tagore) have gathered together a group of talented artists, some hailing from different parts of the United Provinces, and some from Bengal who are building up regional branches of the new movements in Lucknow, and other centres. Similarly, Mr. Deviprasad Roychowdhury, called upon a few years ago to take up the duties of the Principal of the Government School of Art, Madras, has been able to train up another group of young artists from various parts of the Madras Presidency, who are attempting to apply the principles of Indian Art on new ways of development. Chiefly through the efforts of Rai Krishna Das (who with a fine collection of old and modern Indian Paintings has established a Museum at Benares) and Mr. Sailendranath De, a centre of studies has been set up in the sacred city. At this centre, two artists have contributed valuable works, viz., Ram Prasad and Ramgopal Vijayavargiya. In this way, the new movement initiated by Dr. A. N. Tagore about 40 years ago has spread all over India and has established branches in different centres far away from Bengal.

"The success of the New Art movement in Bengal and its ramifications all over India has stimulated the activity of a group of art-students of

Bombay under the able guidance of Captain W. E. Gladstone, Principal, Sir J. J. School (Bombay). Though not accepting *in toto* the doctrines of Dr. A. N. Tagore, the Bombay group of artists have been endeavouring to initiate a new movement in Indian Art in their own way. Without deviating from the principles of *Chiarascuro* (Lights and Shadows) and the emphasis on meticulous accuracy in anatomical representations, borrowed from the techniques of European studios, the Bombay group has been attempting to interpret Indian scenes and subjects through the forms and methods borrowed from Western painters, somewhat discarding the plastic vernaculars,—the pictorial dialects of India, in the language of which the great Buddhist, Rajput and Moghul Masters have recorded their messages in Art. Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar, formerly Head Master of the Government Art School, Bombay, made some very interesting experiments in which he used the types, and conventions of dress and furniture of the frescoes of Ajanta in new compositions and in novel applications. The contributions of the Bombay School have been particularly valuable in attempts to build up a School of fresco-painting, on modern lines and a school of portraiture and landscape painting. With the exception of Mr. D. P. Roychowdhury and Mr. J. P. Gangoly none of the artists of the Bengal School had made any serious attempts on these popular phases of painting. Bombay has built up a solid tradition in portrait painting which gives it the foremost place in this branch of painting, a position which cannot at present be challenged by any other group in India. The reputation of such able and talented exponents of the art as Mr. Pestonji Bomanji, Mr. Lalcaea, and Mr. Pithawala has reached all the nooks and corners of India. In the field of landscape painting, the position of honour is occupied by Mr. L. N. Taskar, round whom a talented group of younger artists is building up a school of Indian landscape. Among painters of genre and romantic subjects Mr. G. P. Fernandes, Mr. A. X. Trindade and S. N. Gorakshakar deserve special mention. Not belonging to any group, and somewhat dissenting from the 'School of Art' traditions of the Bombay group, stands Mr. S. Fyzee Rahmin, an artist of considerable originality and an able interpreter of Indian decorative conventions, valiantly upholding the old Indian pictorial traditions somewhat neglected by members of the Bombay School. The Chief of Aundh, whose contribution to modern painting is considerable, is also an ardent adherent to the traditions of the Ajanta School and he is putting together a group of young artists to build up a new style on the basis of the old traditions. In the field of sculpture, the artists of the Western Presidency easily outstrip their brethren in Bengal. The fames of G. K. Mahtre, B. V. Talim, R. K. Phadke and various other exponents of the art stand on the solid foundation of talent and hard industry. In this field, the works of Mr. D. P. Roychowdhury and Mr. Hiranmay Roychowdhury now in the Government School of Art, Lucknow, and, of Mr. Khastagir, very valiantly uphold the reputation of Bengal in the realm of sculpture.

"The latest development in the art revival in India is the new scope and opportunity for employment of Indian artistic talent afforded by the decoration of the India House in London. A special committee was appointed to choose the best mural painters amongst the numerous applicants from all parts of India who claimed the honour of decorating the India House with Indian frescoes. The choice of the committee fell on four eminent artists from Bengal—Mr. Dhirendrakrishna Dev Varma, Mr. Sudhanshu Roychowdhury, Mr. Ranadacharan Ukil and Mr. L. M. Sen. They spent about a year in London and executed a remarkable series of frescoes of Indian symbolic convention and import. Their Indian

spirit and decorative beauty won the praise of Sir William Rothenstein (Principal of the Royal College of Art), Mr. G. Holme (Editor of the *Studio*), and other eminent English critics, and justified their choice as representative Indian artists capable of executing responsible civic duties. The great success of the work of Mr. D. K. Deva Varma, the leader of this group of mural painters, has led the Calcutta University to invite Mr. Varma to execute a series of mural paintings on the walls of the Library Hall of the Asutosh building.

“It is a matter of some significance that various lady artists have joined the current movement in Indian Art, for, it is believed that women painters have a peculiar and special contribution to make to the growth of Modern Indian Art. And it is a matter of great gratification to find that several lady artists have won distinction in the field of painting. The name of Srimati Sunayani Devi (sister of Dr. A. N. Tagore), an artist of great originality and distinction, stands pre-eminent amongst the modern artists, outshining, in her talent and vision, many of her male brethren. Of other lady artists who have won distinction, the names of Gauri Devi, Sukumari Devi, Kumari Hathising, Mrs. Sukhalata Rao, Mrs. Hamid Ali, Miss Sheila Banerjee and Mrs. Rani De deserve special mention. It must have been apparent that the movement has embraced all groups, communities, and creeds.”

News and Views

[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.]

World Education Conference

The Government of India and the Provincial Governments, having considered the question of making arrangements for their representation at the World Educational Conference which will be held at Oxford next month, have, it is understood, arrived at the following decision :—

The Government of India do not think that it is necessary to send from India any official of the Department of Education to attend the Conference but at the same time they think that it will be useful to have a representative of theirs at the Conference. They have, therefore, decided to request Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who is now on leave in England, to represent them at the Conference.

The Provincial Governments have informed the Government of India that they do not intend specially to depute any of their officials to represent them at the Conference. Every Provincial Government will, however, request any of the officers of the Indian or the Provincial Educational Service, who may be on leave in England, to represent it at the Conference. Thus, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments will be represented at the Conference without any of these Governments incurring any expenditure for their representation.

Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta in Europe

In course of a press report a London Correspondent writes to the STATESMAN (*Calcutta, Daily*) of the recent activities of Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta in Europe :

I had just had the pleasure of meeting Professor S. N. Das-Gupta, the much-travelled Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta who has represented India during the past 12 or 13 years at International Congress held in Paris, Naples and Harvard and lectured at many of the world's most famous Universities.

He was in London at the virtual conclusion of a comprehensive European tour, and after addressing meetings of the Aristotelian Society and the Royal Asiatic Society, he left to return to India *via* Paris. Some months ago, Professor Das-Gupta was deputed by the University of Calcutta to deliver a series of lectures at the University of Rome and the Oriental Institute in the same city, and all his expenses to and from Italy and whilst in that country were paid by the State, of whom he was an official guest. His lectures were devoted entirely to expositions of the Indian view-point in philosophy, religion, culture and ancient scientific knowledge, and he told me he was extremely gratified at the presence of many of the leading Italian philosophers and Indologist.

It was also apparent, he said, that there is in Italy a great feeling of enthusiasm and reverence for the ideals of Yoga and Indian spiritualism. A notable example of this was seen at the meeting at which the Rector of the University gave the Professor a special message to the University of Calcutta and concluded by saying that he paid his humble homage to the eternal elements of Indian civilization and culture. One of his most interesting lectures in Rome was that which he delivered before the International Congress of the History of Science. A friend living in Rome wrote and told me at the time that the lecture had become "the talk of the day" in the Italian capital and I little thought that I should later meet the Professor in London.

During his stay in Rome, which was scheduled for a fortnight and lasted a month, Professor Das-Gupta was almost continuously entertained at receptions and parties of every description. There was similar enthusiasm in Milan and Vienna, where he addressed meetings at the respective universities, and in the latter city he was confronted with invitations from practically every university in Europe. Only a few could possibly be accepted, including Breslau, Königsberg, Berlin, Bonn and Cologne, and in every instance he was welcomed by distinguished gatherings of professors and public men. In Berlin, where there is a particularly large Indian colony, there was a special reception at which every phase of oriental culture was represented.

If I can judge by letters from friends who attended Professor Das-Gupta's lectures in various cities, the cause of India abroad would be better served if more intellectuals of the professor's type, and fewer politicians, were sent on tour as the country's representatives abroad.

Assam's Plan for University

It is understood, Mr. D. E. Roberts, M.A., I.E.S., ex-Principal of the Murarichand College, Sylhet, will be appointed as a special officer to prepare the scheme for the proposed Assam University. His Excellency Sir Michael Keane, it will be remembered, referred about it in his last speech at the Assam Legislative Council. Mr. Roberts is now on leave in England and after the completion of his leave, he will visit some of the European Universities to see their working method after which he will come back and begin his enquiry in Assam.

The Indian Science News Association

The Indian Science News Association was recently inaugurated at a meeting at the Calcutta University Science College over which Sir P. C. Ray presided. The object is to disseminate scientific knowledge among the general public.

As Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, could not attend, his speech was read by Mr. S. C. Ghosh, Secretary of the Post-Graduate Department of Arts. It stated that a second object was to express unbiassed opinions on industrial measures likely to affect the lives of the people. Dr. Meghnad Saha of Allahabad University said that the association would thus complete the programme started by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee when he laid the foundation of the University of Science. The Association had already received Rs. 10,000 from patrons and enrolled 100 life-members, each paying Rs. 100.

For the present it hoped to publish **SCIENCE AND CULTURE** monthly and to sustain a spirit of enquiry and to maintain a lively spirit of discussion among those engaged in scientific pursuits among teachers in schools colleges and research institutes. Sir P. C. Ray was provisionally elected president, with Sir U. N. Brahmachari and Dr. S. C. Law as vice-presidents and Dr. Meghnad Saha and Dr. B. B. Roy as joint honorary secretaries.

Burmese Language in Rangoon Matric

The question of making Burmese the only recognized vernacular language for matriculation was recently discussed at a meeting of the Senate of the Rangoon University.

The Senate passed a resolution stating that in 1935, 1936 and 1937 candidates who passed in languages other than Burmese be matriculated only if the Director of Public Instruction certifies that satisfactory provision for the teaching of Burmese was not made in the school or schools which they attended, and that for Matriculation in the University in 1938 and thereafter the vernacular language or languages required should be the vernacular language or languages recognized for the related High School examinations of the Province. The Senate, in this connection, noted that Government, while encouraging the teaching of Burmese, had continued to recognize vernaculars and second languages other than Burmese in the school system. It will be recalled that when the question of making Burmese compulsory was announced, the Indian community strongly protested against it.

Oriental Manuscript Collection

The Curator for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Travancore, recently proceeded to Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir, to study their systems of preservation and maintenance of manuscripts. The Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts has been functioning for over 25 years and has collected nearly 3,000 rare *granthas*. Some of these have been gathered under novel circumstance. A commentary of the *Sama Veda Bhashya* was floating down a river near Shenkotta when the Curator and his assistant were bathing. Swimming out the curator and his assistant brought in the scattered palm leaves, to find them to be portions of a precious commentary. The Department has published over 160 works during its existence and some manuscripts are 1,200 years old. Last year 34 rare and unpublished Sanskrit works and 11 Malayalam manuscripts were added to the collection.

Vincent Massey Scholarship

It has been announced that on the recommendation of the Vincent Massey Scholarship Committee, His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to award the Vincent Massey Scholarship for 1935-1936 to Dr. Muhammad Abdul Hameed Siddiqi, Professor of Anatomy, King Georges Medical College, Lucknow, for study and research in Anatomy.

In the past the Massey Scholarship had been awarded to:—Mr. E. L. Jordan, of the Allahabad University, Professor, Lucknow Christian College, for the study of Zoology; Mr. M. D. Shahane, of Bombay University,

Member, Servants of India Society, for the study of problems of Local Self-Government; Mr. P. C. Addy, of the Calcutta University, Professor, St. John's College, Agra, for the advanced study of the History and Mr. Lakhpat Rai Sethi, Professor, Dyal Singh College, Lahore, for study in Political Science.

Disagreement between Bombay and Madras Universities

The Registrar of the Bombay University has issued the following authoritative statement with regard to the admission of students of the University of Madras to courses of study in the Bombay University:—

“ In the year 1933, the University of Madras refused admission to a student who migrated from this University and sought admission to the courses of study leading to the B. A. degree of that University. That student had passed the Intermediate Arts Examination of this University, which till then had been recognized as equivalent to the corresponding examination of the Madras University. On a representation made by the student to the Registrar of this University, the latter inquired of the Registrar of the Madras University as to the reason why the student in question had been refused admission, and the reply received was that the student had not obtained second class marks, and that no student who failed to obtain second class marks was eligible for admission. It was pointed out to the Registrar of the University of Madras that this University had recognized the Examinations of the Madras University without any restrictions as to class or percentage of marks. As the Madras University maintained that it was for them to lay down any restrictions they chose, this University on a consideration of the whole matter decided to withdraw the recognition of all examinations of the University of Madras. The result of this decision was that in September 1934, the Registrar of the University of Madras wrote to say that his University had agreed to recognize the Examinations of this University as equivalent to the corresponding Examinations of the Madras University without any restriction as to the class or percentage of marks. In consequence of this action, on the part of the Madras University, this University promptly withdrew its ban. On May 4, 1935, a letter was received from the Registrar of the University of Madras pointing out that the question of the recognition of the Examinations of other Universities had been receiving the attention of the Syndicate of the Madras University and that the M.A., D.L., M.D., and M.S. degrees were not open to students of other Universities. He further pointed out that the new Ordinance cancelled the decision of the Syndicate communicated in their letter of September 15, 1934, though the position practically remained unaltered.

“ This letter was immediately placed before the Vice-Chancellor for necessary orders. The Vice-Chancellor in exercise of his emergency powers, passed orders that the M.A., M.D., and M.S. degrees of this University should not be open to the students of the University of Madras.

“ The authorities of the University could have withdrawn its recognition of all the Examinations of the Madras University if they had so desired, but at the last meeting of the Academic Council and the Syndicate it was decided that this University should not come to any final decision, pending

the result of the negotiations for an amicable settlement now proceeding between the authorities of the two Universities.

"The position therefore at present is that the students of Madras will only be entitled to provisional admission which is liable to be cancelled if as a result of the refusal of the authorities of the Madras University to restore the *status quo*, this University is eventually compelled to withdraw its recognition of all the Examinations of the Madras University."

Closely following the Bombay Registrar's statement a communiqué has been issued by the University of Madras regarding the reciprocal acceptance of degrees by the Universities of Bombay and Madras, and enunciating the policy followed by the Madras institution.

The University, in conformity with the provisions of the Acts governing its constitution, says the *communiqué*, prescribed the laws governing the admission of students to courses, which lead up to University examinations for degrees, diplomas and certificates.

Quoting the relevant portion of the Madras University Act the *communiqué* recalls the resolution of the Inter-University Board which met in February, 1933, and March 1934, the latter of which stated "that it be a recommendation to the Universities in India that each examination which represents a completed stage of education—for example, the Matriculation or its equivalent, the Intermediate and the Degree examinations—be recognized by all the Universities subject to the proviso recommended by the Board in 1933." The *communiqué* observes these resolutions were considered by the Madras University, which modified its laws so as to secure, for the purpose of admission to courses of studies in this University, what it considered to be as complete a measure of acceptance as possible of the degrees of other Universities as the equivalent to its own degrees, bearing in mind the proviso laid down by the Inter-University Board.

The *communiqué* includes a statement to show that a large measure of reciprocity had been reached for certain examinations and degrees of the Madras University open to undergraduates and graduates of other Universities. The *communiqué* proceeds: "The only degrees which are not open to graduates of other Universities are M.A., M.D., M.S., LL.D. Under the present laws of the University, a student of this University who has taken a B.A. (Honours) degree proceeds to the M.A. degree by efflux of time. Under the transitory regulations, graduates who have taken a B.A. (Pass) degree of this University may, two years after qualifying for the B.A. (Pass) degree, take the M.A. degree examination in an Arts subject without studying further in a college. This privilege expires in 1937. The conditions under which M.A. degrees are awarded in this University are, however, now under fresh consideration, and there is a proposal now going before the Standing Committee of the Academic Council to modify the present M.A. degree transitory regulations so as to permit of graduates in Arts of other Universities being recognized for admission to the post-graduates honours courses, for the purpose of appearing for the M.A. degree of this University. The LL.D., degree can be conferred either *honoris causa* or by approval of a thesis. The preliminary qualification for candidates is the possession of the M.L. degree of this University. No M.L. graduate of the Madras University has so far presented a thesis for this high degree. The M.D. and M.S. degrees are high professional degrees in medicine and surgery and in conformity with the practice in many other Universities, the University of Madras has restricted admission to its M.B. and B.S. degree holders."

Indian Students Abroad

"There does not seem to be sufficient appreciation by parents and guardians in India of the suffering and hardship inflicted on students who are sent out to foreign countries without adequate financial provision for their maintenance." This observation is made by the High Commissioner for India, London, in forwarding to the Government of India the 1933-34 report on the work of the Education Department, London, submitted by Dr. Thomas Quayle, the Secretary to the High Commissioner, Education Department. No less than 23 students had to be repatriated by the High Commissioner during the year, while 57 received financial assistance from the Indian Students' Loan Fund Committee. The number of students who were in financial difficulties, but did not seek assistance from this office, was probably much larger. The High Commissioner feels obliged once again to impress upon all parents and guardians the importance of assuring themselves that adequate financial resources will be available before deciding to send out their children for study in Europe. Financial worries not only prevent the students from deriving full benefit from their stay in this country, but often result in serious illness. The High Commissioner has, as in previous years, been able to arrange for practical training in the various branches of engineering and technology in the case of the majority of students who have applied to him for assistance.

There has been no reluctance on the part of industrial firms to grant facilities except in cases where secret processes, severe trade competition, and trade-union regulations, were involved. As Dr. Quayle has remarked, "manufacturers, in this country or on the Continent, can scarcely be expected to offer to potential competitors free access to special methods, usually evolved only after a period of long and expensive research and trial." This analysis fully confirms the conclusion arrived at by the High Commissioner after an examination of the question last year, that there is no justification for the belief that any discrimination is exercised against Indians in regard to admission into engineering and other firms.

The record of Indian successes, academic as well as athletic, continues to be excellent. "India has every reason to be proud of the achievements of her sons, especially of those who come to this country for post-graduate study."

The report continues

"Further testimony to the generally high standard of the students pursuing courses at educational institutions here is reflected in the lists of academic and other successes which they have achieved during the period under review. It would appear that the students who leave India for further studies or training abroad are certainly not always, or even generally, as is sometimes supposed, of inferior qualifications or calibre, but that on the contrary the large number engaged on post-graduate work reflects the fact that, after taking good degrees at their home universities, they have come here to do research or advanced work for which the necessary facilities may not always be available in India.

"But the question must once again be posed, as it often has been, whether this exodus of so many of the young men of India is still necessary or desirable. For it must be remembered that, in addition to the large number in this country, there are probably at least 200 Indian students at the Universities in the United States of America, and in Europe. Thus in any year, probably not far short of 2,000 young men are under present

conditions exiled for a period from their motherland, removed from the healthy influence of home and family, usually at their most impressionable age, and faced, as many of them are, with great difficulties in obtaining employment, however satisfactory their qualifications may be, when they return to India. To pose this question is only to realize its difficulties. Each year a large number of Indian students, equipped with excellent and in many cases exceptional qualifications, returned home. For the restricted openings in Government service or in private enterprise they have to compete with the enormous number of students who have stayed at home and have graduated in all Faculties at the Indian Universities. The question of employment and openings for her well-qualified young men, whether trained at home or abroad, is, in my opinion, perhaps one of the most urgent which the new India of the immediate future will have to face. For it is obvious that the solution of what is sometimes called the 'Indian student problem' can only be found in India itself. So far as the students, who feel compelled to proceed abroad, are concerned, the Indian Universities can and are playing their part by raising their standards and by providing the necessary facilities for higher and advanced work in all branches. But something more is needed, and that is the growth in India of a sound and strong public opinion that the young Indian student can best serve his own interests and that of his motherland by staying in his own country unless and until there is a very real need for him to go abroad for further study or training, or for intellectual stimulus."

International Congress of Libraries and Bibliography, Madrid

The second International Congress of Libraries and Bibliography concluded its momentous session on 31st May last at Barcelona. It commenced its sittings at Madrid on 19th May, 1935. 510 delegates attended from 33 countries of the world of whom 60 were official representatives of their respective Governments. The Congress was opened at the Madrid University by the Education Minister. Sectional meetings were held simultaneously for a number of days where various aspects of the movement were discussed and the resolutions recommended by the different sub-committees were adopted at the last meeting held in Barcelona. The only Indian representative, Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C., was accorded a cordial welcome on the opening day and he was the first speaker to speak on the Library Movement in India. State Receptions were given by the President of the Spanish Republic at the Madrid Royal Palace, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at his palace, by the Mayors, Universities and National Bibliothecas of Madrid, Salamanca, Seville, Barcelona and other cities of Spain. The National Bibliothecas of Paris and Rome also arranged Receptions.

A National Academy for India

Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS), of the University of Calcutta, in dedicating a special number of his journal, *INDIA AND THE WORLD*, to L' ACADEMIE FRANSAISE on its tri-centenary to be celebrated this year, makes an appeal for a united Indian Academy for the whole nation.

"It is high time," says Dr. Nag, "that some serious attempt should be made to integrate, into a central Indian Academy, the creative activities of

the nation in the domain of Science and Letters. There are in existence already, for many years, our '*Sahitya Parishads*' representing the important languages and literatures of India. The All-India platform for these regional literary academies has not yet been created. The All-India Orientalists Conference is trying to keep pace with the All-India Science Congress, the All-India Philosophical Congress and such other associations of great potentiality. But there is no central sanctuary in India where the devotees of Science and Arts may bring their offerings, forgetting the differences of their technique and temperament of their caste and creed. Such a sanctuary cannot be localized in any single province or city in our case. It may grow like our Indian National Congress holding its sessions each year in a particular locality, focussing the national mind on some important region and at the same time co-ordinating the activities and aspirations of India as a whole from year to year.

"We have recently failed in our attempt to build an Indian Academy of Science, split up, very unfortunately, into the Northern and the Southern divisions. So in our attempt to build an Academy of Letters or an Indian Academy embracing Arts and Sciences, we may meet with similar difficulties, nay greater obstacles. But it is an endeavour long overdue and our failures here are certainly more welcome than the present morass of disintegration and vacuity.

"India of the past is taking her legitimate place in the corridor of History, triumphing over temporary oblivions and distortions. And may India of to-day aspire to build her Academy for the generations to come and for Eternity."

Dr. Nag's appeal has been warmly received everywhere in India, by the Indian and Anglo-Indian Press alike, by our intellectuals and our leaders in public life. The *Times of India* (Bombay, daily) of 17th July last writes appreciatively as follows:—

"The eloquent plea of Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta University for the foundation in India of a central academy on the lines of *L'Académie Française* to integrate, as he puts it, 'the creative activities of the nation in the domain of Science and Letters,' deserves more than a mere echo of approval. In view of the differences recently revealed among scientific luminaries it would probably be better to concentrate on the literary aspect. But there can be no doubt that a focal point such as that proposed for Indian culture could be a potent force for progress and unity in the future. Such inspiration of the kind as there has been in the past has revolved rather vaguely and spasmodically around the home of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. That in itself was not inappropriate; yet it was more a tribute to the greatness of a person than the natural channel of national self-expression. Authorship has as yet a poor reward in India, but there are ample signs of progress and development that promise well.

The formation of an Indian Academy at an early stage like the present could provide for work of inestimable value in protecting and fostering the growth of national letters on lines peculiar to the natural genius of the people as well as appropriate to a changing India. Undoubtedly there lies beneath the dust of ages and many second-rate outpourings of the present day a wealth of traditional culture which, grafted on to things of worth in modern civilisation can, if encouraged, contribute a literature and philosophy second to none. But there is need in this as in other things for the creation of a true sense of values both in literary appreciation and literary production. This an Indian Academy organised on truly national lines and sincerely devoted, without prejudice either communal or provincial, to letters in themselves could surely stimulate.

Indian Science Institute

Colonel C. T. C. Plowden, British Resident in Mysore, presided over a recent meeting of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science,

Bangalore (July 22), when the annual report for the session 1934-35 was presented. All members of the Council were present, including Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, and Sir P. C. Ray.

The report shows that the total income for the year was Rs. 5,45,064, including the following grants: India Government Rs. 1,50,000; Mysore Government, Rs. 35,000; Madras Government, Rs. 5,000; Hyderabad, Rs. 20,000 and the Central Provinces, Rs. 1,500. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research have given a grant of Rs. 3,010 for carrying out two small schemes in the Bio-Chemistry Department of the institute. The expenditure for the year was Rs. 6,57,941, thus exceeding the income by Rs. 1,12,817. The steady increase in expenditure in the past few years is due partly to the growing expenditure on scientific departments and the increase in the number of salaried officers and servants of the institute, while the drop in the normal annual income of Rs. 6,00,000 is chiefly due to the reduction in the Mysore Government grant from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 30,000 and the diminution of income from Bombay properties and from investments by about Rs. 25,000.

Gurselves

[I. *New Affiliations*—II. *Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research*—III. *Our University and the Weaving Industry in Bengal*—IV. *Mr. Apurvakumar Chanda*—V. *Teachers' Training Department*—VI. *Proposed Agricultural Institute at Rajshahi*—VII. *Sir Asutosh Medal in Letters, 1934*—VIII. *Universities Bureau of the British Empire*—IX. *Prativa Devi Medal*—X. *Teaching of Assamese in our University*—XI. *Radhikamohan Scholarship, 1935.*—Notifications.]

I. NEW AFFILIATIONS

In extension of the affiliation already granted the Chittagong College has been affiliated to this University in Bengali as Second Language to the B.A. standard, and La Martiniere, Calcutta, in French and Commercial Geography to the I.A. standard, with effect from the commencement of the session 1935-36.

The Gurucharan College, Silchar, has been granted affiliation in English, Vernacular (Bengali), Sanskrit, Persian, History, Elements of Civics and Economics, Logic and Mathematics to the I.A. standard, with effect from the commencement of the academic session 1935-36.

The All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, has also been affiliated to impart instruction in subjects for the D. P. H. of this University. It has also been recognised as an institution competent to present candidates for the annual examination for the Degree of Doctor of Science in Public Health.

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II. IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

The Director of the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa, wrote to the University, some time ago, enquiring if the University would recognise the research work done by scholars at the Institute, as part of the work for the degree of Ph.D. or D.Sc. of the University. The University have, however, agreed to recognise such research work and admit candidates from the Institute for research degrees, but have decided to limit such recognition to those graduates alone who hold M.A. and M.Sc. degrees of the University. The Syndicate in one of their recent meetings considered this subject of recognition at some length and resolved that graduates holding M.A. and M.Sc. degrees of this University and working at the Imperial Institute of Agricultural

Research would be allowed to submit theses for the Ph.D. and D.Sc. degrees respectively provided they fulfilled the following conditions:

(a) That they have passed the M.A. or M.Sc. examination, as the cases may be, either in the First or in the Second Class

(b) That three years have elapsed from the time when they passed the M.A. or M.Sc. examination, as the case may be

(c) That they work at the Institute for at least two years

(d) That they have obtained previous permission of the University, and

(e) That each candidate will have to comply with the general rules and regulations governing the award of the degrees of Ph.D. and D.Sc.

* * *

III. OUR UNIVERSITY AND THE WEAVING INDUSTRY IN BENGAL

The Secretary to the Board of Economic Enquiry, Bengal, has recently addressed the University on the subject of a proposed Survey of the Weaving Industry in Bengal by the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry. The Board feel that in making a proper survey the agency of the students of the University in the vacation periods may profitably be employed; they have, therefore, thought it necessary to obtain a provisional opinion of the University whose active help and co-operation they think to be essential. The Syndicate have welcomed the proposal and informed their willingness to co-operate in the matter. They have also requested the Secretary to furnish details and the questionnaire on the subject as also the number of students required for the purpose.

* * *

IV. MR. APURVAKUMAR CHANDA

We are glad to record that Mr. Apurvakumar Chanda, M.A. (OXON.), has been re-nominated to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University with effect from the 11th August, 1935. He has been attached to the Faculty of Arts, and appointed a member of the Board of Studies in English.

* * *

V. TEACHERS' TRAINING DEPARTMENT

The Teachers' Training Department was formally opened on 15th July last by the Vice-Chancellor in the presence of members of the Syndicate, the School Committee, the Advisory Committee of the Syndicate, the Post-Graduate Department, and of Head Masters of Calcutta High Schools and students and staff of the newly-created Department. The Vice-Chancellor in a short speech explained the aims and objects of the Department and expressed the hope that through the active co-operation of all connected with secondary education in Bengal, this Department would be able to materially help the cause of re-organisation of secondary education in this province.

Mr. A. N. Basu, B.A. (CAL.), M.A. (LOND.), T.D. (LOND.), has been appointed Lecturer-in-charge of the Department. Mr. Basu had been a teacher in Santiniketan for several years before he went abroad for higher studies in Education. He has travelled widely in England, on the Continent and in the United States of America where he has studied the educational systems of different countries. After his return he was appointed Assistant Professor in the Teachers' Training College, Hindu University, Benares, whence he comes to join the present appointment. Mr. K. K. Mukherji, M.A., B.T. (CAL.), Diploma in Spoken English, has been appointed Assistant Lecturer. They are being assisted by a number of part-time Lecturers from other departments of this University. The department has also been able to secure the honorary services of men like Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. J. N. Sen and others.

Arrangements have at present been made for short term course extending over three months, and accommodation has been provided for seventy-five students. It has been arranged to make the course as complete and practical as possible under the circumstances. The course is open to under-graduates, but preference will be given to graduates and to those who are already in the profession. That the department is going to be popular is indicated by the fact that in spite of the shortness of notice about two hundred applications were received, of which seventy-five only could be accepted.

VI. PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE AT RAJSHAHI

A draft scheme for establishing an agricultural institution at Rajshahi, to be known as Kumar Basantakumar Ray Institute, with a view to imparting education on agriculture and other allied industries, is at present under consideration of the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education. It has been decided that on the completion of the courses an examination test, both theoretical and practical, shall be held by a Board consisting of, amongst others, the Director of Public Instruction and the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, and certificates will be awarded to those students who will come out successful at the examination. In this connection the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, wrote to the University, some time ago, enquiring if the University would be inclined to extend their affiliation to the Institute and be agreeable to award any certificate or diploma to the students coming out successful in the Final Examination of the Institute. The University, we understand, have signified their willingness to co-operate for the successful working of the scheme and for its extension ; but they do not think it possible to grant any diploma or certificate unless the examination is held under their authority, nor can they grant recognition to the Institute until the Regulations are suitably modified. The matter, it is understood, has been referred to a committee consisting of the following gentlemen :—

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW, M.L.C.,
Vice-Chancellor.

The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

Bidhanchandra Roy, Esq., B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S. (LOND.)

Prof. W.S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D. LITT., D.D.

Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW.

Prof. Hemendrakumar Sen, D.SC.

Director of Agriculture, Bengal.

Rai Bahadur Bijaybehari Mookerjee, M.A.

J. N. Gupta, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. (RETD.).

Girijaprasanna Majumdar, Esq., M.SC., B.L.

VII. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL IN LETTERS, 1934

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Letters for the year 1934 has been awarded to Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., PH.D. (CAL.), for his thesis on "Neo-Romanticism in the Post-Victorian Lyric." We congratulate Dr. Rao on his well-earned distinction.

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VII. UNIVERSITIES BUREAU OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Of the eighteen Universities of India only eight, namely, Andhra, Annamalai, Calcutta, Madras, Osmania, Panjab, Patna and Rangoon, are members of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, and each one has a representative in the Bureau. The University of Calcutta is represented by Sir William Ewart Greaves, one of our most popular ex-Vice-Chancellors.

The Indian Universities are represented in the Executive Council of the Bureau by three members, and every year the member-universities are called upon to nominate them from among the eight representatives. The next election to the Executive Council for 1935-36 will be held on 28th September next when the Annual General Meeting of the Association takes place. Our University have nominated the three following gentlemen for election to the Council:—

Sir William Greaves, KT., M.A.

Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.

(representing the University of Madras).

Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.LITT.

(representing the Andhra University.)

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IX. PRATIVA DEVI MEDAL

Mr. Umakanta Goswami, Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, has recently written to the University offering 3 per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 500 for creating an endowment in memory of his wife, the late Srimati Prativa Devi, for the annual award of silver medal to the student who stands first among the

candidates appearing in Economics Honours from the affiliated Colleges of Assam. The medal shall be known as the Pratiba Devi Medal.

The offer of Mr. Goswami has been accepted with thanks by the University.

* * *

X. TEACHING OF ASSAMESE IN OUR UNIVERSITY

The Director of Public Instruction, Assam, recently wrote to the University stating that the Assam Legislative Council had passed a resolution recommending that arrangements should be made for teaching Assamese (Vernacular) to the Assamese students now studying in Calcutta, and enquiring in that connection if it would be possible to make arrangements for the appointment of an Assamese Lecturer in Calcutta University, and if so, on what pay, and whether the University would agree to bear half the cost.

The University, in reply, have pointed out that they already maintain a teacher in Assamese for Post-Graduate work ; but have added that they will be glad to co-operate with the Government of Assam in the matter by providing for undergraduate classes in Assamese. The salary of the teacher for the purpose should be fixed at Rs. 100 per month and the Government of Assam should bear the cost. The fees from students, if charged, will of course be credited to the Government of Assam.

* * *

XI. RADHIKAMOCHAN SCHOLARSHIP, 1935

The Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship for the year 1935, of the value of Rs. 5,000 tenable for two years has been awarded to Mr. Sudhirlal Mukhopadhyaya, M.Sc., for the study of manufacture of Starch, Glucose and Dextrine.

In case Mr. Mukhopadhyaya fails to avail himself of the award, the scholarship will be awarded to Mr. Nanigopal Chakravarti for the study of manufacture of different types of screws, steel hinges and such other steel products.

NOTIFICATIONS

(i) *Carnegie Corporation Grants, 1936-37.*

In accordance with a decision of the Executive Council of the Universities Bureau, taken at its meeting on 24th November, 1934, three Carnegie Corporation Grants of £400 each will be available for the year 1936-37. These Grants are awarded to members of University staffs, whether administrative or teaching, to enable them to visit Great Britain for such research work or special investigations as may be approved by the Executive Council.

The Council consider that the arrangements which were made for the distribution of those Grants in previous years may suitably be repeated for the Grants for the year 1936-37 and have again invited the co-operation of Regional Conferences and Committees. In Canada, Australia, South Africa and India, the nominations made by any University as well as by the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, should, if the Regional bodies are agreeable, be sent by the academic head—the Vice-Chancellor or other official of similar standing—to the National Conference of Canadian Universities, the Vice-Chancellors' Committee of the Australian Universities, the Vice-Chancellors' Committee of the South African Universities, and the Inter-University Board of India, as the case may be, in time to allow of their proper consideration by those bodies and to permit of their reaching this country not later than the end of March, 1936. From the nominations received they have been asked to forward to the Bureau the names of two, in order of preference to whom they consider the Grants may most suitably be awarded. Universities of the Empire in regions other than those mentioned should if they desire to make nominations forward them direct to this Bureau before the end of March, 1936. On a consideration of all the nominations received, the Executive Council will again select the three to whom these Grants are to be made.

In submitting recommendations, either to Regional Conferences and Committees or to the Bureau, applications should contain:—

- (a) A ' *curriculum vitae* ' of the applicant ;
- (b) The purposes for which he proposes to utilise the grant, and his proposals for study or investigation ;
- (c) Copies of two testimonials and, if possible, the names of two references resident in Great Britain or Ireland ;
- (d) A statement to the effect that the candidate will, if he obtains the grant, pledge himself to return to the region from which he has come.

Six copies of all papers should accompany the applications.

The grant will be distributed in two instalments, the first being paid in advance to meet travelling expenses, either before departure or on arrival in this country, as the grantee may prefer, and the second six months after this payment of the first.

The recipient of this grant will normally be expected to spend a period of one year in country, (England).

(ii) *Public Service Commission (India).*

Applications are invited for the post of Plant Pathologist for Sugar-cane Diseases in connection with research work conducted at the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa. Qualifications—(a) First class M. Sc. degree in botanical science of an Indian University, or equivalent (b) post-graduate research work in plant pathology and a good knowledge of virus diseases of plants and the technique involved in research in this group of diseases, (c) ability to initiate independent research and to guide and inspire such work in assistants. Candidates will be required to produce evidence of ability to conduct research and to submit copies of papers published by them. Successful research in mosaic diseases will be regarded an additional qualification. Pay Rs. 350-35-700 per mensem. No concessions based on non-Asiatic domicile. Post temporary for about two years, including one year's probation. No age limits. Women eligible. Government servants eligible if permitted to apply by their departments. The appointing authority intends to appoint a Muslim if such a person is on the list of "candidates suitable for appointment" submitted by the Public Service Commission. Canvassing in any form will disqualify. *Last date for receipt of applications, 10th August, 1935.* Prescribed application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Simla. Applicants for forms must mention the name of the post.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1935

THE REALITY OF COMMUNITY

HIRENDRANATH MUKERJEE, M.A. (CAL.), B.A., B.LITT. (OXON.),
Barrister-at-Law, Lecturer, Andhra University.

“ I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he,” argued Col. Rainboro’ at a famous meeting of the Council of Officers in 1647 and he was answered by Ireton, Cromwell’s son-in-law, with the remark that it was only the men of property with their stake in the country who should have the passport to power. This argument, decided at the time in favour of the inegalitarian Ireton, raised a fundamental problem, not entirely settled yet, the problem of the basis of community. Is it possible to speak of a society where the few order the destinies of the many, as a community? Can community flourish where the principle of private profit is sacrosanct, where property has irresponsible power over the masses? How is one to explain the many distempers of society, if the sense of community is genuinely widespread? We discover, in short, that there is a continual conflict between the claims of property and the claims of civilisation, of peace, of social well-being, and that our present discontents are due, pre-eminently, to that conflict.

Professor MacIver defines community as "the Kin occupying a terrain." The definition is brief, but not inadequate, since it brings out admirably the two essentials of community—physical contiguity and mental kinship. Men are said to form a community when they live together in social relationship, adhere, more or less, to the same customs and traditions and are conscious, to some extent, of common social purposes. They have a sense of belonging together, a kind of "we-sentiment," to use Oppenheimer's expression, a feeling, besides, that each has a role to play and a cause to serve. The emotions of sympathy and self-subordination in human beings demand, as it were, the communal life; its organisation is a necessity of society. The emphasis, thus, is not so much upon territorial adjacency as on the consciousness of community among its members. The true community is not administrative; it is psychological. Its borders are thus capable of infinite expansion. We have come to recognise that the process which has extended the community from the family to the village and from the village to the nation, must not, necessarily, stop at that limit; there are the magistral demands of civilisation to consider. The delimitation of the community and the conflict of loyalty that it may imply, serves therefore as the measure of the reality of the particular communal obligation.

A study of the past and present structure of society, however, makes one doubt if ever the concept of community has been, in fact, realised. Slavery that was once universal and has even yet to be entirely stamped out, is a complete barrier to community. We learn from Plato and Thucydides that in classical Greece, every city was two cities at war with each other, a city of the rich and a city of the poor. Caste, notably in India—and the feudal order everywhere approximated to the caste system—has meant an absolute and permanent stratification of the community. The eminent American sociologist, Thorstein Veblen, in his "Theory of the Leisure Class," has shown how a section of society secured by main force its conspicuous exemption from all useful employment; their descendants to-day are the wealthy parasites who never contribute a day's effort to the world's work, while millions of men and women never know respite from unremitting toil.

The 'Salons' must have rocked with laughter when Voltaire said: "We have never claimed to enlighten shoemakers and servant girls; they are the portion of the apostles." The degradation of the

ordinary man was the occasion of mirth ; its cruel secret never understood. Aristocrats, of course, have always felt immeasurably superior to the common herd, but more than that, they have welcomed the degradation of the lowly as a guarantee of their own security. Whatever the explanation of Voltaire's wit, it shows, no doubt, a deficient sense of community. It is no wonder that in the atmosphere of that age, Rousseau, as someone has said, lived perpetually in that mood of Dr. Johnson when he waited in the anteroom of Chesterfield. In nineteenth century England, it is significant to notice, Ruskin always referred to the people as ' you ; ' with Carlyle, they were even further away, they were ' They ; ' it was with Morris, who, incidentally, believed in the class struggle, that the people were always ' We.' Only last year, H. G. Wells, in his autobiography, made an astonishing lapse when he wrote : " For the purposes of revolutionary theory the rest of humanity matters only as the texture of mud matters when we design a steam dredger to keep a channel clear." But if a reviewer pertinently asked, the people's name is mud anyway, why bother to dredge it ? And for what precisely, when we have thrown out the mud, shall we have cleared the channel ? Community, apparently, has a long way still to travel before it is genuinely felt.

The general acquiescence of the poorer classes in a condition of things that by no ethical standard is justifiable, is an amazing phenomenon ; but it is not more amazing than the exploitation by the fortunate few of a whole range of emotions in defence of a vicious economic system. If there were none to suffer, how could the feelings of generosity and sympathy with suffering find satisfaction ? So probably the argument, if ever frankly formulated, would have run, and the suffering of the many be justified as an essential back-ground for the "nobility" of the few. We find, for instance, the " saintly " Haunah More, admonishing the famine-stricken women of her village, Shiphams, to be grateful to " an all-wise and gracious Providence " for " the benefits flowing from the distinction of rank and fortune, which have enabled the high so liberally to assist the low."¹ In something of the same spirit, the Pope, speaking in 1930 over the radio, ' Urbi et orbi,' referred to the rich as " the guardians and distributors of the Almighty's wealth, to whom Jesus Christ himself entrusted the fate of the poor " and

¹ J. L. & Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, (ed. 1930), p. 229.

advised the poor "to remember the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, not to disdain his poverty and his promises, not to disdain the accumulations of spiritual wealth so accessible to them in our day, and aiming towards a better life within permissible limits." The Pope certainly was aware of the enormous wealth of the Church and very likely also of the fact that the "poor" have little or no real opportunity to "accumulate spiritual wealth" when they are manacled to an economic system, that is too much of the earth, earthy. Not so very long ago, in our own country, Mahatma Gandhi adjudicating upon an issue between the owners and workers of certain Ahmedabad cotton mills, delivered himself of the astonishing remark that the workers should not grudge their masters their wealth, for their labour was their own capital—a remark that showed not only his abysmal ignorance of burning economic problems, but what is very much more serious, an unforgivable forgetfulness that a difference in bargaining power weighs the scales far too heavily against the workers. It drives one to despair when banal remarks such as these—the Pope's or the Mahatma's—appear to receive a patient and respectful hearing. The sense of community shall never flourish so long as society, with the blessing of its notables, organises inequality, not only of wealth but of opportunity, an inequality which it defends with arguments that are not less mischievous because they are often so unconsciously pathetic.

For us in India, community is little more than an abstraction, a pleasant myth. Is Bengal a community, where 25% of its appalling infant mortality is due, as Dr. Bentley calculated, to preventible diseases, while the zemindars, as the Simon Commission, certainly not unfriendly to vested interests, reckoned, appropriate three-quarters of the tax paid, while usurers, according to the Whitley Report, not unoften charge 325% interest, while jute mills pay enormous dividends and have no compunction in ruthlessly attacking the workers' lowly standard of living?² What is one to say of Bombay, where investigation by Government officers in 1921-22 revealed that 97% of the working class lived in one-room tenements with 6 to 9 persons in a room and that 98% of the children of Bombay mill-workers were given opium that they might not disturb their parents toiling for their food.³

² Hooghly Jute Mills Ltd. paid on an average, for the period 1918-23, 125% per annum as dividend and it was during that time that the directors decided to force the workers to work longer for less wages; see Joan Beauchamp, "British Imperialism in India" (1934) p. 67.

³ "Labour Gazette," Sept. 1922; Whitley Report; Beauchamp. *op. cit.*, p. 112.

In 1920, the more important cotton mills paid an average dividend of 120%, the highest figure being as much as 365% ; some shareholders are reported to have asked for as high a figure as 500%. At the other end of the scale, we get the lurid information that in 1926 the rate of infant mortality in Bombay's one-room tenements was 577 per 1,000 births, as against 254 per 1,000 in tenements with two rooms and 107 per 1,000 in hospitals. The national movement of 1929-31 increased Ahmedabad's prosperity, while in 1931 the Textile Union reported that 16,000 workers' tenements were unfit for human habitation.⁴ Till 1923, there were no legal restrictions as regards the employment of children in mines, and in 1931 the mines inspector's report recorded the employment underground of 8,458 children under twelve. The modern factory legislation, besides, applies roughly to some one and a half million out of a total of twenty-three million industrial wage-earners. Our community in India has for its background the abominable 'bidi' factories on one hand, where children of five, whose parents are in debt to their employers, sleep on germ-laden dust and on the other, the interminable corps of beggars displaying their nauseous scars before pilgrims assembled in sacred places or looking for something that can possibly be eaten from out of the refuse heaped in front of houses where, but the night before, there had been merry wedding feasts.

Those who are interested in the social history of England will find in, say, the works of the Hammonds a massive and horrifying indictment of upper-class greed. The abominations in the mills and mines of early industrialism, repeated now on Indian soil, are a trite, yet significant, theme. The aristocracy was certainly not without its own brand of culture, but the agony of tortured children, who were forced to play the most infamous part in the industrial life of the time, was an undertone, as Bertrand Russell has said, to the elegant conversation of Holland House. In 1818, a number of medical men gave evidence before the House of Lords that nothing was so good for the health of children as 15 hours a day in factories. "One well-known doctor even refused to commit himself to the statement that a child's health would be injured by standing for twenty-three out of the twenty-four hours."⁵ Attempts to reform abuses by means of labour

⁴ Cf. Arno Pearce, "The Cotton Industry of India" (1929); Beauchamp, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 105, 114, 118. The way the mill-jobbers recruit labour from the villages amounts to something like child-slavery.

⁵ J. L. & Barbara Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

organisation were punished, to take a typical instance, by the transportation of six Dorchester labourers across the seas in 1834—a most flagrant instance of class tyranny and class prejudice. The new middle class was perfectly ready, for its own ends, to make use of the numbers and the enthusiasm of the Chartists. It was only when the increased strength of the workers as an organised class, with their Trade Union and Co-operative movements, enabled them to demand rights, that their masters made any concessions. The facts of history are against the notion that the growth of democracy has been due to a general “liberalising” of social ideas and attitudes; political rights have really been won by organised class power.

There has been in England, of recent years, a great increase in State expenditure on social services; but for all that, the ideal of a true community is still far up in the clouds. In the “Economic Journal” of December 1929, Professor Ginsberg showed how, inspite of a certain increase of mobility upwards in the present generation, there seems no indication that the reserves of ability in the lower classes are being depleted. In the columns of the “Times,” there appear letters deploring, in the first instance, the wickedness of some section of the community in pressing for increased expenditure on social services which benefit them and their children, and urging, in the next, the importance of so reducing taxation that other sections may have more to spend on themselves. “As long as they are sure,” says Professor Tawney, “that they are masters of the situation and will hold what they have, they are all kindness and condescension.” Workers, say, in Glasgow are living in conditions of unspeakable dirt and degradation, while a diamond millionaire from South Africa vouchsafes to the press the precious information that he had spent on redecorating his Surrey mansion, lately burnt down, the sum of £25,000.⁶ The “two nations” of which Disraeli spoke, have not yet coalesced to form a single community.

In France, the classic land of “liberty, equality and fraternity,” the demand of the Paris workers, always referred to by middle-class historians as “the mob,” that liberty and equality should apply to them as to their betters, was met, notably in 1871, by the most ruthless whiff of grapeshot. The Denikins and Wrangels and Kolchaks had no compunction in attempting to destroy the social economy of

⁶ Cf. A. Hutt, “Condition of the Working Class in Great-Britain” (1933); R. H. Tawney, “Equality” (1931).

Russia in the interests of privilege. The janissaries of Austrian fascism felt no qualms in relentlessly sweeping away the achievements of social democracy. The idea of community is irrelevant in China or in the countries of South America, which are potentially rich beyond all dreams, while the workers and peasants are poor beyond description. Japan is far-famed for her supposed social solidarity ; but five great firms there control almost the entire industrial life while the annual interest on the peasants' debt is greater than the yearly value, in depression prices, of the total agricultural produce.⁷ What, then is the reality of community when the fundamental power in every capitalist " democratic " country is Money Power ?⁸

In war-time, we hear, devotion to the community is at its white heat. But what a cruel deception is practised by the powers that be, what tiny ends are unwittingly served by men who felt patriotism tearing their heart-strings ! Few will be found to deny that the British occupation of Egypt was undertaken in the interests of British bondholders, or that the South African war was simply a sordid chase for gold. The long story of intervention and war in Mexico or South America, culminating in the infamous savagery over Gran Chaco, is a dreadful record of capitalist cupidity. The race for oil, for coal, for timber, for fortifications in an imperial chain ; the inhuman barbarities of the Congo ; the strangulation of Korea and Manchuria ; the fight between Germany and the Entente for world hegemony—they are all variations on a single theme, a theme that, whatever its explanation, has not the slightest affiliation with the idea of community. The Briey scandal during the Great War is probably the most shameful instance of the deliberate sacrifice of the communal interest to the avarice of a few.

The search for the community leads, thus, to the melancholy conclusion that though we instinctively desire it, our social economy persistently thwarts its development. There may be, sometimes, an appearance of community ; but that is because men, inured to slavery, have been known to hug their chains and rend the would-be liberator. The danger of revolt is, of course, obviated in such cases ; but such a system is without reserves, the potential energy of intelligent will-power

⁷ " The Aims of Japan " by ' Eurasian,' " Political Quarterly," July-Sept., 1934.

⁸ On this theme, see R. D. Charques and A. H. Ewen, " Profits and Politics " (1933).

⁹ See " Patriotism, Limited " (Union of Democratic Control, 1933) ; on this topic, see generally Laski's article in " The Intelligent Man's Way to prevent War " (1933), and also his " The State in Theory and Practice " (1935).

that might have been available in times of stress, is lacking. The apparent tranquillity masks a more profound disharmony ; constraint has extirpated those rudiments of free co-operation that are the breath of the life of society. Community, in short, cannot be, when there is not an unfaked identity of interest.

It is, of course, a fact that at present the higher income groups supply in proportion to their numbers many more persons of distinction and high social achievement. This is often used as an argument for the intrinsic superiority of those groups, whose privilege is, thus, a guarantee of service to the community. But, with more logic, it can be made an argument for the expansion of opportunity. Successful men flatter themselves with the reflection that ability is entirely the victor in competition. But ability is not, as G. E. G. Catlin has put it, like a pound of butter, either there or not there. It needs an appropriate atmosphere for its growth and there is any amount of evidence that difference of nourishment, for instance, results not only in difference of physical size, as Mr. Tawney has shown, but also in the difference of capacity to put up a fight in this harsh world of ours. Most of us live in the haunting fear of insecurity ; the beauty of living is not for us. If ours was a truly organic society, we would not see the indifference or somewhat contemptuous pity usually felt towards poverty. Any objective test, that is, reveals a very low state of community sentiment, a deficient 'we-feeling.' Community, let it be emphasised, essentially denotes the more positive aspects of social interaction. So long, therefore, as the personality and interests of the overwhelming majority are ineffective, it is, at best, dormant. So long as what are called the lower orders continue to be those that live by obeying orders, community remains an abstraction. As Lenin called liberty under capitalism a bourgeois illusion, we may call community in the same context a myth. Society must be classless, if community is to be a reality.

Waltair.

IS SCIENCE A MENACE TO CIVILISATION ?

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THERE are many in these days to whom the benefits conferred by Science upon human society are so evident that they consider the introduction of such a subject as the present one "Menace to Civilisation" a superfluity. One hopes there might be many more like them. But, unfortunately, there are others, and quite a large number of them to whom the boons of Science are not so evident and who consider Science to be the source of many of the miseries with which human society is afflicted to-day. Such a view is held not by the common unthinking public, but by persons whose position in the intellectual world is unquestionable. Even an astute politician like Winston Churchill is in doubts as to whether we have not already had a surfeit of scientific discoveries and their applications. In an interesting article embodying his anticipations of what would happen fifty years hence, we find him saying :

"It would be much better to call a halt in material progress and discovery rather than be mastered by our own apparatus and the forces which it directs. There are secrets too mysterious for man in his present state to know; secrets which, once penetrated, may be fatal to human happiness and glory. But the busy hands of the Scientists are already fumbling with the keys of all the chambers hitherto forbidden to mankind. Without an equal growth of Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love, Science may destroy all that makes human life majestic and tolerable. There never was a time when the inherent virtue of human beings required more strong and confident expressions in daily life; there never was a time when the hope of immortality and the disdain of earthly power and achievement were more necessary for the children of men."

Then again,—“Projects undreamt of by past generations will absorb our immediate descendants; forces terrific and devastating will be in their hands; comforts, activities, amenities, pleasures will crowd upon them; but their hearts will ache, their lives will be barren, if they have no vision above material things. And with the

hopes and powers will come dangers out of all proportions to the growth of man's intellect, or to the strength of his character or institutions. Once more the choice is offered between 'Blessing and Cursing.' "

The sentiments expressed above bear close resemblance to the views of Indian sages of old exhorting man to turn his attention from material to spiritual things. They are also remarkably similar to those often uttered by a great man of modern India. The views of Mahatma Gandhi on the ills of material civilisation are too well known to need reiteration in this connection and afford one further illustration of the old adage, the extremes often meet.

Over and above the charge, namely that Science is undermining the foundation of our social structure and destroying Civilisation—a charge which is generally made by those who survey from a philosophical standpoint the amazing progress and change in the modes of our lives during the last hundred years—there are other charges made from other and perhaps narrower points of view.

The political economists say that Science by inventing labour-saving machines is causing on the one hand over-production and on the other hand unemployment, and is thus responsible for the present world-depression.

The humanitarians say that the most sinister and diabolical development of Science is seen in the invention of engines of destruction—armaments—under the crushing burden of which every nation is now groaning. By providing unscrupulous persons with formidable weapons of undreamt of power—weapons—such that by the mere switching of a button it is possible to bring annihilation to a whole army of soldiers or to a whole population of a crowded city, Science is only leading mankind to destruction.

Every thoughtful individual enjoying the material blessings of modern scientific and organized Civilisation will ask, if these accusations against Science are all true. If Science is really as black as it is painted. If it is really leading him, his cherished ideals and the society he lives in, slowly but relentlessly to the precipice over which they must one day fall and sink into abysmal depths. If the so-called blessings of Science are merely blessings in disguise, and if beneath this superficial veneer is to be found the curse for generations to come? The answer to these questions is not very simple and it is not possible either, in the small time at my disposal, to

discuss them in detail and from every aspect. As an humble votary of Science, I have sometimes thought over these questions, and I will attempt here to sketch briefly the lines of my reasoning which has led me to the belief that Science is wrongly accused of the evils—real or imaginary—of modern social organisation.

The issue will be made clear and much confusion of thought avoided if I state at the outset what Science is and what its function and aim are. Science is systematised knowledge. Its function is to study by observation and experimentation the natural phenomena perceptible by our senses with a view to classify them. In course of this classification or systematisation the Scientist discovers laws by which the various natural phenomena are related to one another. The greater the range of phenomena embraced by such a law the greater is its value to the Scientist. Newton's Law of Gravitation is an instance of such a law. The aim of the Scientist is to discover that all embracing basic law by which all the observed phenomena of the visible universe can be explained. He does not know if he will ever be able to discover that law, but he works with that aim in view. He believes that each new discovery takes him one step nearer to his goal.

What, however, is the purpose the Scientist has in view in his advance towards his aim? Why does he devote his life and energy to the search of this elusive and unattainable law? What is he to gain by it? His object is not a utilitarian one; his only gain is his intellectual satisfaction. The hope that he will know more, that he will have a deeper understanding of nature, is enough to sustain him in his toils. The craving for knowledge which every human being has finds perhaps its highest and sublimest expression in the Scientist. How can he then, cloistered as he is in his laboratory, investigating in a detached spirit oblivious of his surroundings the laws of nature, be held responsible for the ills and ailments from which modern Civilised Society is suffering? Surely, the Scientist is the most harmless person in the world.

At this stage I will be asked, if not the Scientist who then is responsible for the innumerable adjuncts of civilisation with which we are surrounded and which have made life in modern society so complex? Who is responsible for telephone and radio, for motor car and aeroplane, for air-conditioning and refrigerator, for dynamite and submarine? The people who are directly responsible for these

are not Scientists. For want of a better name, without meaning any disrespect, I will call them exploiters. There are two classes of them. The first is the inventor who exploits discoveries made by Scientists and the second is the industrial capitalist who exploits original devices fashioned by inventors. The inventor judges the importance of a scientific discovery not by its intrinsic value, but by the possibility of its utilisation for constructing new types of machines for harnessing natural forces. The industrialist judges the importance of an invention not by its ingenuity and cleverness, but its commercial possibility, by the possible monetary gain it may yield. There have been in recent years scientific discoveries of the very first magnitude. The principle of relativity enunciated by Einstein is a land-mark in the progress of Science in modern times. Transmutation of one element into another, changing mercury to gold—the realisation of the dream of the alchemist, is one of the finest achievements of experimental Physics. But these discoveries leave the inventor and the industrialist cold. They see nothing in them. The theory of relativity with its novel ideas of time and space does not help the inventor in producing a better machine for harnessing natural forces and the costly laboratory process of transmutation of mercury to gold does not interest the financier as a business proposition. The attitude of the inventor or the industrialist towards a scientific discovery is quite different from that of the Scientist.

In former times the inventor and the capitalist worked in isolated spheres. The inventor often failed to get proper support as his ideas were in advance of his times. The capitalist could not take a long view and hesitated to finance an invention because it did not promise immediate yield. Conditions have changed now. A person with an inventive brain finds ready welcome in the research laboratories of the great industries. His inventive genius is so guided that fruits of his labour find immediate application. The industries have not stopped here, but have gone even one step further. Realising that without discovery of new scientific truths progress is retarded, they are engaging Scientists of the highest distinction and providing them with research facilities and laboratory equipments undreamt of by any University. The Scientist can work there in an atmosphere of research as detached from the din and bustle of commercial life as in a University. This combination, that of the Scientist, the Inventor, and the Capitalist, is perhaps the most formidable force

at work in our present generation and is shaping the destinies of nations. The true Scientist who is an idealist has unconsciously and unwittingly slipped into this combination and has been instrumental in making Civilisation what it is to-day. A large portion of the share of praise or blame which should have come to persons who commercialise his discoveries for service or dis-service of mankind is showered or thrown on his head.

Be that as it may, it cannot be gainsaid that as long as Scientists go on discovering new truths and laws, these will be exploited by inventors and capitalists for their own purpose. In these circumstances, it may be asked if the process of commercialisation of scientific discoveries which is now proceeding on an unprecedented scale and with which the march of Civilisation is so intimately associated should be allowed to continue. If, as a section of thoughtful people say we should not call a halt. If, it is not desirable that in the interests of humanity a world dictator should arise and close the research laboratories of the industrial organisations of all the countries and, to eradicate the root of the evil, imprison in solitary cells all the Scientists who provide materials pounced upon by the exploiters.

The answer to these questions depends upon what we call Civilisation. We will leave aside for the moment the question if Civilisation connotes increase of the amenities and comforts our daily life. The popular belief no doubt links the two together, but opinions differ on this point. There will, however, be general agreement if I say, progress of Civilisation is synonymous with increase in the bounds of human knowledge with man's greater and greater mastery of the forces of nature, with improved opportunities for enjoying a fuller life and with diffusion of culture not for the fortunate few, but for all. Judged from this standpoint, it must be admitted that Science and Industry and also the much maligned exploiters have contributed immensely towards the progress of Civilisation.

The bounds of human knowledge in all its departments have been enlarged enormously during the last hundred years. The department in which the greatest progress has been made is perhaps Science, and this has influenced to a marked degree other spheres of learning. If Newton were to be reborn to-day in our midst, he would be amazed at the extent and depth of the understanding of natural phenomena by the modern Physicist. He will find that the basic laws of the mate-

rial universe—laws associated with his name—have been remodelled to fit in with our profoundly modified ideas regarding the nature of the material world. Physics is now encroaching upon Metaphysics and Philosophy.

And, this ever widening knowledge is not confined, as in olden times, in musty volumes accessible only to the learned few. Scientific inventions have brought knowledge and education, in however crude a form it might be, to the doors of millions. The printing press, which in former times was the only agency for dissemination of knowledge and education is now supplemented by the radio, the talkie, the picture telegraphy, and the television. Not only news and pictures of topical events, but also views on cultural subjects expounded by specialists are flashed across space from one corner of the globe to the other for millions of eager listeners. If need be, they are recorded in picture and sound on films for future use. A man not knowing the three R's can get rudiments of knowledge and culture through these novel agencies. The printing machinery too has developed amazingly. It is now nothing less than a Robot and is able to print sheets in millions instead of in thousands in a few hours' time. The best books of the world are thus available at prices to suit everybody's pocket. The rapid method of printing and the quick means of transport by air, land or water have increased the circulation of newspaper enormously. These in their turn help to spread education and culture to remote villages. Without any conscious effort the general level of intelligence, education and culture of the masses is slowly and steadily rising. An average person of a modern civilised society is more educated, better informed and better cared for than one of the last generation. This is surely accelerating and not retarding the progress of Civilisation. Science is perhaps giving Civilisation a new shape, but it is certainly not leading it to destruction.

Leaving the cultural side, let us consider the material side of Civilisation. A cultured man must live and must earn his daily bread. Is Science helping him in this, or is it hindering him from earning an honest living? The political economist here expresses his doubts. He accuses the machine which is the direct product of the application of Science as responsible for overproduction and unemployment, and as a contributing factor to world depression. Volumes have been written on this subject by experts. Not being an expert myself, I will consider the question from a commonsense point of view.

Regarding overproduction, is it really true that we are producing more than we need the articles of bare necessity? Take an example. India has a population of about 350 millions. Of these, let us say each of 250 millions of men, boys and girls require a new pair of *dhoties* or *saries* per year. Are we producing in this country or importing from outside this requisite numbers of *dhoties* and *saries*? No far less. As a consequence, there are millions of people in India who have got to manage with deplorably scanty clothing. Similar considerations applied to other articles of necessity will show that far from overproduction we are not producing enough. It is thus idle to blame the quantity of production whatever that might be when the fault lies in unequal and inequitable distribution.

Regarding machines causing unemployment, the position may be summarised thus:

It is true that in some cases men are thrown out of work by machines perhaps by hundreds. But it is equally true that in many more cases men are absorbed by machines perhaps by thousands. If some machines destroy jobs, there are others which create them. Figures which are available for America the country of vastly productive machines corroborate this. In 1880 there were 340 jobs for every 1,000 people. In spite of the rapid development of machines in the next 20 years there were 383 jobs for every thousand in 1900. In the next 30 years machines were introduced in industries at an amazing rate, yet 1930 saw 400 jobs for every 1000 people. What then is the basis of the shibboleth that machines destroy jobs?

There is another point which should be remembered in this connection. Machine has in innumerable instances released man from drudgery and from unintelligent and dangerous work,—work in which a man is nothing but an automaton, a hired power unit and paid as such. Machine has not only rescued him from this, but has reduced his hours of work. The labour saved by the machine has gone directly to benefit the labourer who can now earn as much or more in six days' work of 8 hours each as he used to do in pre-machine days in seven days' work of 12 hours each. Machine has no doubt paid enormous dividends in money to the capitalist, but it has not neglected the worker, and has paid him in kind.

Finally, Science has been accused of being a danger to world peace because it has helped the invention of new equipments of War. Here again the accusation is unjust. The root cause is the suspicion

and distrust which one nation harbours against another. This is kept alive by interested persons or by industrial combines, and their lust and greed are satisfied by nations who go on multiplying their armaments. The remedy lies not in banishing Science, but in cultivating our moral sense and in realising that, desire of personal or national gain must be subordinated to that higher goal towards which humanity is proceeding, namely the evolution of a better man

If a scientifically-minded person were to glance round and survey the world conditions to-day, he would be at a loss to discover the cause of the depression in trade, the unemployment, the war-atmosphere, and the general dissatisfaction with the state of things. What is amiss to-day? The world is as rich in natural resources as it was a century ago. Nay, it is more. The advance in Scientific knowledge and its applications have made available new resources and have increased the productivity of labour ten-thousand-fold. If used intelligently the material wealth ought to provide sufficiently for our needs. No one need be poor. There should be food, raiment and shelter for everybody, no drudgery, and education with plenty of leisure to enjoy life.

If Science is to be blamed, it is to be blamed for having given us knowledge, power and resources, but not wisdom to apply them rationally.

Let us hope that nations would be wise enough to organise the resources and power derived from Scientific progress, and to distribute equitably the material wealth produced thereby, and when this happens we would be awakened from the nightmare in which we see people starve while there is no dearth in land.*

Calcutta.

* Adapted by the author from his talk given at the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on Tuesday, July 16, 1935.

THE AIN-I-AKBARI AS A SEMI-MOSLEM AND SEMI-HINDU ARTHASASTRA

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A VERY important document of the sixteenth century in the domain of politics is the semi-Hindu, semi-Moslem treatise in Persian entitled the *Ain-i-Akbari** by Abul Fazl (1551-1602). It was composed about 1596-1597.

A glance at the table of contents of the *Ain-i-Akbari* exhibits its rough similarity in formal features with a Hindu *Nitisastra*. We may call it the *Akbar-niti*, so to say. The contents are in short as follows:—

I. The Household. The Treasury. The Mint. The Method of separating the silver from the gold. Illuminations. The Kitchen. The Days of Abstinence. Writing and Painting. The Arsenal. Elephants. Horses. Camels. Cow-stables. Buildings. Building materials, etc.

II. The Army. The Civil Services. Salaries. Donations. Feasts. Regulations regarding marriages. Regulations regarding education. The Admiralty.

III. The Eras (Hindu and other). Revenues. Measurements. The Executive. The Judiciary. Nineteen Years' Rates of Revenue.

IV. The Twelve Subahs or Provinces. The Assessment of Land.

V. A description of Hindustan. The character of the Hindus. Their Astronomy and Geography. The Nine Philosophies. The Eighteen Vidyas. The Eighteen Puranas. The Eighteen Smritis. Music. *Rajaniti* (Politics). *Vyavahāra* (Law). Marriages. Festivals, etc.

VI. Moral Sentences. Epigrams. Rules of Wisdom emanating from the Emperor, etc.

* Blochmann : *The Ain-i-Akbari* (Calcutta 1873), Vol. I, p. xxx. See also Gladwin's translation (*Ayeen Akbari*).

The *Ain-i-Akbari* is generally considered to be an Imperial Gazetteer of Moghul India. But it is not quite correct to describe it as a Gazetteer in the strictest sense of the term. The descriptive and statistical data bearing on Akbar's time, especially on the *Subahs* or provinces, are certainly to be found in this treatise. But the author is not all an historian or statistician. He has his interpretations, messages, and moral ideas to propagate and they do not appear to be in any way subsidiary to something else. Abul Fazl is indeed a student of ethics, spirituality, life's mission and so forth. He is a philosopher.

Many passages and paragraphs, nay, chapters of the *Ain-i-Akbari* cannot be taken as contributions to objective history or records of actual facts. Even in regard to the land revenue settlements and figures relating thereto as given by Abul Fazl one is not quite clear as to whether we always and everywhere have the things actually in force, or come across the general scheme of financial administration such as served as the basis for executive action. These features of Abul Fazl's treatise become apparent by the side of another great Persian work, the *Seir Mutakherin*¹ (View of Modern Times), the history of India after Aurangzib, composed by Golam Hussein of Bengal in 1780. This work of the eighteenth century is more objective as history, although no doubt it is furnished with its personal equation as every historical composition is bound to be. A comparison with such formally historical treatises enables us to feel that the *Ain-i-Akbari's* place in the history of political, economic and financial literature cannot be limited to its realistic historicity alone. The work has been conceived by the author as a much more than historical treatise. It is an account in which the messages, norms, ideals, etc., play as prominent a rôle as the objective book-keeping and compilation of registers.

The *Khatima* (supplement) to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*² (History of Gujarat) in Persian by Ali Muhammad Khan, which was composed between 1750 and 1760 and is somewhat contemporaneous with the *Seir Mutakherin*, is likewise another work with which it should be considered generally irrelevant to compare the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The author of this *Khatima*, although influenced in scholarship by Abul

¹ Eng. transl. by M. Raymond (Calcutta 1902), four volumes.

² English translation by Nawab Syed Ali and C. N. Seddon (Baroda, 1924).

Fazl, has produced nothing but a descriptive work, almost a guide-book, so to say, to the shrines of the saints, Hindu temples, etc., as well as a register of the Government officials and departments, the Sarkars paying tribute, and so forth.

A work like this may be drawn upon by the researchers of to-day as a source-book for the economic, administrative and socio-religious facts and institutions of Gujarat in the eighteenth century without even a word of criticism. There is nothing else in the *Khatima* to occupy the reader's interest or intellect. The atmosphere in the *Ain-i-Akbari* is far otherwise.

In the preface to the Book which is given over to Hindu civilisation Abul Fazl enables us to see something of his inner springs of action. The "love of his native country," Hindustan, is referred by himself in so many words as one of the motives impelling to him to write this history. He is one of the first "patriots" of modern India. We are also told that the desire to remove the strife and animosity between the diverse races of India (Hindus and Moslems) is also an urge in this literary endeavour. He wants to function as a bridge between the two great religions, to be a peace-maker. The ambition of establishing peace and unanimity is a burning passion with him.

This Introduction gives us seven reasons for the origin of conflict among persons of diverse religions. In his treatment of the subject we come into contact with a brain which is not only modern in its make-up but which it is almost impossible to improve upon. He is discussing, of course, the problems of other religions, especially Islam *vis-à-vis* Hinduism. But in his analysis are to be found the profoundest considerations of comparative sociology with reference to the race-questions. As an essay in toleration this Introduction can be used even to-day anywhere on earth. His logic is unchallengable in theory and fruitful in practice.

The comparative method is a remarkable trait of Abul Fazl's logic. This manifests itself not only in the discussion of the questions relating to the conflicts arising from the diversity of faiths but also in the manner in which he deals with the arts and sciences of the Hindus. At important points he turns to the Greeks and places Hindu achievements by the side of those of the former. In astronomy he finds analogy with Ptolemy and remembers the Persian, the Egyptian and the Greek philosophers. The references to Greek culture constitute the general perspective, so to say of his researches

in "Indology." As one of the founders of comparative methodology in world-culture this Indian Mussalman of the sixteenth century deserves his rightful place in the history of science and philosophy and is by all means a great precursor of the Hindu Rammohan Roy of the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.

Abul Fazl's ideals are definite and precise. It is the moral and social philosophy that concerns him the most. History, economics, statistics, biography, the personality of Akbar are to him but the pegs on which to hang his moralizings, ideals and spiritual propaganda. There is hardly any chapter of importance, especially in the first two Books in which we do not again and again come into contact with this great key to his life. He is writing about Akbar's India or rather about Akbar himself but all the time with an eye to the illustration of his own spiritual ideals. To him Akbar is an interesting character simply because it is this monarch who happens to embody all that he considers to be great and divine in personal and public life.

Throughout the *Ain-i-Akbari* we encounter but one problem. To the author it is a moral problem and a political problem in one. He is never tired of discussing it or referring to it and has therefore succeeded in imparting to the treatise a lofty tone such as is associated with the greatest political masterpieces of the world.

And what is the life-blood of the ideal preached in season and out of season in the *Ain-i-Akbari*? It is the category of the "just king" (pp. viii, ix, 12). This is the doctrine that occupies the central place in Abul Fazl's political philosophy. And it is here that we see how profoundly he assimilated the eternal problem of Hindu politics, namely, the *Rajarsi-vrittam* (the conduct of the philosopher-king or royal sage) of our old Kautalyan tradition.

The political literature of the Hindus was well known to Abul Fazl. In this work he has given a short synopsis of some of the *Niti Sastras* in his possession in the chapter on the various branches of learning cultivated by the people of Hindusthan in the time of his master, the great Akbar. Besides giving an elaborate description of Hindu law under the heading *Beyhar* (Sans. *Vyavahāra*) and referring to "many other sensible books upon government" the compiler of this "Moghul Gazetteer" gives the following summary of *Rajneet*, "the art of governing a kingdom."

"It is incumbent on a monarch to divest himself of avarice and anger, by following the counsels of wisdom. * * * It is his indispens-

able duty to fear God * * * to pay particular respect to men of exalted rank and behave with kindness towards his subjects of every description. * * * He should be ambitious to extend his dominions. * * * No enemy is so insignificant as to be beneath his notice. * * * A wise prince will banish from his court all corrupt and designing men.

"The king resembles a gardener, who plucks up the thorns and briars, and throws them on one side whereby he beautifies his garden, and at the same time raises a fence which preserves his ground from the intrusion of strangers. * * * The king detaches from the nobles their too numerous friends, and dangerous dependents. * * *

"In affairs of moment it is not advisable to consult with many. * * * Some ancient monarchs made it a rule to consult men of a contrary description and to act diametrically opposite to their advice. * * * They found it the safest way to join with the prime minister a few wise and experienced men and to require each to deliver his opinion in writing. A prince moreover requires a learned astrologer and a skilful physician. * * * If any monarch is more powerful than himself he continually strives to sow dissension among his troops; and if he is not able to effect this prudently purchases his friendship. * * * The prince whose territory adjoins to his, although he may be friendly in appearance, yet ought not to be trusted; he should always be prepared to oppose any sudden attack from that quarter. With him whose country lies next beyond the one last-mentioned he should enter into alliance; but no connection should be formed with those who are more remote. If he finds it necessary to attack his enemy, he should invade his country during the time of harvest."

Here we have from a non-Hindu source the traditional ideas of the Hindus regarding constitution, international morality, etc., as preserved in the Hindu literature of the 16th century.

The student of comparative politics will be justified to go farther. In so far as the general, philosophical or theoretical ideas are concerned, the *Ain-i-Akbari* is to be treated virtually as a Persianized edition, so to say, of a Sanskrit *Artha* or *Niti Sastra*. It is within the philosophical framework of a Hindu treatise on politics that Abul Fazl has put in the statistics and administrative details of Akbar's Empire. It not only preserves the Hindu tradition by describing Sanskrit literature and Hindu philosophical ideas in Book IV, but is a document of the

most profound assimilation of Hindu culture by a philosophically minded Mussalman.

Let us analyze a bit of his own philosophical synthesis. In the general preface to his *Ain-i-Akbari* Abul Fazl says about royalty as follows :

“ If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction, the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity, and the whole earth become a barren waste. But by the light of imperial justice some follow with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain from violence through fear of punishment ; and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude.”

In this political philosophy of Abul Fazl we have an adaptation from the Hindu doctrines of *matsya-nyaya* (logic of the fish) as well as of *danda* (punishment). He is a first class writer and stylist and he has presented the Hindu philosophical “ patents ” in a most polished and dignified language, which only the Persianist of course can appreciate in the original.

Among the “ excellent qualities ” flowing from royalty as conceived by Abul Fazl we are told that the king “ puts the reins of desire into the hands of reason ; in the wide field of his desires he does not permit himself to be trodden by restlessness nor will he waste his precious time in seeking after that which is improper. * * He is for ever searching after those who speak the truth and is not displeased with words that seem bitter but are in reality sweet.” Here again, we have but a paraphrase from the Hindu doctrine of *vyasanas* (viaces) and *rajadosas* (faults or disqualifications of a king).

It is exceedingly interesting that even in regard to the professional structure of the people Abul Fazl cannot think of anything but the fourfold Hindu social stratification. He says that the political constitution becomes well tempered by a “ proper division of ranks.” The four classes into which according to him the world may be divided are (1) warriors, (2) artificers and merchants, (3) the learned, and (4) husbandmen and labourers. We are taught also that it is obligatory for a king to put each of these in its proper place, and by uniting personal ability with a due respect for others, to cause the world to flourish.”

It does not take anybody acquainted even cursorily with the Hindu *Artha*, *Smriti*, and *Niti Sastra* that Abul Fazl is reproducing the most fundamental concept of the king's functions *vis-à-vis* *Chaturvarnya* (the four-ordered social polity). It is curious that nobody seems to have even suspected that the words, phrases and sentences of a philosophical, theoretical or general character in all these paragraphs are almost verbatim copies from the *Manu Samhita*, Ch. VIII (*Rajadharma*).

We shall now point to one or two other Sanskritisms or Hinduizings of the Persian text.

In *Ain* 13 which discusses the origin of metals, Abul Fazl speaks of the "seven bodies" within quotation marks. According to some manuscripts the Hindus are referred to as giving the opinion that the metal called *ricac* is a "silver in the state of leprosy." One wonders if Abul Fazl is not dealing in this chapter with the Hindu doctrine of seven metals. And one may not be surprised if *zinc*, the seventh metal, which began to be recognized by the fourteenth century Hindu writers on medicine like Madanapala, is Abul Fazl's "silver in the state of leprosy," for some of the Sanskrit names for zinc, namely *rasaka*, *rupyabhrata*, etc., connect it with silver.

In *Ain* 41 which deals with the imperial elephant stables the four kinds of elephants (namely, *bhaddar*, *mand*, *mirg* and *mir*) and their three dispositions (namely, *sat*, *raj*, and *tam*) are derived from the Sanskrit treatises on elephants. Abul Fazl names also the eight *dig-gajas* or elephants as gurdians of the quarters or points of the earth in the Hindu manner and gives likewise another Hindu classification of elephants. The entire chapter (pp. 117-124) points to a fine assimilation of Sanskrit *gajasastras* by Moslems in regard to other items as well. Abul Fazl quotes neither Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita* nor Bhoja's *Yuktikalpataru* nor any treatise like the *Sukraniti*. He is, however, not a plagiarist as he says explicitly that these ideas about elephants are Hindu.

Ain 72 describes the "manner in which His Majesty spends his times" (pp. 153-156). In such expressions as the "care with which His Majesty guards over his motives and watches over his emotions," "he listens to great and small," "he does not allow his desires or his wrath to renounce allegiance to wisdom," "his august nature

cares but little for the pleasures of the world," etc., one may read the echoes or reminiscences of the "qualifications" and "vices" of kings with which the Hindu *Artha* and *Niti Sastras* deal as a matter of course. Some of these virtues are of course but generalities and platitudes found in every treatise on ideal polity from Plato and Kautalya to Al Farabi (c. 950), the great Arab encyclopaedist who based his *Model City* on Plato. Abul Fazl does not therefore have to copy such maxims from any specifically Hindu sources.

Such moralizings or ascriptions of moral qualities to a *Padshah* may also be expected of Abul Fazl quite independently. It should still be observed, however, that he is writing in a Hindu atmosphere about a monarch who is pro-Hindu with vengeance, nay, who is condemned as *Kafer* by orthodox Mussalmans.* Further, Abul Fazl is actually using Hindi words at every turn and referring to Hindu customs in the most familiar way. One may perhaps suggest, therefore, that the author of *Ain-i-Akbari* is not uninfluenced by the traditional (Kautalyan) Hindu conception of the *Rajarsi*, the philosopher-king, while describing Akbar's daily routine, meals and other habits, as well as temperament, etc., in *Ains* 72-75, (pp. 153-160). The characteristic Muslim salutations (*taslim* and *kornish*) are, however, not included in these remarks. But Abul Fazl's *dicta* that "royalty is an emblem of the power of God and a light-shedding ray from this Sun of the Absolute" (p. 159) or that "even spiritual progress would be impossible unless emanating from the king in whom the light of God dwells" (p. 158) point perhaps to the fact that Abul Fazl is here making propaganda about his hero for a people that is used to the language of the *Manu Samhita*. Not the least *tendencious* item in all these statements is the one, as told by Abul Fazl, that "His Majesty abstains much from flesh so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food." The author makes it a point to observe in this connection that the animal food, "though prized by most is nothing thought of by the sage." This can be easily interpreted as an attempt on the part of Abul Fazl at "speaking to the gallery." But the fact that

* For the pro-Hindu habits and laws of Akbar as described and condemned by Badaoni see Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 170-184, 193, 250.

these statements about Akbar are truths and not mere propaganda furnishes all the more ground for believing that the Emperor, his court, as well as Abul Fazl were Hinduized in thought and form.

These suggestions about Abul Fazl's Hinduization of the *Ain-i-Akbari* will derive fresh strength from what is known about his personal character.

According to the *Maasir ul-Umara* quoted in Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* (pp. xxvii-xxviii), Abul Fazl is reported to have been "an infidel." "Some say, he was a Hindu, or a fire-worshiper or a free thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist; but others pass a juster sentence, and say that he was a panthiest, and that like other Sufis he claimed for himself a position above the law of the prophet." All these descriptions, repugnant naturally as they are to an orthodox Mussalman, are however quite in keeping with an academically high-placed or philosophically-minded Hindu or Hinduized scholar. And since Prince Salim in his *Memoirs* describes Abul Fazl as a "Hindustani Shaikh by birth, who was well-known for his learning and wisdom,"* we may not be far from the truth when we surmise that this Indian-born Shaikh was well up in the Hindu *Smriti* and *Niti Sastras* and at any rate had grown up by assimilating the contributions of Hindu cultural tradition.

Had we known less than we actually do about Akbar's socio-religious pro-Hindu propaganda and the ultra-liberal intellectual activities of Abul Fazl, his elder brother Faizi, and their father we might perhaps have been led to suspect that part of the idealism in Abul Fazl's work,—the general preface as well as the text—is to be ascribed to an acquaintance with Al-Farabi's treatise on the model city (c. 950). As a learned scholar Abul Fazl may certainly have studied the Arabic treatise on governmentals statutes (*El-Akham es Soulthaniyah*) by Mawerdi (972-1058) Chief Justice of Bagdad or derived profit from the Persian *Siassat Namah* (Treatise on Government) by Nizamoul Mulk (c. 1063-1092). And of course the greatest philosophico-historical work of the "Middle Ages," namely, the *Mokaddemah* in Arabic by Ibn Khaldum (1332-1406), the Egyptian

* Blochmann, Vol. I (1878), Biography, p. xxvi.

judge, could not have failed to furnish this "Hindustani Shaikh" with literary norms.¹

But the borrowings, assimilations, reminiscences or adaptations from the Sanskrit texts are too direct and palpable as well as pronounced. The surroundings of Abul Fazl's daily life and the literary activities in which he took part while preparing the *Ain-i-Akbari* should appear to be Muslim only in name. The Hindu-Moslem camaraderies of his *Padshah* as well as of himself and his group are enough to explain that forces nearer home were responsible for the kind of idealism and political philosophy which found expression in his *Akbar-niti*.

The translations from "Hindi" (Sanskrit)² into Persian of works like the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Atharva Veda*, the *Harivamsa*, the *Nala Damayanti*, etc., such as are described in the *Ain* 34 indicate the Hindu atmosphere which could not fail to leave its impress upon the contributions of Abul Fazl. It is not quite clear, however, whether the translations were made direct from Sanskrit or from Hindi translations. But it is important to notice that he himself had a hand in the translations of the *Mahabharata*, just as Faizi in that of *Nal Daman*.

In the special preface to the sections dealing with Hindu culture we learn from his own statements that his studies in Hindu culture were commenced early. But he felt that his knowledge was not sufficient. So he renewed his former studies with the help of those

¹ For Al-Farabi see Carra de Vaux: *Avicenne*, Paris 1900, The *El-Akham es Soultaniyah* is available in French as *Les Statuts Gouvernementaux* by Fagnan, Paris 1915. The *Siasset Nameh* is available in French as *Traité du Gouvernement* by Schefer, Paris 1893.

The *Mokaddemah* is available in French as *Prolegomènes Historiques* by de Slane, Paris 1862-68.

See also T. Husein: *La Philosophie Sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Paris 1917.

A study as to the nature of Abul Fazl's contacts with these and other Arabic and Persian "old masters" in politics, economics, history and sociology, etc., ought to be very interesting for an investigation into the achievements of Indo-Saracenic Renaissance.

² Blochmann, Vol. I (1878), pp. Biography, XVII, 104, 199-200.

For the translations of Sanskrit works under Moslem auspices see also D. C. Sen: *History of Bengali Literature* (Calcutta 1911); N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule* (by Muhammadans), (London, 1916); B. K. Sarker: *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture* (London 1917); M. Z. Siddiqi: "Services of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature" (*Calcutta Review*, February 1932).

who could guide him. He speaks of the painful researches undertaken in order to arrive at the truth about the Hindus, their sciences, philosophies and religions. This explains naturally the almost *verbatim* extracts from Hindu treatises on law and politics in this Muslim work.

It is interesting that at the very threshold of his study on Hindu culture, even in the introduction Abul Fazl makes the readers acquainted with his fundamental conclusion, namely, that the Hindus are not polytheists but are worshippers of God and only one God. And this conclusion he poses against the popular tradition of his times to the effect that the Hindus are polytheists. He repeats his conclusion at the commencement of the lengthy section and remarks that the Hindus are no mere idolators, "as the ignorants suppose." The Hindu explanation of image worship is reproduced by himself as his own conviction, namely, that the images are designed simply to prevent the thoughts of the people from wandering while at prayer.

It is evident that Abul Fazl has taken his pen in the interest of a propaganda. It is a propaganda of inter-religious understanding and inter-racial peace. And so far as his own race and religion are concerned it is nothing but fanatically pro-Hindu. Indeed, he has made it a point to collect together all the good things that may be said about the people whom he wants to raise in the estimation of his co-religionists. Perhaps from Megasthenes to Nivedita have the Hindus never been flattered in such a dignified manner by any non-Hindu as has been done by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

In all essentials the *Ain-i-Akbari* has turned out to be a joint Hindu-Moslem literary work so characteristic of the Indo-Saracenic Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nay, it is perhaps one of the first creative specimens of Hindu-Moslem cultural fusion such as has marked the evolution of Indian arts and sciences since then. And in his emphasis on goodness and moral life as the foundation of spirituality and the key to the kingdom of God he is an *avatar* of positivism representing thereby the very spirit of the Renaissance. For, no student of *Nitisastras*, Oriental or Occidental, can afford to forget that the statement "that every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God consists in allaying the distress of the times and in improving the condition of the poor" (*Ain* 2) came from the pen of the Indian Mussalman of the sixteenth century.

As a rationalist, as a "protestant," and as a humanist Abul Fazl has served to liberate the Moslem mind. The enfranchisement of the intelligence which was consummated in the Christian world by the Renaissance was accomplished in Moslem India by the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the same enfranchisement which was to attack the Hindu mind two centuries later in and through Rammohan Roy. For the students of world-culture in political philosophy it is of importance to observe that some of the formative forces in Abul Fazl's toleration humanism, eclectic approach to the things of matter and spirit and as well as positivism were furnished by the Hindu *Manu Samhita* and *Mahabharata*.

Calcutta.

GEORGE WILLIAM RUSSELL

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THE Death of A.E.—to use the pen-name by which Russell was so well-known—removes from the world of letters not only a famous poet but also a most interesting and versatile personality. A votary of the muse, A. E. was also a painter of some distinction, a critic, a noted public speaker, an economist, a journalist and an ardent patriot. He attracted considerable notice as the editor of the *Irish Statesman* during 1923-30—a period of intense political activity and reshuffling in Ireland. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society of which Russell was an enthusiastic champion had in him, for many years, its chief worker. It would be difficult to estimate the obligation of public life in Ireland to this man of letters who is looked upon as “one of the noblest figures in the Irish intellectual movement” in the twentieth century. It is seldom that a man is both a hero and a saint and artistic creation and an active interest in public affairs hardly go hand in hand. Russell is a striking exception to the general rule and in him is to be noticed mystic intuitions in harmonious combination with a sound practical sense, the dreaminess and idealism of the poet united with a grasp of stern reality.

Russell, the poet, has been claimed as a child of the Celtic Revival. This movement had for its object the creation of a literature which should be the vehicle of the old and distinctively Irish culture—the Irish psychological personality, as it has been called. It was felt that the Anglo-Saxon having conquered the world of matter, the Celt should demand, as his due, the world of mind. The dreamy imaginativeness found in old Irish legends by the side of the most bloody episodes and “the inclination to the sad poetry of the heart and to the fanciful wanderings of the will amid flashes of clear-sightedness and moods of matter-of-fact realism” were pointed out as constituting the special features of Irish mentality and outlook which deserved full expression in literature. The Celtic Renaissance was also an intellectual revolt against the thralldom of a foreign (*i.e.*, Anglo-Saxon) literature which was supposed to have denationalised the Irish and its leaders had

as their objective intellectual freedom as the basis of Irish Literature and Irish culture. Between 1885 and 1895 an active and organised crusade was started to achieve this end and from London it spread to Dublin. Its programme, drawn up by men like Stopford Brooke, Gavan Duffy and Douglas Hyde, included the translation of old Gaelic legends, tales, poems, etc., so as to renew Irish intellectual life by bringing it in touch with its original fountain-heads. There were some who wanted to go to extremes and to banish English language altogether from Ireland, while attempts were also made to find out a mean between English and Gaelic, the national tongue which few could read. Douglas Hyde actually achieved a compromise by combining "a groundwork of English vocabulary with a number of turns, phrases and dialectal words in which the influence of Irish syntax and Irish ways of thinking was directly felt." The movement attracted young men and writers of talent and the result was the foundation of a national theatre, a dramatic society and a literary association in Dublin. W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge and G. W. Russell may be looked upon as the most notable products as well as champions of the movement. Russell is pre-eminently intellectual and, so far as his poetry discloses it, he is universal in outlook and sympathy rather than exclusively national. Parochial activities and narrowness of vision or policy never attracted him.

Mysticism in Russell's poetry has attracted widespread attention. It has justly endeared it to many who read poetry to derive from it nutrition for their world-weary souls. It has given satisfaction to those who find delight in the contemplation of the supersensuous—of ineffable beauty and imperishable love. Though imaginative mysticism is "the essential attribute of Celticism," it is not, in Russell, of exclusively Irish origin. It owes very little to the well-known English mystical poets or to the Christian mystics of Europe. The "glowing pantheism" in his poetical work seems to have been derived from a distant source. The melancholy emotion, the restlessness of unsatisfied hearts, the wistful aspiration after the great beyond, which mark even the work of Yeats are almost absent from the poetry of A. E. Plato, it has been said, was the father of European mysticism and it has been pointed out that mysticism finds in his philosophy all its creeds. Hence it was impossible for Russell to shake himself absolutely free from Platonic influence. But his obligation to the mystical literature of ancient India is obvious to careful readers.

That this world is but the vesture of the in-dwelling Spirit which manifests itself as Beauty, Wisdom and Love, that communion with it is possible through faith, purity and mental concentration and that man's highest good lies in absorption in this supreme Reality, are some of the well-known creeds of the Upanishads. The Spirit is the fountain of life and light in this world and its glory shines through matter. Russell says:

Oh, be not led away,
Lured by the colour of the sun-rich day.
The gay romance of song
Unto the spirit life doth not belong :
Though far—between the hours
In which the Master of Angelic powers
Lightens the dusk within
The holy of holies, be it thine to win
Rare vistas of white light,
Half-parted lips through which the Infinite
Murmurs its ancient story.

The Lord in the Bhagavad-Gita declares, " I am Beauty itself among beautiful things " and the Irish poet sings:

The East was crowned with snow-clad bloom
And hung with veils of pearly fleece :
They died away into the gloom,
Vistas of peace—and deeper peace.

And earth and air and wave and fire
In awe and breathless silence stood ;
For one who passed into their choir
Linked them in mystic brotherhood.

Twilight of amethyst, amid
Thy few strange stars that lit the heights,
Where was the secret spirit hid?
Where was Thy place, O Light of Lights?

The flame of Beauty far in space—
Where rose the fire : in Thee? in Me?
Which bowed the elemental race
To adoration silently?

Peace and calm ensue from the final union between the soul and the over-soul, the finite being and the infinite.

When the trees and skies and fields are one in dusky mood,
Every heart of man is rapt within the mother's breast :
Full of peace and sleep and dreams in the vasty quietude,
I am one with their hearts at rest.

From our immemorial joys of hearth and home and love
 Strayed away along the margin of the unknown tide,
 All its reach of soundless calm can thrill me far above
 Word or touch from the lips beside.

Aye, and deep and deep and deeper let me drink and draw
 From the olden fountain more than light or peace or dream,
 Such primeval being as o'erfills the heart with awe,
 Growing one with its silent stream.

Again,

When I fade into the deep,
 Some mysterious radiance showers
 From the jewel-heart of sleep
 Through the veil of darkened hours.

Where the ring of twilight gleams
 Round the sanctuary wrought,
 Whispers haunt me—in my dreams :
 We are one, yet know it not.

Some for beauty follow long
 Flying traces ; some there be
 Seek thee only for a song:
 I to lose myself in thee.

The Eternal Spirit manifested as Beauty is symbolised in Krishna in Vaishnavism and its movements are his *Leela*. Krishna is the Master Singer and the notes of his flute are heard throughout eternity.

"I am the sunlight in the heart, the silver moon-glow in the mind ;
 My laughter runs and ripples through the wavy tresses of the wind.
 I am the fire upon the hills, the dancing flame that leads afar
 Each burning-hearted wanderer, and I the dear and homeward star.
 A myriad lovers died for me, and in their latest yielded breath
 I woke in glory giving them immortal life though touched by death.
 For joy of me the daystar glows, and in delight and wild desire
 The peacock twilight rays aloft its plumes and blooms of shadowy fire,
 Where in the vastness too I burn through summer nights and ages long,
 And with the fiery-footed watchers shake in myriad dance and song."

Imitating the imagery of the Vaishnava Scriptures, the poet calls Krishna the King of Kings, the Prince of Peace, the Light of Lights, the Spend-thrift of the Heavenly Gold.

"And yet He is the life within the Ever-living Living Ones,
 The ancient with eternal youth, the cradle of the infant suns,
 The fiery fountain of the stars, and He the golden urn where all
 The glittering spray of planets in their myriad beauty fall."

Cosmic evolution is figured in the Hindu scriptures as the creative efforts of Brahma and in "Indian Song" Russell describes how

Shadowy-petalled, like the lotus, loom the mountains with their snows :
Through the sapphire Soma rising such a flood of glory throws
As when first in yellow splendour Brahma from the Lotus rose.

The Tantras describe the ultimate Reality as the Great Mother who is conceived as Power. She is the last of a hierarchy of forces which dominate the world but are, in their turn, controlled by the Original Power—the Mother, the great spiritual Entity. Matter, energy, etc., are evanescent and obscure only momentarily the effulgence of the Great Mother. Russell adopts this imagery and uses it copiously in his mystic poems.

Mother, with whom our lives should be,
Not hatred keeps our lives apart :
Charmed by some lesser glow in thee,
Our hearts beat not within thy heart.

Beauty, the face, the touch, the eyes,
Prophets of thee, allure our sight
From that unfathomed deep where lies
Thine ancient loveliness and light.

Self-found at last, the joy that springs
Being thyself, shall once again
Start thee upon the whirling rings
And through the pilgrimage of pain.

Russell's obligation to Indian Literature and Philosophy is not a matter of inference or conjecture only. It has been expressly acknowledged by him. It does him credit that he should have referred to this debt of gratitude even in his business correspondence with the University of Calcutta. Dr. Harendra Coomer Mookerjee who in 1918 was entrusted with the preparation of the Poetical and Prose Selections for the Intermediate Examinations of this University, wrote to Russell for permission to include in them some of his pieces, offering to pay, on behalf of the University, any fees he might demand. So far as he was concerned, Russell unconditionally permitted the reproduction of the pieces, but as the copyright belonged to his publishers, he had the courtesy to write to them personally and thus to secure their permission to our University. In his two letters to Dr. Mookerjee on the matter, he gracefully recorded his obligation to Indian thought and said that he would be glad if his work was appreciated in India

the culture of which had mainly inspired it. His letters are quoted below *in extenso*. The first one refers to some poems and the second to some prose pieces in respect of which Dr. Mookerjee had asked for the author's permission for reproduction :

DUBLIN,
IRELAND
29 Nov, '19.

Dear Mr. Mookerjee,

The copyright of my verses is the property of Messrs. MacMillan & Co., St. Martin Street, London and it is they, not I, who have power to give or deny permission to quote. But I am writing to them, asking them to give permission and to write to you direct as it would save time. They are generally good-natured in such matters and I hope they will accede to your request. I have a love for India and Indian Literature and would prefer to have readers there more than in any country except my own.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE RUSSELL
"A. E."

Dublin,
8th Jan., 1920.

H. C. MOOKERJEE, ESQ., M.A.

DEAR SIR,

I sent your request to Messrs. Maunsel, the publishers of "Imaginations and Reveries" and the owners of the copyright. I enclose a copy of the note I received from one of the Directors. So far as I am concerned, I give the permission to quote "The Renewal of Youth," "The Hero in Man" and "The Ideals of the New Rural Society" and do so with pleasure. I owe so much to my study of Indian Literature that I would be glad if any of your countrymen found any inspiration in work which largely had its foundation in Indian thought.

Yours sincerely,
GEO. W. RUSSELL
"A. E."

Mysticism is a matter of mood and temperament and has generally no satisfactory basis in reason. A philosophical defence of it is likely to be halting and unconvincing. Russell, however, has attempted to formulate a philosophy of it. Though the roots of his "glowing pantheism" reach far into the depths of Irish psychology and Indian thought, his exposition of its creeds in the *Candle of Vision* and *The Avatars* deserves consideration. The former is a string of reflections probing the remote sources of man's inner life, while the latter illustrates its ideas through what he calls a Futurist

Fantasy. The supersensuous Reality or the great spirit-world is not, according to Russell, a figment of imagination. On the contrary, it is ancient religions that are symbolistic. "I believe that most of what was said of God was in reality said of that spirit whose body is Earth. I must in some fashion indicate the nature of the visions which led me to believe with Plato that the earth is not at all what the geographers suppose it to be, and that we live like frogs at the bottom of a marsh, knowing nothing of that Many-coloured Earth which is superior to this we know, yet related to it as soul to body." This soul of the world has kinship with the human soul, though it is superior to the latter in all respects, as the superman is assumed to be superior to ordinary human beings. It is more intelligent, more lovely, more sympathetic and more powerful. It holds communion with the human soul and our visions, imagination, dreams, intuitions, etc., which cannot be explained according to the ordinary laws of matter and motion are only the communications received from it.

How visions, dreams, etc., prove the existence of an over-soul is explained by Russell in detail. Memory retains only the impressions of sense. But we often find that when we are absorbed in thought, our minds are crowded not only with memories of past experiences, but also with images or pictures of things or scenes we had never seen. "I brooded once upon a friend, not then knowing where he was and soon I seemed to myself to be walking in the night. Nigh me was the Sphinx, and, more remote, a dim pyramid. Months later, my friend came to Ireland. I found he had been in Egypt at the time I had thought of him. He could not recollect the precise day, but had while there spent a night beside the great monuments. I did not see him in vision, but I seemed to be walking there in the night. Why did the angle of vision change as with one moving about? Did I see through his eyes?" This is an example which shews that a man's 'vision' does not always depend on the impression produced on his own retinas. Russell gives another instance of this. "Once in an idle interval in my work I sat with my face pressed in my hands, and in that dimness pictures began flickering in my brain. I saw a little dark shop, the counter before me, and behind it an old man fumbling with some papers, a man so old that his motions had lost swiftness and precision. Deeper in the store was a girl red-haired, with grey watchful eyes fixed on the old man. I saw that to enter the shop one must take two steps downwards from a cobbled pavement without.

I questioned a young man, my office companion, who was then writing a letter, and I found that what I had seen was his father's shop. All my imaginations—the old man, his yellow white beard, his fumbling movements, the watchful girl, her colour, the steps, the pavement—were not imaginations of mine in any true sense, for while I was in a vacant mood, my companion had been thinking of his home, and his brain was populous with quickened memories, and they invaded my own mind, and when I made question I found their origin. But how many thousand times are we invaded by such images?" (*The Candle of Vision*, pp. 50-51.) It is not seldom that a man draws upon others' "visions" without fully realising it and the images which populate his brain have not always been born there.* "We are haunted by unknown comrades in many moods, whose naked souls pass through ours, and reveal themselves to us in an unforgettable instant." "When our lamp is lit, we find the house of our being has many chambers, and creatures live there who come and go and we must ask whether they have the right to be in our house; and there are corridors there leading into the hearts of others, and windows which open into eternity, and we can hardly tell where our being ends and another begins, or if there is any end to our being."

The truth of these remarks is also borne out by the reflection on our vision of what Russell calls "The memory of Earth."* A vision cannot always be traced to sense-perception. Sometimes a scene from ancient history rises up before the eye or the picture of a distant city never visited before. "Anything may cause such pictures to rise in vivid illumination before us, a sentence in a book, a word, or contact with some object. I have brooded over the grassy mounds which are all that remain of the duns in which our Gaelic ancestors lived, and they builded themselves up again for me so that I looked on what seemed an earlier civilisation, saw the people, noted their dresses, the colours of natural wool, saffron or blue, how rough like our own homespuns they were; even such details were visible as that the men cut meat at table with knives and passed it to the lips with their fingers. This is not, I am convinced, what people call imagination, an interior creation in response to a natural curiosity about past ages. It is an act of vision, a perception of images already existing, breathed on some ethereal medium which in no way differs

* One of Russell's pieces in the *Collected Poems* bears this title as does a chapter of *The Candle of Vision*.

from the medium which holds for us our memories." This is the memory of Earth. "Memory," Russell believes, "is an attribute of all living creatures and of Earth also, the greatest living creature we know, and she carries with her, and it is accessible to us, all her long history, cities far gone behind time, empires which are dust, or are buried with sunken continents beneath the waters...No ancient lore has perished. Earth retains for herself and her children what her children might in passion have destroyed, and it is still in the realm of the Ever Living to be seen by the mystic adventurer. We argue that this memory must be universal, for there is nowhere we go where Earth does not breathe fragments from her ancient story to the meditative spirit....The laws by which this history is made accessible to us seem to be the same as those which make our own learning swift to our service. When we begin thought or discussion on some subject, we soon find ourselves thronged with memories ready for use. Everything in us related by affinity to the central thought seems to be mobilised." (*The Candle of Vision*, p. 62.) In *The Avatars*, Conaire expresses a similar view and suggests that his glowing visions are the projections of the consciousness of the Earth Spirit. "To the ancients, Earth was a living being. We who walk upon it know no more of the magnificence within it than a gnat lighting on the head of Dante might know of the furnace of passion and imagination beneath. Not only was Earth a living being having soul and Spirit as well as body, but it was a household wherein were god folk as well as the whole tribe of elemental or fairy lives. The Earth Spirit has been talking to me ever since I came here, telling me the meanings of all I have read and many things which never were written." (*The Avatars*, VIII.)

Russell is so much obsessed with the idea of an over-soul that repeated references to it are to be found even in *The Interpreters*, a work of fiction which deals with political idealism and revolution, the antagonism between national states and a world empire. He has a fling at the votaries of the latter who are described as "lifted up by pride and united by a spirit which seemed almost a new manifestation of *cosmic consciousness*" and who "regard themselves less as servants of the empire than as acting under a mandate from Heaven to keep the peace of the world." Russell elsewhere seriously enquires whether *cosmic consciousness* is partially reflected in the history of an empire which has survived for a long period. (*The Interpreters*, p. 30.)

An analysis of imagination, dreams and intuitions leads to the same conclusion about the existence of an oversoul with which the individual mind can hold communion. "*Imagination is not a vision of something which already exists, and which in itself must be unchanged by the act of seeing, but by imagination what exists in latency or essence is out-realised and is given a form in thought. In imagination there is a revelation of the self to the self, and a definite change in being. Here images appear in consciousness which we may refer definitely to an internal creation.*" The basis of imagination is not the individual self, for when it is at work, "we feel truly inspired and a mightier creature than ourselves speaks through us." A great man must have "a wisdom of imagination—a wisdom changing as we rise from one plane of being to another." Imagination may begin by "acting outward, creating music, picture, architecture, sculpture, poetry. As we ascend within ourselves, the imagination begins to act inwards, and as it acts, our being becomes incandescent," because it communes with a transcendent being (*The Avatars*, XXII). Dreams prove "that in the heart of sleep there is an intellectual being moving in a world of its own and using transcendental energies.....for in the space of a second, almost before a voice has reached the ear of the sleeper or a hand has touched him, some magical engineer has flung a bridge of wild incident over which the spirit races from deep own-being unto outward being. Never when awake could we pack into a second of vivid imagination the myriad incidents that the artificer of dream can create." (*The Candle of Vision*.) Intuition gives sudden and momentary glimpses of divinity. The ecstasy felt can hardly be expressed in words and the process of illumination too cannot be clearly explained. Russell says that he sometimes "came to feel akin to those ancestors of the Aryan in remote spiritual dawns when Earth first extended its consciousness into humanity. In that primal ecstasy and golden age was born that grand spiritual tradition which still remains embodied in Veda and Upanishad, in Persian and Egyptian myth, and which trails glimmering with colour and romance over our own Celtic legends."

Russell clearly indicates the means to be followed for consciously realising the oversoul the existence of which is evidenced by dreams, intuitions, etc. The training of the will and meditation are recommended as the paths leading to the goal. "I set myself to attain mastery over the will. I would choose some mental object, an abstraction of form,

and strive to hold my mind fixed on it in unwavering concentration, so that not for a moment, not for an instant, would the consideration slacken. It is an exercise this, a training for higher adventures of the soul.The heat of this fervent concentration acts like fire under a pot, and everything in our being boils up madly. We learn our own hitherto unknown character. We did not know we could feel such fierce desires, never imagined such passionate enmities as now awaken. We have created in ourselves a centre of power, and grow real to ourselves. It is dangerous, too, for we have flung ourselves into the eternal conflict between spirit and matter, and find ourselves where the battle is hottest..... None would live through that turmoil if the will were the only power in ourselves we could invoke, for the will is neither good nor bad but is power only, and it vitalises good or bad indifferently. If that were all, our labour would bring us, not closer to divine being, but only to a dilation of the personality. But the ancients who taught us to gain this intensity taught it but as preliminary to a meditation which would not waver and would be full of power. The meditation they urged on us has been explained as 'the inexpressible yearning of the inner man to go out in the infinite.' But that Infinite we would enter is living. It is the ultimate being of us. Meditation is a fiery brooding on that majestic Self. We imagine ourselves into Its vastness. We conceive ourselves as mirroring Its infinitudes, as moving in all things, as living in all beings, in earth, water, air, fire, ether. We try to know as It knows, to live as It lives, to be compassionate as It is compassionate. We equal ourselves to It that we may understand It and become It..... We have imagined ourselves into this pitiful dream of life. By imagination and will we re-enter true being, becoming that we conceive of." (*The Candle of Vision*, pp. 23-24). In the last chapter of *The Avatars*, Paul and his friends try to attain this spiritual life and divine consciousness through meditation and effort of the will. Paul soon feels "a life which was an extension of the life that breathed through those dense infinitudes." "He could not now conceive of himself apart from that great unity."

This is an exposition of the idealism of Russell. It should be supplemented with an account of his grasp of reality. A patriotic Irishman, he was keenly interested in the future of the infant state of Ireland which was ushered into existence during a world conflict. His thoughts on its political and economic conditions show his philo-

sophic comprehension, clear insight and sound common sense. The State is a visible manifestation of a nation's soul. Ireland's politicians therefore should concern themselves as much with the machinery of its government as with its culture. In reality, it is the latter that must determine not only the constitution but also the material advancement and political power of the state. While Irish leaders were engaged in re-adjusting the superficies of things and in reshuffling the political machinery, Russell said, "What we require more than men of action at present are scholars, economists, scientists, thinkers, educationists and littérateurs who will populate the desert depths of national consciousness with real thought and turn the void into a fullness. Our civilisation must depend on the quality of thought engendered in the national being. We have to do for Ireland..... what the long and illustrious line of German thinkers, scientists, poets, philosophers and historians did for Germany or what the poets and artists of Greece did for the Athenians: and that is, to create *national ideals* which will dominate the policy of statesmen and unite in one spirit urban and rural life." This idea is emphasised in *Imaginations and Reveries* in the essay entitled "Nationality or Cosmopolitanism." In discussing national ideals, Russell says that in all highly civilised states the individual citizen is raised above himself and merged, to a certain extent, in a greater life called the National Being. In Ireland democratic feelings must determine the character of its National Being. Rule of the aristocracy is impossible in the present condition of affairs. But democracy in politics does not always lead to democracy in economic life. Thinkers in Ireland will have to discover how this can be rendered possible in their country.

Ireland is principally an agricultural country and most of the people therefore have to live in villages. The farmer is the pivot of national life and his condition must be the main subject of discussion in any system of thought bearing on the Irish problem. Unfortunately farmers either do not like or cannot afford to stick to their villages. Many emigrate to the large industrial cities of America. The main reason is that there is no real life, i.e., corporate life in villages. "Since the destruction of the ancient clans in Ireland almost every economic factor in rural life has tended to separate the farmers from each other and from the nation and to bring out an isolation of action..... The first thing which strikes one who

travels through rural Ireland is the immense number of little shops. They are scattered along the highways and at cross-roads ; and where there are a few families together in what is called a village, the number of little shops crowded round these consumers is almost incredible.....These numerous competitors of each other do not keep down prices. They increase them rather by the unavoidable multiplication of expenses ; and many of them, taking advantage of the countryman's irregularity of income and his need for credit, allow credit to a point where the small farmer becomes a tied customer who cannot pay all he owes, and who therefore dares not deal elsewhere " (*The National Being*, pp. 21-22). Now the small farmer is the typical Irish countryman. The average area of his farm is 25 acres or thereabouts and he has generally a herd of cows, a drift of sheep, a litter of pigs and perhaps a mare and a foal. He has children to maintain. But his methods of agriculture are traditional. His butter, his eggs, his cattle, etc., have to be sold at low prices to local dealers who send them probably across the channel to English markets. But the farmer himself knows nothing of the business currents of Europe. In his isolation he is comparable to the primitive economic cave-man.

Russell suggests co-operation as the only means of ameliorating the condition of the Irish farmer. It will organise the rural people into communities and do away with their isolation. It will give birth to farmers' guilds which will control their buying and selling and market for them their pigs and poultry. These guilds will procure for them seeds, fertilizers and agricultural implements. They may have village halls and women's organisations which will sell the product of women's industry. They may have a co-operative band, social gatherings and concerts. Rural trade will gradually be concentrated in these organisations which will have their meeting-places, committees and executive officers to carry out their decisions. They will have funds to finance their undertakings. Thus will be created " the true communal idea which the Socialists miss in their dream of a vast amalgamation of whole nationalities in one great commercial undertaking.....A rural commune or co-operative community ought to have, to a large extent, the character of a nation " (" Ideals of the Rural Society " in *Imaginations and Reveries*). The co-operative movement will connect the home, the centre of the Irishman's being, to the nation which is its circumference. This connection

will be established through membership of a national movement, not for political purposes which call on him for a vote once every few years, but for economic purposes which affect him in the course of his daily occupation.

The only opposition to such a movement will come from agricultural middlemen. They will rage furiously and will organize all their forces to keep the farmers in subjection ; but their efforts are foredoomed to failure.*

Russell believes that if stagnation is removed by economic co-operation, the soul will come back to the dead body of rural Ireland. "In that case, there is no reason why as intense, intellectual and progressive a life should not be possible in the country as in the towns." And if the Irish country-side can offer "to young men and women some satisfactory food for soul as well as body," they will never desert it and leave for overcrowded towns. The national being of which the state is only the visible expression will then be a reality.

Russell's thoughts on rural Ireland must interest Indians, for Ireland and India are both agricultural countries and economic isolation is similar in the villages in both. Russell has drawn largely upon Indian idealism. Will Indians carefully ponder over his suggestions for the material uplift of helpless agrarian people ?

* The movement for the organisation of agriculture in Ireland was initiated by Sir Horace Plunkett and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society is now regarded as a successful institution.

SEAN O' CASEY: AN IRISH DRAMATIST

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POLITICALLY, especially in the modern times, the Irish connection has given England little gain and much trouble, but the compensation has come in literature. England's greatest dramatist, indeed her greatest personality in literature to-day is an Irishman; among her first rate poets more than one Irishman must be counted, and the man whose study we shall be making presently, is an Irishman whose claim to greatness in the world of letters rests, it is true, exclusively on four plays up till now—the first being produced in 1923 and the last in 1929—but who has even by this small output, attracted the attention of lovers of literature and been given a place that is due only to the great: Sean O'Casey is considered to be an important figure in modern English drama.

And yet this man's genius is so limited, his scope so narrow,—the field on which his Mose wanders so restricted that it may appear surprising that his plays grip our mind with so much interest. He is better seen on the stage than read in the closet, partly because his plays were written primarily for the stage and partly because he was exceptionally fortunate in his interpreters on the stage. Still, for the readers who have not seen any of his plays on the stage, he retains a good deal of interest. And the main almost the first reason that occurs to the critical mind for the popularity of his plays is the menagerie of men and women they contain. We call it 'menagerie' deliberately, for these men and women have such oddities in them and yet they throb so vitally with life that they constitute altogether rare and unique specimens of humanity. And Sean O'Casey has emphasised the uncommon aspects of his people so much so that they are emphatically felt to be the creatures of a particular locality different from their fellows of other climes. Sean O'Casey, is first and last a national playwright.

Yet this national playwright of Ireland who had joined and served in the Citizen Army during the Easter Rebellion of 1916, could so rise above the narrow national prejudices and see truth undistorted by

patriotic fanaticism that in one of his plays he depicted the Easter Rebellion and the activities of the slumpatriots in their less charitable aspects with the result that a formidable riot broke out at the play house in Dublin when the play was being staged. And indeed his humour is a bitter pill to swallow, it corrodes the biased mind like a strong acid. It does not spare religion or patriotism, truth is the only god it recognizes. This truth he does not state in so many words, but exposes in the garb of a motley. His humour at times, is like the babblings of Lear's Fool, it has a double edge, it chastises the guilty and amuses the unconcerned. But apart from its satiric purpose, his humour can rise to the truly tragic pitch and arouse the sort of pity and terror of which Aristotle spoke in his *poetics*. Like Shakespeare, whose drunken porter's ghastly jokes over his task of gatekeeping at the castle which crime had bedaubed with the blood of its old host, make us shudder rather than laugh, O'Casey can raise a worthless rascal from his insignificance and put him in a situation that makes him contribute to, and emphasise, the tragedy of which the rascal is totally unconscious. The ending of very few tragedies can be more superb than that of *Juno and the paycock*. Juno has been disillusioned and on the brink of ruin, all her hopes of getting a legacy against which she had been absurdly borrowing, being dashed to pieces owing to a flaw in the legal technicalities, exposing her and her family to utter destitution and in the wake of this knowledge, comes fresh disgrace in the desertion of her daughter by her lover after she was expecting a child.

But the worst was yet to come and the cup becomes full when just at this moment the news of her son's death at the hands of his former comrades reaches her. And scarcely had the disconsolate mother with her daughter left the stage, when there entered on this scene of stark desolation, two men, deep drunk and uttering broken incoherent syllables, one Juno's precious husband, the 'paycock' and the other his boon companion Joxer Daly. The curtain falls on Boyle's last words:

I'm telling you.....Joxer.....th' whole worl's
.....in a terr.....ible state O'.....chassis!

Nothing perhaps more emphasises the tragedy and makes it so terrible as the appearance of these rascals unconscious of the whole situation and their surroundings, and the impression one gets from this scene can never fade from one's mind.

Modern tragedy hardly lifts us above our normal existence, it never depicts the utter tragic helplessness of man in its sublime and grand aspects. It is a more or less weak affair, neither dealing with men of towering personality nor with situations that touch the innermost depths of the soul by its appeal to the sublime and universal passions of man. Modern tragedy is at best a serious and intense affair dealing with the problems with which a particular individual or society is faced. It hardly ever unlooses the mighty, ungovernable passions of man and makes them rage in their primitive fury. Its tragic situations hardly impel us to say with the Doctor in *Macbeth*, 'God, god, forgive us all!' Sean O'Casey too has not reached such high standard of the Elizabethan tragedians, though he takes his lessons mostly from Shakespeare. But once at any rate, in this last scene of the play mentioned above, he has attained the height of a tragedian.

This combination of humour with tragedy is an important part of the technique of O'Casey's plays. In all his tragedies—and his plays are all tragedies—he tempers (and heightens?) the tragic tone with comic touches and in this he is a follower of Shakespeare with a vengeance. It is an old point of dispute whether tragedy should be free from all light touches whatsoever and the fight that was fought one day between Ben Jonson and Shakespeare, is not settled yet, though in modern playwrights we can find little encouragement of the combination. But Sean O'Casey is a perfect romantic and like his master, takes his lesson from life, not classic conventions. He seasons his plays all through with strong humour and his people are never dull. In their exuberance and rich vitality they live their own lives, at times even apart from the necessity of the play for which they were created. But of course the smile of their creator is not always genial or kindly. He is often ironical and even satiric as in the *The Plough and the Stars* where he has enough bitter things to say.

From Shakespeare, O'Casey learnt another important dramatic device, namely dramatic irony. Of this, he is full. His irony at times becomes very poignant in view of what follows as it is in the closing of the 1st act of *The Shadow of a Gunman* where Donal Davoren soliloquises:

Minnie, Donal; Donal, Minnie. Very pretty, but very ignorant. A Gunman on the run! Be careful, be careful, Donal Davoren. But Minnie is attracted to the idea, and I am attracted to Minnie. And what danger can there be in being the shadow of a gunman?

The danger came at last in his being the shadow of a gunman but it came not to him, but to 'very pretty but very ignorant' Minnie, and what had begun by amusing the reader ended in tragedy.

This Minnie Powell is rather an extraordinary character because Sean O'Casey cares little to portray any serious character without any touch of humour. She is idealistic and patriotic and though endowed with a poor intellect is a frank, courageous girl. Of his people, very few like her could stand the test of the times, though they all belong emphatically to their time. O'Casey's limitation in his characters is that they belong not only exclusively to Ireland and the Ireland of the first two decades of the twentieth century but also to a certain class. Excepting one or two, who have a tolerable education and who are rather weak characters they all are poor, half-educated, slum-dwellers. His knowledge of them is first hand because he himself lived in tenements and led the life of the miserable folk he gives life to. That is why they are so real and convincing. And once we accept this limitation of our playwright and agree to interest ourselves in these precious men and women of Ireland, we shall presently find what a great source of pleasure and amusement these odd, almost *bizarre* people furnish. A whole gallery of them is there. And what is most characteristic of their creator, he makes all of them yield mirth to us. Even the most tragic character has his humorous side and we are made to laugh either at or by, them. Of course this humour is very broad and has little subtlety about it. Almost all the characters have their mannerisms in speech and they appear occasionally more as caricatures than characters. His very first play, *The Shadow of a Gunman* gives us a few characters almost all of which have some oddities in them and though a tragedy, it does not take a tragic turn until the end of the last act, when a heroic girl sacrifices her life on the altar of nationalism while the man who posed as the gunman to keep alive her admiration plays the coward. The story and the plot construction are very simple. Donal Davoren, a sentimental poet wrestling eternally with his fancy and language, lives in a tenement house where his fellow lodgers wrongly take him for a gunman and in Minnie Powell's admiration for him as a gunman he tacitly acquiesces and proceeds to make love to her. In the second and last act, the Police raid the tenement house. Davoren discovers a bag of bombs in his room left there without their knowledge by a friend of the man who shares his room. Just at this moment, Minnie comes into the

room and offers to carry the bag into her room and the agonized Davoren and his room-mate were only too glad and relieved. The Black and Tans come, search the house, find Minnie with the bombs and arrest her. As she is going to jump off the lorry in which they placed her, she is shot through her bosom and dies. This in short is the story of the play.

O'Casey's irony is powerful. He has portrayed in all their human littlenesses and foibles the men and women whose fate it was to live to witness the constant fights, ambushes, raids, incessant whistling of bullets, in fact all the incidents of a civil war that the dark days of 1920 witnessed in Ireland when the Black and Tans were fighting the Irish Republican Army. Not that he has not depicted heroism. Minnie's case is a noble example. But for one Minnie he has depicted a number of people limited by their selfishness and extreme fear. Little common men, they could have flourished easily and happily in a calm atmosphere, but all their nerves were strained in these difficult days in which their lot was cast. Times were out of joint, their courage was brought to the test and they miserably failed to stand it. Nothing can be more a subject of pathetic irony than the spectacle of the ordinary people being called upon to live up to such tense situations and dangerous times and failing to rise to the occasion. All the littleness that lies hidden deep down in ordinary life rushes up to the surface with a such glare and prominence that we are apt to misjudge the people. They are not worse than their fellows of any other country, their weaknesses are human, though pathetically amusing. Sean O'Casey adds more humour to these characters by endowing them with individual eccentricities and angularities. Tommy Owens is a character who is the cause of wit in other men. His very appearance is provocative of laughter. He is small and thin, his words are uttered in a nasal drawl, his voice is husky, he drinks hard and smokes incessantly. He appears on the stage at a very uncomfortable moment for Davoren who was just then going to kiss Minnie. His very first speech makes the whole audience shake with laughter. He gives a gentle cough to draw attention to his presence and says:

I seen nothin'—honest—thought you was learning to typewrite—Mr. Davoren teaching you. I seen nothin' else—s'help me God.

But of course apart from this fun in situation, Tommy himself is funny. So is Seumer Shields who finds in others faults which are

really his own. A late riser, 'a land mine exploding under the bed is the only thing that would lift him out of it'—he rises at half past twelve to castigate his friend who was to come to him at his room at nine and evidently failed to keep the appointment:

Did anybody ever see the like of the Irish people? Is there any use of trying to do anything in this country?

Indeed this man's selfish selfcomplacence and sublime unconcern for anybody else is Falstaffian. He has no troublesome conscience and seeks his safety first. If Minnie Powell is arrested for a fault which was more his than hers, all his concern is about himself and he repeats shamelessly:

Oh, grant she won't say anything!
Did she say anything, is she sayin'
anything, wh at's she sayin' Mrs. Grigson?

But this is not all. Even in this small play the number of odd characters is fairly large. Mrs. Henderson, nervous Mr. Gallogher, the cowardly braggart, Grigson—all of them are funny and their company is most amusing.

O'Casey's next play is a more elaborate effort in construction and characterization and technically a better piece. The note of tragedy is much more emphasised and is intensified by the crass humour of the drunken scenes. This play, *Juno and the Paycock* is also more concentrated than the earlier piece and shows the author at his best. *Juno and the Paycock* was followed by *The plough and the stars* which carries us back to the Easter Rebellion of 1916. It is evident that O'Casey did not confine his picture to the tragedy that it meant for the Irish people. For him, nothing, not even the most tragic situation is devoid of humour and it is owing to his portrayal of the humorous aspect of the rising that a terrible riot took place on its production in Dublin. This play is still more elaborate than *Juno and the Paycock* and is less concentrated than the latter. The odd characters are more numerous than anywhere else. There is Fluther Good, the carpenter, Mrs. Gogan, the old fashioned woman, Peter, the phlegmatic and a number of others. Each of them has his or her own mannerism.—Peter's comical prayer for patience, Fluther's unrestricted use of the words 'derogatory' and 'vice versa' and the young Covey's fad of socialism. They are all reminiscent of the odd people of Dickens. The story of the play turns round

Jack Clitheroe and his wife Nora who is quite a romantic type of modern girl fond of "billing and cooing like a turtle dove" with him. She cannot rise from her peaceful enjoyment of conjugal love to the height of the situation brought about by a national rising. Commandant Clitheroe leaves the nest of love for his more manly occupation of leading the revolutionary army and is eventually killed. His wife lost her wits by the catastrophe and the curtain falls on two British Tommies drinking and singing over the dead body of an innocent woman killed by their bullets.

The characters of this play as they are in all O'Casey's plays are well defined and even the minor characters are not devoid of their personality. There is not much greatness about them, they are all common human beings set against unusual circumstances in life. The real greatness of O'Casey is not so much his power of characterization as that of a vivid and graphic presentation of Ireland and its people of an extraordinary period in her history. That such a convincing and eloquent history can be presented with such economy of means speaks highly of the writer. Sean O'Casey will live because his characters are typical of their country and class—men and women who have lived to see the days of rebellion and fight and disaster that visited their unfortunate land. The long cruel struggle between British Imperialism and the forces of Irish self-determination and the consequent suffering of the common folk of Ireland never got such a powerful artist for their representation.

His next and up till now, last play is altogether different from his earlier plays both in technique and appeal. Though the characters of *The Silver Tassie* are still Irish, yet the story is no longer confined to Ireland. The background is the last world war and O'Casey has given scenes of the warzone and supplemented his prose with elevated poetry to suit his language with the grand conception of the war. Unlike its predecessors, and in spite of Bernard Shaw's high opinion of the play, it was a failure on the stage. It lacked that 'go' which O'Casey's previous plays abundantly possess. The characters also are no longer individuals and there is an element of incongruity in the difference of manner between the first and the second act. The realism of the first is followed by the elevated imaginative tone of the second act where blank verse and sometimes 'stylized' dialogue are used. Evidently, he designed it to be a great literary piece, a sublime song on one of the grandest spectacles of the modern times—but

critical opinion is sharply divided about its greatness and if Shaw considered it 'wonderful' Yeats thought that O'Casey was not sufficiently moved and excited by his subject to make the play dramatically effective.

Sean O'Casey's output is absurdly small in proportion to his fame. Excepting his last piece, none of his plays have any pretensions to universal appeal. They are frankly parochial. His men and women are more the product of his memory and observation than of his imagination. The background of his play is contemporary Ireland and is certainly not less important than his characters. The dramatic technique is neither very complex nor original. He himself admits his great debt to Shakespeare whose plays he has read so many times and so carefully that he knows whole passages of his plays by rote. One of the strongest influences of Shakespeare's technique is of course in his combination of the humorous and the tragic. But in this age when action is subordinated to a discussion of problems O'Casey carries the traditional ideal in his art and never makes a platform of the stage. His plays are full of action and though his dialogue smacks of a literary style reminiscent of great masters quite inconsistent with the intellect of the people who talk it, yet the incongruous effect is entirely lost because he took pains to transform it into Irish brogue. But though his debts to Elizabethan masters is great, he is not entirely blind to the greatness of his great contemporaries. The influence of Shaw is discernible, though not often, in his stage direction and in his analysis of characters therein and also at times in his attempt at witty paradoxes. But these are few and far between and Sean O'Casey is one of those very few modern playwrights who think the methods of the old masters can still be imitated and reproduced with an effect which, if not sublime in its Elizabethan grandeur is still powerful in its grand human appeal.

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ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS SINCE THE 1921 TREATY*

ST. Nihal SINGH

THE "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland," upon which rest the foundations of the Irish Free State were silent upon a matter of cardinal importance. The instrument, State, so specific in other respects, contained no direct reference to the judicial competence of the state that it was to generate, whether her judicial system was to be fully self-sufficing or whether decisions handed down from its highest tribunal were subject to review and, if necessary, to reversal upon the advice of an authority outside her limits—the judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council.

This silence had, no doubt, been maintained with the laudable object of refraining from adding unnecessarily to the difficulties of the Irish delegation, who, the members of His Majesty's Government in negotiation with them realized, would have a hard enough task in winning the approbation of their Sinn Féin ("we alone") colleagues for the pact despite the care with which it was framed. The limitations upon the Free State authority incorporated in the Agreement were wholly of a nature which derogated from the powers of a self-governing Dominion. In the absence of such specific provision, that state would, in consequence of being given the status of a Dominion,¹ have possessed competence in such matters.

The Prime Minister (Mr. David Lloyd George) referred to this particular aspect of the instrument in the lengthy statement he made in the House of Commons on December 14, 1921. He instanced the difficulties that would have arisen "if full and complete Dominion Government were conferred on Ireland."²

* Continued from our previous issue.

¹ Article 1 reads: Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

² Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1, Col. 33.

The Irish were not to "have complete control over their army and navy" lest they may "raise an army of half a million men" and thereby cast a shadow upon Britain's security. They were also to concede certain facilities—accessibility, in times of war, to Irish harbours and creeks, the use of coastal positions for the defence of British commerce and the like. In giving the Free State the benefit of "the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada,"³ care had been taken to indicate that such benefit was to be "subject to the provisions" set out in the Agreement.

The Canadian practice, on the other hand, must have been deemed sufficient to safeguard the judicial privilege of the Crown. Precisely as subjects in that Dominion aggrieved at decisions handed down by courts they could petition to His Majesty for justice that, in their view, had been denied by those courts, so would persons dissatisfied with the judgments delivered by the highest tribunal in the Free State be able to seek redress from the King-in-Council as the fount of justice.

Whether this matter was made plain, at the time, to the members of the Irish delegation or not is not fully clear. It is believed on authority that appears to be credible to the present writer, that the draft Constitution taken from Dublin to London prior to its introduction in the Dail, permitted to function virtually as a Constituent Assembly,⁴ contained no provision to safeguard the judicial privilege of the Crown. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State were to be "final and conclusive" in all cases and incapable of "being reviewed by any other Court, Tribunal or authority whatsoever."

³ Article 2 reads : Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern the relationship to the Irish Free State.

⁴ Article 17 reads : "By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date thereof.

Be this as it may, a proviso safeguarding the Crown's judicial privilege appeared in the Constitution Bill as it was introduced in the Dail. Added to Article 66, it read :

" Nothing in this Constitution shall impair the right of any person to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave."⁵

This proviso was subjected to furious attack in the Dail. Since, however, Mr. Eamonn de Valera and his followers had walked out of that body following the vote ratifying the Treaty in January, 1922, the provisional Government headed by Mr. Liam Mac Cosgair (William T. Cosgrave) was able to carry it through.

They had done so in loyalty to the understanding into which they had entered with His Majesty's Government. They were far from happy, however. They wished their judicial machinery to be fully self-sufficing, no less than did Mr. de Valera and his supporters, known as Irish Republicans. They feared, moreover, that the reviewability of the Supreme Court decisions by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was likely to be used by certain elements unreconciled to the new state to harass her and to endeavour to increase her financial burden. They knew, furthermore, that that limitation would be exploited by their political opponents, who never tired of representing that the Dublin administration was no more than a creature of Britain, tamely carrying out Downing Street's orders. Powerless to alter matters at that stage, they had, however, to bide their opportunity.

The Board of the Privy Council which heard the first petition for leave to review the decisions of the Irish Courts displayed a sympathetic attitude when the Attorney-General of the Irish Free State (Mr. Hugh Kennedy, now Chief Justice of that State, and one of the principal authors of the Constitution) made a carefully worded appeal to give the Free State the benefit of the South African practice in respect of references to that Council. He argued that the Free State, not being federal, as Canada was, no conflict between provinces necessitating the good offices of an external authority was likely to occur. The South African precedent was, on the contrary, much more applicable because both were " unitary " states.

⁵ Article 66 : Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann), Act No. 1 of 1922.

In making that plea Mr. Kennedy knew that the references from the Union of South Africa to the Privy Council were few and that a strong body of opinion there did not favour even these references. The fear must no doubt have entered his mind that, unless care were taken at that stage, the highest tribunal in the Free State may, in effect, have a status no higher than that of the highest tribunal in a Canadian province.

Matters drifted until 1925, when leave to appeal from the decision of the Free State Supreme Court was sought in three cases. It was refused in one and granted in the other two, both having an important bearing upon the Free State administration.

One of these cases related to houses, offices and lands situated in County Dublin. The petitioner (Mr. Francis Lynham) claimed to have become entitled to that property on the death, in August, 1924, of Mrs. MacInerney, who had been tenant for life. In behalf of the Free State Mr. M. W. Jellett, K. C., of the Irish Bar, contended that in virtue of the Land Purchase Act (to which reference will be made later) the tenancy had ceased and that that view had been Court of First Instance and confirmed by the Supreme Court. He upheld in the pleading that "it had already been decided that there was no appeal."

The Board of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Cave), Lord Dunedin and Lord Shaw, nevertheless, granted leave to appeal.⁶ The Free State authorities, already beset with difficulties concerning land purchase operations, took the most serious view of that action.

In the other case the petitioner sought leave to appeal against a decision of the Free State Supreme Court as to the terms of the computation of pensions to judges, members of the police force and civil servants in employ in Ireland prior to the signing of the Treaty. These persons numbered 20,000 and it was contended that this decision had the effect of rendering nugatory and valueless the words of Article 10 of that Treaty.⁷

This contention had been made in the Court of First Instance in the Free State and there had been upheld. The Supreme Court,

⁶ *The Times* (London), December 8, 1925.

⁷ Article 10 of the Treaty reads: The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of the Police Forces and other Public Servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance thereof.

however, reversed the decision. In behalf of the Free State it was argued before the same Board of the Privy Council that the petitioners

“ wanted to get something better than would have been given them by their Government. When they were transferred to the Irish Government they were subject to the existing regulations, and these regulations should govern the basis of fixing pensions and superannuation allowances.”⁸

Leave to appeal was granted. The Free State authorities took a serious view of it. Even at the rates at which they were paying compensation to ex-civil servants and the police the liability was heavy.

Questions asked, subsequently, in Parliament confirmed the Free State's contention. It was admitted that the two Civil Servants (Wigg and Cochrane) were insisting upon payment at a rate in excess of the amount they would have received had they remained in the British Civil Service. The Free State authorities, therefore, had equity on their side.

The action of the Privy Council, in both these cases, had an important repercussion upon the Free State Government. Within a month of it the Minister for Justice (Mr. Kevin O'Higgins) introduced in the Dail a Bill intended to assert definitely the Supreme Court's authority in the Irish Free State and to prevent “ frivolous appeals,” as he put it, from that Court to the King-in-Council.

In presenting this measure, Mr. O'Higgins asserted that an assurance had been given by the British Government to the Free State at the time the Constitution was drafted that the force of the Article referring to the preservation by the Free State of the King's prerogative was to be theoretical rather than practical. Though the Free State Constitution was modelled on that of Canada, it was understood that the practice in regard to appeals to the Privy Council was to follow the South African custom. South Africa, like the Free State and unlike Canada or Australia, was unitary. There could, therefore, be no disputes between State Governments. The number of appeals to the Privy Council was consequently far less in the case of South Africa than in that of either of the other two Dominions.

⁸ *The Times* (London), December 8, 1925.

Mr. O'Higgins contended that in allowing an appeal recently from the Free State Supreme Court the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had made

"a very clear and definite departure from the undertakings given to Irish Ministers at the time when the draft constitution was the subject of joint consideration."

He asked the Dail to declare and to confirm that the interpretation given by the High Court and Supreme Court to the Land Act of 1923 was, and always had been, the correct interpretation. He declared that even on the ground of common sense, apart from any question of status or national sensitiveness, it was, not desirable that appeals should be admitted outside the State in respect of the litigation arising within it. If that line were to be allowed to be developed, it would simply mean that they would get back to the position of the old House of Lords, that appeals lay as of right, and as a matter of course, from, Irish litigation. Any such development would be wrong and dangerous.

Conservative opinion in Britain vigorously upheld the King's judicial privilege. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Cave) stated from the Woolsack in the House of Lords that the introduction in the Dail of this measure to undermine the decision of the Privy Council had created a serious situation. He lay great stress on the right of every British subject to appeal to the King-in-Council.

Lord Darling wrote in *the Times* (London) in much the same strain. He reinforced his lengthy argument by a quotation from "Chapters on the Law relating to the Colonies," by Sir James Tarring, reading:

"It is the settled prerogative of the Crown to receive appeals in Colonial cases. The King has authority by virtue of his prerogative to review the decisions of all Colonial Courts, whether the proceedings be of a civil or criminal character, unless his Majesty has parted with such authority."⁹

To clench his argument, he drew attention to the fact that the Councillors "are not unfrequently assisted by their fellows from the Dominions themselves."

Liberal opinion in Britain was distinctly averse from forcing the Privy Council procedure upon Dominions that chafed against it. Lord

⁹ *The Times* (London), January 29, 1926.

¹⁰ *The Times* (London), March 19, 1926.

Haldane, for instance, reminded his fellow-Peers that Dominions had grown and were growing. If any Dominion made out a case for disposing of justice within her own confines, it would, in his opinion, be difficult for the Imperial Parliament to decline to give effect to her wishes.

The Free States delegates to the Imperial Conference of 1926 tried to induce that Conference to help them in the matter. They stated that they desired the total abolition of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and that that proposal would have the support of some of the other Dominions. That body was too much absorbed in larger questions (relating to the status and powers of the Dominions *vis a vis* Great Britain) to be able to pay attention to this issue.

The Free State Government introduced, in 1928, legislation nullifying the effect of any award handed down by the Privy Council. The Minister for Finance (Mr. Blythe) definitely stated that that State would not, in future, be represented before that Council in any case; that any private litigant who appealed to that Council did so at his own risk; that any decision given by the Council contrary to that of the Free State Supreme Court would be rendered nugatory.

In February of that year a Conservative Member of Parliament (Sir William Davison) called the attention of the Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. L. A. S. Amery), by means of a question to the fact that the Free State had refused to pay to ex-Civil Servants a farthing more than the compensation to which they were entitled in terms of the Irish Supreme Court decision. To his surprise, the Colonial Secretary replied that "no injustice was being done towards the Civil Servants as they were being put on a basis corresponding to that of the British Civil Servants in Great Britain." He declined to take any notice of the point that these men were being "deprived of the right which they had under Article 10 of the Treaty" as decided by the Privy Council in the case already referred to.

Sir William Davison, joined by the Lord Carson, Lord Danesport and Mr. Basil Peto, indited a letter to the *Times* in which, after referring to Mr. Amery's statement as "something incredible," they stated:

"We are therefore confronted, not only with a betrayal by the British Government of rights of Irish Civil Servants which the Treaty and successive British Governments had solemnly guaranteed, but

with a constitutional issue of the most far-reaching consequences, which affects not only the Irish Free State, but all the self-governing Dominions. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Amery's statement embodies the considered judgment of the British Government. It will and must, be challenged in both Houses of Parliament."

These and similar other protests had no effect upon the Free State authorities. They refused to recognize the reversal by the Privy Council of any Supreme Court decision.

In April, 1930, a Board of that Council consisting of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Sankey), Lord Blanesburgh, Lord Hanworth, Lord Thankerton and Lord Russel of Killowen, reviewed the position at some length. The opportunity was furnished to them by a petition made by the Performing Right Society Limited, who alleged infringement of the Society's copyright in two musical compositions on August 11, 1926. The Court of First Instance decided in their favour but the Supreme Court reversed that decision. The Copyright Act, placed on the Dublin statute book in 1927, repealed the (Imperial) Copyright Act of 1911 retroactively, as from December 6, 1921—the date of the Treaty. The Supreme Court held that the acquisition of the copyright in these compositions was subsequent to that date. Since the Irish Act did not otherwise preserve or create copyright "except in works first published in the Irish Free State, or of which the authors were citizens of or resident in the Irish Free State, the Society was, in the Supreme Court's view, without any protection at all."

The Board of the Privy Council held that there had been infringement of copyright, but in view of the retroactive nature of the Act of 1927, the society was debarred from obtaining the relief it sought. Since, however, the Counsel for the respondents (the Bray Urban District Council) had contended that the Board had no jurisdiction, Lord Sankey took the opportunity to declare :

"the Privy Council was of opinion that it had been concluded by the Constitution of the Irish Free State itself (that the Board possessed jurisdiction to hear this case). The Privy Council could not think that the words 'His Majesty in Council,' as used in the Irish Free State Constitution and in both Acts of Parliament to which it was scheduled meant anything else than the Privy Council on whose advice the King acted in dealing with appeals from the Dominions."

Opinion in Dominions other than the Irish Free State had, in the meantime, been hardening against the right of appeal to the judicial

Committee. It was felt that such a procedure militated against the new Dominion concept of equality in status. British politicians might talk as much as they pleased about distinguished lawyers from overseas sitting on the Judicial Committee Board: but their presence on that body did not alter the fact that in matters judicial each Dominion was not self-contained as she was in other respects.

A motion had been introduced in 1927 by Mr. Theriault in the provincial legislature of Quebec to put an end to the Privy Council appeals. It was born of the chagrin caused by the Judicial Committee disallowing, some time earlier, Quebec's claim to Labrador. To allay resentment Dr. Taschereau, the Liberal statesman, recalled that, in other cases, the same Committee had decided in their favour and that, being British subjects, they must retain the right to go to the foot of the throne.

In the (Dominion) Criminal Code of Canada a section was, however, inserted that purported to take away the right of appeal to the Privy Council in criminal cases. That section had to be repealed, because in passing it the Dominion legislature had ignored the legal limitations imposed upon it by the Colonial Laws Validity Act.

At the Imperial Conference of 1930 it was decided to repeal legislation that was in conflict with the new status of the Dominions. The Statute of Westminster of 1931 repealed the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act of 1860, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 and the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1895. Shortly afterwards Canada re-enacted the section forbidding appeals in criminal cases to the Privy Council;¹¹ and the Oireachtas passed an amendment to the Constitution abolishing such right in all cases.¹²

Issues arising from such legislation came up for consideration in June, 1935, before a Board consisting of the Lord Chancellor (Lord Sankey), Lord Atkin, Lord Tomlin, Lord MacMillan and Lord Wright. Special leave was sought by Major R. L. Moore and others to appeal from a majority judgment of the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State dismissing an action for alleged trespass of certain fishing rights claimed by the petitioners in the tidal portion of the river Erne in County Denegal. It was submitted that the amendment abrogating the right of appeal to the Privy Council was repugnant to the Treaty.

¹¹ Section 17 of 23 and 24 Geo. V. c. 53.

¹² The Constitution (Amendment No. 22) Act, 1933.

The Board held, however, that since the Statute of Westminster had repealed the Colonial Laws Validity Act forbidding a Dominion to pass a law repugnant to an Imperial Statute, the competence of the Irish Free State to pass such an amendment¹³ could not be questioned. In their Lordships' opinion that Statute gave the Free State "a power under which they could abrogate the Treaty, and, as a matter of law, they had availed themselves of that power."

The Lord Chancellor and his learned colleagues refrained from expressing any "opinion on any contractual obligations under which, regard being had to the terms of the Treaty, the Irish Free State lay." The petition, having failed, was dismissed.

Even if that State could be legally convicted of having broken the pact upon which her existence was based, it would have been hardly politic to take any action against her, at least in a matter of this kind. As noted earlier in the article, that instrument did not specifically lay any such obligation upon the Free State. Except in specified matters she was to model her governmental policy on the Canadian pattern; and Canada had chosen to make her criminal courts independent of the Privy Council.

It so happened that the Canadian competence to pass measure this was also tested in June of this year. The British Coal Corporation and four other companies importing coal into Quebec, had been convicted on the charge of "combining together with a view to unduly restricting the coal industry," as stated by one of the judges, and fined \$30,000. They sought redress from the Quebec Court of the King's Bench (Appeals side) but failed to secure it.

In advising the Crown to dismiss their petition, a Board of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, presided over by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Sankey) clarified the constitutional position by pronouncing:

".....the North America Act, 1867, invested the Dominion Parliament, by necessary intendment, in cases within its jurisdiction, with the power to regulate or prohibit appeals to the King-in-Council. Before the Statute of Westminster the Dominion Legislature was subject to the limitations imposed by the Colonial Laws Validity Act, and also by the principle of rule that its powers were limited by the Doctrine forbidding extraterritorial legislation. These limitations had

¹³ *Ibid.*

now been abrogated by the Statute. The section in question was valid and barred the right of appeal in criminal matters."¹⁴

The amendment to the Constitution that put an end to the exercise in the Free State of the Crown's judicial prerogative was passed at Mr. de Valera's insistence. He, however, built upon the foundations laid by his predecessor, Mr. Liam T. MacCosgair and his colleagues, particularly Mr. Kevin O'Higgins (who was assassinated on July 10, 1927) and Mr. Ernest Blythe.

Returned repeatedly to the Dail at the head of nearly 50 members, Mr. de Valera refused, for years, to enter that Assembly on the plea that he could not conscientiously take the "oath" to a "foreign" King, incorporated in the Treaty and the Constitution. Protracted and bitter wrangles are known to have taken place during the negotiations over the position to be accorded to the Crown in the polity of the Irish Free State. They were finally ended by a formula, in the drafting of which Lord Birkenhead is believed to have had a large hand. In its final form (Article 4) "the oath to be taken by Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State," appeared to reconcile British Imperialism with Irish patriotism.¹⁵

Mr. Lloyd George waxed enthusiastic in the House of Commons over the advantages it secured to Britain. There had been, he stated, "complete acceptance of allegiance to the British Crown and acceptance of membership in the Empire and acceptance of common citizenship."¹⁶

It was, on the contrary, put to Irishmen by their countrymen who had set their hands to this instrument and their partisans that the primary allegiance of the Irish Members of the Oireachtas would be "to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established." They added that these members did not pledge *allegiance* to his Majesty King George V., his heirs and

¹⁴ *The Times* (Weekly Edition), London, June 13, 1935.

¹⁵ This Article, as translated into the constitution, reads:

"The oath to be taken by members of the Oireachtas shall be in the following form:—
'I.....do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H. M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

"Such oath shall be taken and subscribed by every member of the Oireachtas before taking his seat therein before the representative of the Crown or some person authorised by him."

¹⁶ *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 149, No. 1. Col. 33.*

successors—they bound themselves only to be “faithful.” They did so, moreover, not because he was the sovereign of Great Britain, but constituted because he was the link connecting “the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.”

Left to himself, Mr. de Valera would, it is said, have persevered in the line of action to which he had committed himself; but yielding to his followers, he finally swallowed the “oath” and entered the Dail at the head of his (the Fiana Fail) contingent. He made no secret of his intention to expunge that formula from the Constitution as soon as he could. And he did so, at the earliest opportunity.

Such unilateral action was patently in direct contravention of one of the most important articles contained in the Treaty; and there is little doubt that His Majesty’s Government must have protested against it. No punitive action was, however, taken, because it must have been realised that “faithfulness” to his Majesty, enforced through duress, would not be worth much.

* * * *

ONLY in one matter has the Free State been subjected to punitive action in the endeavour to make her alter her course that prejudicially affected British citizens. In this case the damage could be assessed in hard cash, for Mr. de Valera had refused to meet the obligations in respect of land annuities floated by the Cosgrave Government, assumed to liquidate landlordism in the Free State.

Tenancies were *compulsorily* to be purchased at fifteen times the rental value. The cost of the operations was estimated to total some £20,000,000. The owners were to be paid the capitalised value of the land and buildings standing thereon in annuities which were to be guaranteed by His Majesty’s Government.

Many landlords grumbled at the terms forced upon them. One of them—Lord Lansdowne writing to the *Times* gave the following instance in support of his contention that the purchase price was inadequate:

“It is almost superfluous to dwell upon the hardship involved in cases where the owners have spent money in the improvement of their estates. In a case to which my attention has lately been drawn

the farm, 81 acres, was valued for Poor Law purposes at £ 16 and 'was let prior to 1881 for £ 22. The judicial rent for the first term was £19 and for the second term £15-10s. This farm will be acquired by the sitting tenant under the Act of 1923 for £212. 14s., and he will for the future have to pay, in lieu of rent, an annuity of £10. 1s. 6d. The owner will receive £ 233. 6s. 3d. He had spent £ 223. 14s. on the farm buildings. The tenant right of this holding has lately been acquired by another farmer for £1,025.'¹⁷

Lord Lansdowne added :

"It will not be forgotten that the question of purchase terms was fully discussed by the Convention in 1918, and that the Bill of 1920, founded on the report of the Convention, fixed 20 years' purchase as a reasonable figure. This proposal found acceptance both in the North and South of Ireland. Members of the then Government announced, in speeches which have often been quoted, that this rate of purchase would form the basis of any new scheme of land purchase.'¹⁸

Mr. Patrick Hogan, the Member for Agriculture in the Cosgrave Government, who had worked out and carried through the Dail the scheme, told the present writer that the landlords were offered much more generous terms under the Wyndham Act but would not sell. He had, hence, left them no option. Land purchase was to be compulsory.

He scouted the notion of hardship. He challenged his critics to compare the provisions of his Act with those of similar legislation in some of the middle European states (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania). He was confident that they would find the European measures confiscatory, placed alongside his scheme.

Before entering the Dail, Mr. de Valera had declared that he would save some £3,000,000 a year to the Free State by refusing to pay the land annuities. Soon after he came into power he carried out that intention.

His Majesty's Government retaliated by imposing a surcharge upon Irish imports into Britain and utilising the money so realized to the pay annuities. The losses inflicted upon Irish producers and shippers have been aggravated by the retaliatory measures taken by Mr. de Valera. Irishmen have, indeed been hard hit.

¹⁷ February 2, 1926.

¹⁸ *The Times* (London), February 2, 1926.

Instead of being flooded out of office by the rising tide of discontent and resentment, as it was predicted by critics at home and abroad he would be, Mr. de Valera appears to have improved his position in the Dail. The recent bye-elections have resulted in his having a clear majority over all parties and relieved him of his dependence upon Labour.

Efforts to find a *modus vivendi* to adjust the differences over the annuities are being made. Britain and the Free State are economically interdependent and this sort of warfare cannot last for long.

Even though Mr. de Valera has emphasized separation by legislation regulating "Irish citizenship" and has expressed his intention to abolish the office of the "representative of the Crown in the Irish Free State," the issues that, in the past, created friction between the two nations have been mostly adjusted by statesmanship on either side and, sometimes, by the spirit of *laissez faire* upon Britain's part. The feeling is growing that in the event of hostilities, Britain may well count upon at least the benevolent neutrality of the Free State.*

(Concluded.)

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WHITHER AMERICA

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I

SINCE the popularisation of the psychological method in the interpretation of politics by men like Graham Wallas and Walter Lippman it has become difficult to admit of absolute truth in any spoken or written word. The speaker or the writer always fails to separate his ideas from what Mr. Lippman calls his "stereotypes," the presence of which makes the interpretation of events objectively difficult. For by the very act of interpretation the facts are mixed with opinions and presented with adjectives which represent no special opinions except those of the author. Therefore were it not for the fact that opinions on any topic are varied and numerous it would be an easy thing to fall a prey to one type of thought. Happily all the different opinions, resultant of the numerous "stereotypes," compete for our allegiance in a way that is suggestive of the particular wills of the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau. And like the *Contrat Social* again, from these competing opinions emerges a general opinion which may be regarded as near reality as possible.

But to reach this "general opinion" is not an easy matter. It requires of the individual an effort to understand or at least to know the main currents of opinion, and this effort is sadly lacking in the average person. It requires of him a technique of assimilation and rationalisation which, if he belongs to the average class, he may not venture to possess. Often an individual is content to be the slave of one body of doctrine, which means that he accepts certain "stereotypes" as valid for his own purposes. He is tempted not to assimilate opinions contrary to what he deems his own but to reject them as invalid. It is here that his interpretation of the environment is most faulty and his consequential impact upon this environment devoid of valid content.

This article does not pretend to be without certain "stereotypes" of its own, and therefore, does not lay claim to that objectivity which though desirable is happily unattainable. For the interpretation of

facts and events is largely determined by the ends such an interpretation may be required to serve, and the ends themselves depend upon one's conception of the "best" in a society. Take, for instance two conceptions, that of capitalism and socialism: it is clear that under the concept of capitalism the value of all facts and ideas will be judged in so far as they promote the well-being of a particular class of persons. The welfare of this class is equated with the welfare of humanity. The term "general good" under such an interpretation, therefore, signifies the welfare of this class and the resultant value judgments are distorted to suit particular ends.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that under the concept of socialism the value of all facts are judged under a totally different set of value judgments. The "general good" here means the good of the proletariat, which, according to this interpretation, embodies all humanity. It is interesting to note that the capitalists in this view do not come under the category of humanity. The disabilities, for instance, put upon the bourgeois and the capitalist class in Russia is too well known to need mention.

If it is true that objectivity requires the individual to note the negative of every positive, it is also true that he will only do so at the expense of consistency, at least in the world of hard reality. To reconcile capitalism with socialism without destroying the essential meaning of either is a significantly difficult adventure, and yet, this is precisely what President Roosevelt has attempted to achieve in America.

II

The task confronting Mr. Roosevelt is fraught with great difficulties and complexities. But his palliatives have been no less complex. They seek to compromise forces that are in their nature irreconcilable; they seek to achieve a radical order with the help of the forces of reaction. The President has attempted to mould the system of traditional competitive economy into the framework of an elaborately planned economy. He has created without supplanting. He has sought to build a futuristic outlook in the formulation of his plans without destroying the forces that stand in the way. Not only that, he has sought the active co-operation of forces that have nothing in common with his objectives.

Such is the herculean task the President has imposed upon himself. The partial success he has obtained, considering the forces against which he was working, is of no mean order, and justly constitutes an achievement he may be proud of. On the other hand it also explains his ultimate failure. The tragedy of the President is, perhaps, that he belongs to a period of transition. He was confronted with a particular situation and he had to make the best of it. His opportunism had to be immediate if it was to be successful and indeed the first few weeks of his administration, after he took office in March, 1933, did realise to some extent the prospects of a new order.

But it was clear that the durational stability of the "New Deal" was not sound. It was founded on opportunism, and opportunism is notorious in never regarding anything in terms of "long periods." The value and prestige of the President's policy therefore rested, like the forces with which he was co-operating, upon a continuous movement forward on the ladder of at least a semblance of success. A halt meant not stability but retrogression. His methods were so dubious that their justification had to be explained only in terms of the success achieved and not in any inherent value of their own. They depended, to be plain, upon increasing profits in terms of success and a cessation of such a process meant a return towards depression.

The President sought to improve the conditions of labour by appealing to the welfare of the capitalists. He endeavoured to make poor people rich by making the rich richer. He strove to bring prosperity to his country by destroying a great part of its real wealth.

On the surface at least such a remedy appears more the result of insanity than of rational judgment. It might with greater justice be applied to Laputa than to a normal place like the U.S.A. But on a deeper analysis the justification for the President's hesitant and contradictory policy seems to lie on a clear foundation, and what is revealed is less the failure of his efforts than the success he has achieved in spite of the limited tools with which he had to carry on his operations.

President's "New Deal" had to work in an uncongenial environment. It sought to minimise the baneful effects of cut-throat competition by co-operating with Big Business. It worked with and by means of capitalism in order to neutralise the ultimates of capitalism. Yet it could not have worked in any other way. The country was not ripe for socialism in March, 1933, or for the matter of that, it still is not. On the other hand, Capitalism as a

system had demonstrably failed to correlate, in any satisfactory way, the communal welfare curve with the private profit curve. The position of equilibrium had been left far behind, and what stood in high relief was the excess of the positivity of the private profit curve over the negativity of the communal welfare curve.

But if Big Business had demonstrated its inability to work for the welfare of the whole, it by no means evinced any desire to abdicate from its hard won position of authority. And since it was one of the major social forces in the American Community, any plan, the impact of which was universal, had to take account of this factor. Hence the initial difficulty of President Roosevelt's New Deal. Even the moderate attempts on the part of the President to ameliorate the conditions of labour did not evince from the Big Business any encouraging response. Big Business chose to interpret in its own way section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act in effect nullifying the advantages of collective bargaining acquired by the Trade Unions. It did this in defiance of the recovery Administration, which could do nothing but recognise the *fait accompli*, in fact if not in principle. General Johnson, for instance, admitted in a public statement on August 4, 1933, the right of the employers under section 7 (a) to form Company Unions.

Much as has the Section 7 (a) been subjected to interested interpretations, it shows clearly the extent to which there is a difference of interest between capital and labour. Big Business co-operated with the President to raise prices but it was not so enthusiastic in endeavouring to raise the general level of wages. Big Business resisted stubbornly the supplanting of craft unionism by industrial unionism, and although the decision of the National Labour Board, in the Berkeley Woolen Mills Dispute, August, 1933, registered the triumph of the latter principle there was no guarantee that the employers would respect the decision, as they could always count upon the difference of opinion between the Judiciary and the Administration.¹ For instance in the election dispute at the Weirton Steel Plant, the Company refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the National Labour Board in the matter of elections. On the point being referred to the U.S.A. District Court at Wilmington in May, 1934, the latter, instead of issuing an injunction to restrain the

¹ *ECONOMIC JOURNAL*, December 1934, page 601.

Company from taking any part in the election of its employees' representatives, decided that the constitutionality of the N.R.A. itself was in doubt; therefore it could give no decision.¹ In another dispute between the Administration and the Harriman Hosiery Mills, the Department of Justice reported that the Company had violated no "law or provision or code."² In face of such an attitude from the Judiciary, the Administration was hampered at every step by the selfish tactics of the employers, in effect making it very difficult for the provisions of Section 7 (a) to be applied in any effective sense for the benefit of the Trade Unions. The employers always asserting the counter-right to form their own Company Unions. Their refusal to recognise Trade Unions for the purpose of collective bargaining finally culminated in the Textile Strike of September, 1934.

III

These are ominous for the future. They challenge our equanimity. They defy our sense of stability. They upset violently our sense of established values and demand from us a reorientation of them in terms of the newer social forces. They make us doubt the validity of the present social order. We begin to suspect the eternal verity of the philosopher Pangloss' proposition: What is right³ and ask ourselves if we cannot help in bringing about a change. We begin to feel that there is no halo of sanctity about the present social order except that of antiquity and that its foundations are as much the result of accidents of an accident as its consequences are the result of tenacity.

It is clear that our age is an age of transition. In a sense every age is an age of transition. But none has witnessed so great a need for the dissolution of established values than the present. The sooner we realise this fact in its full potentiality the better it is for us. We should try and get rid of the false notion that to make a deliberate attempt in interfering with our environment is to sin against the rationality of nature. We should not be inclined to admit the existence of disease to be rational because Hegel said: "was ist

¹ *ibid.*

² *ibid.*

³ Voltaire : *Candide*.

vernünftig das ist wirklich, und was wirklich ist das ist vernünftig." If the force of tradition impels us to regard the present with veneration, history at least teaches us to cast away the shackles of the present and look more towards the future.

The fermentation of social forces is world-wide and the U.S.A. is but an item in it; though an item that may, if fate permits, be destined to achieve the position of a pioneer. Ideas like, for instance, those of the late Thorstein Veblen, Howard Scott, Frederick Ackermann, Basset Jones, and others belonging to the "Technical Alliance" are not regarded by the average orthodox and conservative thinker as normal. Yet they are distinctly futuristic in outlook. The "Energy Survey of North America," conducted by professor Rautenstrauch and Howard Scott in 1932, does indeed represent a novel approach to social problems. It indicates the rebellion of the American mind from the traditional ways of thought. It reveals specially the role that technology may play in sociological research.

But the immediate problem of the U.S.A. is so to widen the sphere of its constitutional system as to be able successfully to meet new demands. The Constitution was made for the XVIII century. It has to expand more and more if it is to function successfully in the XX century. A certain amount of necessary expansion has of course taken place by the interpretation of the Supreme Court. Its decision in *Gibbon v. Ogdon* (1824), for instance, showed the extent to which the Congress could assume powers under the Commerce Clause. On the other hand the Supreme Court has also proved an obstacle to reform. Its judgement in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (1911) lacked completely any regard for humanitarian principles. And since the decision was obtained by a majority of five to four it revealed clearly the dubiousness of giving political powers to a number of lawyers. The Judiciary has, as a rule, been an obstacle to progressive legislation. It has refused the Congress the right to legislate for the benefit of female labour.¹ It has ended in the *Schechter* case, by invalidating the N. R. A. itself. This registers the culmination of its antagonism with the forces of progress. It is a challenge to all that gives meaning to the "Roosevelt Revolution." It strives to put the clock of progress back to the pre-Rooseveltian regime. By

¹ *Adkins v. The Children's Hospital* (1928), 261, U. S., 525.

doing this it has surely invited trouble. Two things at least are clear from this: (a) It has definitely ranged itself against the process of change even at the risk of its own safety ; and (b) the American Constitution does not provide a body of framework adequate to the needs of modern society.

IV

The implications are clear. It is first of all obvious that the Constitution must change if it is to live, and it can only thus change by periodic amendment, failing this the forces of change are bound to mobilise for a revolution and revolution is not a cheap process. Its prevention can only be affected in two ways: (a) by conceding to the demands of the ever-changing environment, say by means of constitutional amendments, or, in some cases, by a liberal judicial interpretation ; and (b) perpetuating the existing evils and mobilising all the powers of the state for a drastic suppression of any signs of discontent. The former is more permanent and stable when realised but the latter is easier to achieve, though it needs ever greater powers of coercion to keep it intact. Ultimately, however, when the rate of increase of coercion becomes negative or even constant instead of positively inclined, the onset of a revolution may not be resisted any longer, and its advent is marked by all kinds of excesses, in proportion to the momentum gained by suppression.

But experience, with one exception,¹ argues in favour of fascism as the normal sequel to a transitional crisis² since, in spite of its ultimate failure being guaranteed, it takes much less initial effort to gain recognition than the alternative of a progressive change. It, moreover, does not offend against the susceptibilities of the conservative, who is thus assured of an alliance between the state's coercive power and the *status quo*. Experience of the last few years clearly justifies this hypothesis. It shows at least that improving the health of the state by fascism is like improving the health of the individual through drink. And just as it is difficult for the individual to embark upon total abstinence, though good for him in the long run, so is it difficult for the state to embark upon a policy of social regeneration in the reorientated perspective of a newer environment.

¹ Soviet Russia.

² Prof H. J. Laski : *The State in Theory and Practice*, Chapter 4.

V

What would be the future of America in the light of this argument? It is clear that Roosevelt's attempt had been to achieve social regeneration without resort to violent means. But his failure was certain since his very assumptions led to contradictions. He wanted the co-operation of reactionary elements to achieve radical reforms. He applied the strategy of fascism to achieve socialism. It may be that the contradictions involved in his policy have on the one hand increased the ambition of subtle but unscrupulous men like Senator Huey Long ; and on the other, have led to the demented utterances of men like Father Coughlin. The recent refusal of the Senate to endorse the President's adherence to the World Court was mainly the achievement of Father Coughlin's and Will Roger's radio speeches and the indefatigable campaign of the Hearst Newspapers which led to "a last minute avalanche of at least 40,000 anti-Court telegrams." ¹

The failure of President Roosevelt may, therefore, mean either the emergence of fascism or a social revolution. Of these the latter seems much less likely, because the Americans are not sufficiently class conscious to achieve a revolution on these lines. The American Federation of Labour, for instance, represents more the bourgeois section of labour than labour in general. The I. W. W. is of course more radical, but it is too incoherently organised to be able to command respectable attention.

The onset of fascism in America can perhaps be prevented if the President succeeds in securing an amendment to the Constitution restricting the powers of the Supreme Court to nullify the legislative programme of the Administration. To achieve this a favourable public opinion is necessary. Perhaps the President's recent legislative programme may be a step in this direction. The Wagner Labour Disputes Bill, empowering the President to intervene effectively in strikes ; the Social Security Bill ; The Public Utility Holding Company Bill ; and the so-called Guffey Bill setting up a miniature N. R. A. for the Coal Industry, are all amenable to the judicial veto. The President may be deliberately challenging the Supreme Court to veto them in order to accumulate a mass of evidence for the public against the narrowness of the Constitution and the necessity for its amendment. Such a situation may not be different from that which confronted the House of

¹ Raymond Buell : quoted from H. G. Well's *The New America : The New World*.

Commons in 1910 in its conflict with the House of Lords. The adventure of legislative obstruction upon which the latter had embarked in 1906 ended in their defeat four years later. To a certain extent, like the Supreme Court in America, the House of Lords has stood for the vested interests of the nation. It achieved the defeat of 1910 mainly through its over-zealousness for such vested interests. The moral may denote a similar fate for the Supreme Court. One thing which makes the prospect of a constitutional amendment more likely than the emergence of fascism in America is first, the size of the country, and secondly, the federal nature of its authority. The example of Italy, Germany or Austria will not be of such significance in relation to it, because of its total dissimilarity with them. Italy, Germany or Austria have all had an authoritarian tradition extending to centuries and their move towards fascism has been merely a change of bottles. Their underlying philosophies of government had not changed. America, on the other hand, was born to civilisation with liberty in its mouth. It was a New Jerusalem for the harassed victims of religious persecution. The Constitution was framed in the spirit of liberty and that tradition has continued ever since. The interest of that liberty might be much better served by showing its compatibility with the increase in the constitutional powers of the central government through the process of an amendment than the assumption of fascist powers by the government for fascist ends.

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JUDGMENT AS SUPERIMPOSITION.¹

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The logic of the Neo-Hegelians may be regarded, if we accept the principle that every reality must somehow fall within the realm of consciousness,² as having established the view, that judgment as an act of living thought is not a combination of ideas by means of a copula. The arguments in its favour are too well known to need elaboration here. The fundamental defect of the theory refuted lies in the fact, that if we can move only within the realm of mere ideas, there is no way of getting at the objective fact. And this defect lends further support to the idealistic view that all reality must fall on this side of consciousness. Nor is the judgment the adding of an idea to an objective reality *by us*. The defects of this view too have been exposed by many Neo-Hegelians, though the misleading expression of Bradley that judgment is the reference of an ideal content to reality seems to countenance it.³ Even Bosanquet adopts the same terminology.⁴ But Bradley is careful to notice in his "Additional Notes" that regarding reality as being 'beyond the act' of judgment raises some important metaphysical issues.⁵ Though he at first attempts to avoid metaphysics, he later on admits that such an attempt is inconsistent.⁶ Therefore according to the maturer view of Bradley himself, the metaphysical problems raised by the above expression cannot be ignored even by logic. And this admission should naturally lead to a re-definition of logical concepts. Bosanquet too seems to be conscious of this difficulty when he asserts that no hard and fast distinction can be made between the "given" and its "extension," i.e., the subject and the predicate.⁷

What is of importance in this view is the claim of thought to be objective; which fact was first asserted by Hegel. He writes: "The need to think of the Absolute as subject, has led men to make use of statements like 'God is the eternal,' the 'moral order of the world,' or 'love,' etc. In such proposition the truth is just barely stated to be Subject, but not set forth as the process of reflectively mediating itself with itself..... The anticipation that the Absolute is subject is therefore not merely not the realisation of this conception; it even makes realisation impossible. For it makes out the notion to be a static point, while its actual reality is self-movement, self-activity."⁸ What Hegel

¹ In support of this paper, the whole system of Sankara's Metaphysics can be adduced. But no such attempt is made in order to avoid complications and to place the central point in as simple a way as possible before western readers who may not have acquaintance enough with Indian philosophy. The student who is well versed in Indian philosophy should regard the paper as a possible development of Sankara's views rather than as an exposition. He should also notice that the discussion is in a Hegelian, and not in a Sankarite setting.

² I am using the term consciousness not in the Hegelian sense of conceptual thought merely, but in the sense which includes every aspect of conscious life, like the higher intuition, feeling, etc.

³ P. 10, *Principles of Logic*.

⁴ P. 71, *Logic*, Vol. I.

⁵ P. 39, *Principles of Logic*.

⁶ P. 591, *Ibid.*

⁷ P. 72, *Logic*, Vol. I.

⁸ P. 84, *Phenomenology*.

says of the judgment of the Absolute holds good of every judgment. If the predicate is regarded, not as put forth by the subject itself, not as belonging to its being, but as belonging to us, and attached by us to the subject, the latter becomes a bare point of reference.

What is the nature of this putting form of the predicate by the subject? The Hegelians would say that it is the self-articulation of the subject. According to Jones, "Thought seizes upon an indefinite reality and articulates it into a system."¹ The view is the same as that of Bosanquet and many other Neo-Hegelians. Even according to Hegel, "The judgment is the notion in its particularity."² This particularisation means specification or differentiation.³

Is the whole that thus particularises itself the subject itself or something else? According to the view of Hegelians like Bosanquet and Jones when the whole divides itself into a number of particulars, except in disjunction, one of them becomes the predicate and the rest subject. Living thought "deals with a universal which by its instrumentality sunders into subject and predicates and remains nevertheless a single concrete totality or systematic unity of differences."⁴ We never "begin with a ready made subject, to which a Predicate is added by a subsequent transition."⁵ As the subject is one of the elements of the whole, it cannot be the whole. Though the ultimate subject of every judgment is declared to be the whole reality, the proximate subject, except in the case of the disjunctive judgment, is not the proximate whole.

If this theory is accepted, some difficulties crop up. First in the judgment "The rose is red" are we to regard the rose and the red as two elements of a whole? If so, the subject rose can never be the full rose, but the rose minus the red. That is, if the whole rose is a complex whole of elements *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, and if *d* is the predicate, then the subject is constituted by the elements *a*, *b*, and *c*. Thus in the above example we should mean that smell plus shape plus weight, etc., (of the rose) is red. But such an interpretation is obviously false. The mere combination of the attributes can never be red. And the absurdity becomes more plain if the whole is known to be constituted by only two elements, because we would then be attributing one element to the other.

Further, the Hegelian interpretation removes from the copula the most important element of its significance, *viz.*, the relation of the identity of being. The copula, though it does not equate the two terms, signifies that the predicate is part and parcel of the subject. In the judgment "the rose is red," the relation between the rose and the red is not the same as the relation between the red and the other attributes of the rose. The smell and colour of the rose are no doubt closely related, but they are not identical as are the rose and the red. One may say that the relation in both the cases is identity in difference, but even then one should acknowledge that it is not the same kind of identity in difference. The red as the predicate of the rose, belongs to its very being, and this relation is represented by the copula. But it does not belong to the being of the

¹ P. 359, *Philosophy of Lotze*.

² P. 297, *Wallace, The Logic of Hegel*.

³ P. 294, *Ibid.*

⁴ P. 366, *Jones, Philosophy of Lotze*.

⁵ P. 80, *Bosanquet, Logic, Vol. I*.

smell in the same sense. That is why we do not say that the smell of the rose is red.¹

If we, therefore, regard the whole which thus particularises itself as the subject, what would be the nature of the relation between it and the predicate? Most of the idealists, following Hegel, hold that the relation is organic. Says Hegel: "The copula 'is' springs from the nature of the notion, to be self-identical even in parting with its own. The individual and the universal are its constituents, and therefore characters which cannot be isolated."² That is, the implication between the subject and the predicate is mutual. But that it is not mutual can be shown from the following considerations.

First, the substratum or the ground of the judgment is the subject itself as has been shown above. Secondly, the predicate *as such* cannot be included in the subject and be part of its very being. For example, in the judgment, "The rose is red," the red as something distinct from the rose does not constitute the being of the rose. It is the negative of the subject, its other, and as such it is not the subject.³ According to Hegel, in the logical foundation of the judgment which is the notion, every part is equal to every other part and to the whole.⁴ If the whole is in such a "transparent unity" with itself, there is no possibility of distinguishing its elements, for want of a principle of distinction. Any part to be distinguished from the rest must have something opaque to them. Hence the predicate, as it loses its differentia when it enters the being of the subject, cannot as such be included in the subject. In the third place, the subject is not affected by the making or unmaking of the judgment. In the example, "The rose is red," it is not the rose minus the red that is the subject, but the whole rose. It cannot be objected that the rose as the original unity, which put forth the judgment, is not the same as the unity reached when the judgment is perfected by removing its contradictions, just as the Notion as Notion, which develops into judgment, is not the same as the Idea, which is a development of the judgment, because the notion becomes richer at the stage of the idea. The objection may be true if the development in the individual's consciousness is taken into consideration. But logically the ground of a judgment and its objective or ideal are the same. Even Hegel says: "The Absolute is the universal, and one idea, which by an

¹ Bosanquet may say that as he recognises no copula besides the subject and predication (p. 75, *Logic*, Vol. I), the objection is irrelevant. But if he distinguishes between the subject and predication, it is difficult to understand that they together form the whole without an ideal relation between them. The use of the word predication, instead of the word predicate, does not solve the difficulty. Is predication a process or not? If not, it means nothing more than the ideal content which is the predicate; and certainly requires a relation in order to be related with the subject. If, on the other hand, it is a process, then is it our process of referring the ideal content to the subject, or is it the articulation of the whole into the subject and the predicate, or is it the process of the predicate? In the first case, predication would be subjective, which the Hegelian himself would not accept. In the case of the third alternative, it is evidently the process of the predicate which is something, and the reference by the predicate of itself to the subject is nothing but the relation represented by the copula. In the second case, the predication would be, not that of the subject, but of the whole. And even then there is the need for a relation between the whole and its differences. All that Bosanquet can say, on his own principles, is that just as there is no subject without a predicate and *vice versa*, there is no relation or copula without the terms and no terms without the relation.

² P. 298, Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*.

³ The point raises the further question whether negativity or negation is preserved in the Absolute. Its solution will take us rather too far. At this place, it is enough for us to note that the predicate as a distinct idea cannot remain the same in the whole as it loses its determinateness in it. An ellipse does not remain an ellipse when one of its axes is reduced to a point.

⁴ P. 229, Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*.

act of 'judgment,' particularises itself to a system of specific ideas ; which after all are constrained by their nature to come back to the one idea where their truth lies." ¹ And if the Absolute Idea is eternally perfect, there is no meaning in saying that it becomes richer through judgment. Similar is the case with the judgment about the rose. Lastly, though the subject does not depend on the predicate for its existence, the predicate does depend on the subject. It owes its very being to the latter. In the absence of the subject, it can have no ground to stand upon, and sinks into nothingness. As we have shown above, the subject is the original unity and foundation which particularises itself into the judgment. But when the otherness between the subject and predicate is removed, the subject remains in "transparent unity" with itself, though the predicate as such disappears. We can therefore rightly conclude that the subject is not dependent upon the predicate. To the objection of Bosanquet that S and P are two inseparable elements of a whole, ² and that there is no transition from S to P, ³ we have to point out that his objection is based on the wrong view that it is not S itself that makes the act of judgment, but something else which includes both S and P. Even according to Hegel, there is a logical transition from S to P. For the Absolute Idea as the Ultimate Subject makes a judgment to unfold the lower categories. This transition is not merely psychological or mental. It is logical in the sense that the judgment, in which the subject issues itself forth as its other, implies as its ideal the state of the subject when it is perfect unity with itself.

If therefore, the subject as the foundation of the judgment does not depend for its existence on the subject as such, while the predicate, on the other hand, depends on the subject, the relation between the subject and the predicate cannot be organic in the sense in which Hegel and the Hegelians understood it. No doubt, the predicate belongs to the being of the subject, not because the predicate with its determinateness is an element of the subject's being, but because the being of the predicate is the being of the subject itself. If the predicated content has no relation to existence given in the subject, it cannot even find a place in logic, for it would then be merely subjective. Yet the determinateness of the predicate cannot enter the integrality of the subject as has been shown above.

If the relation between the subject and predicate cannot be organic, what else would it be? The idea which is to express the relation must connote the following facts: The subject is the whole and the foundation of the judgment. In it thought marks out a particular part as an element and relates it to the whole. The subject to which the predicate is related is not the whole minus the predicate but the original whole itself. Otherwise we cannot explain the meaning of 'is' which denotes identity of being. There would be other difficulties also as pointed out above.

The relation seems to be best expressed by the idea of *superimposition*. Thought gives determinateness to the content of the predicate and imposes it on the subject. Yet this imposition is a superimposition, because the predicate is imposed not upon something with which it can be integrated but upon something which is already full and complete. Thus the prefix *super-* is used, not merely in the sense of 'on the top;' but also in the sense of *extra* as in 'superabundant.' And this superimposition is not subjective, because the being of the predicated content is the very being of the subject. Thus the claim of thought to be objective is satisfied.

Waltair.

¹ P. 353, Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*.

² P. 79, *Logic*, Vol. I.

³ P. 82, *Ibid.*

DR. WINTERNITZ ON THE VEDAS

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE

The "History of Sanskrit Literature" by Dr. Winternitz has been translated into English and published by the University of Calcutta. The book contains many serious mistakes about the Vedas which have been examined below at some length, partly because Dr. Winternitz is one of the most famous oriental scholars and partly because similar mistakes have been made by other western scholars also.

In page 76* he refers to "the polytheism of the Vedic Indians." But the religion of the Vedic Indians can never be regarded as polytheism. It is undoubtedly monotheism. Polytheism is the doctrine of many *independent* gods controlling different departments of the world. If the gods are not independent, but all subordinate to one supreme ruler of the heaven and the earth, the doctrine must be called monotheism. The idea of "God as a supreme sovereign power reigning over many minor gods" has been called by Mr. Henry Stephen as the monarchical form of monotheism ("Problems of Metaphysics," pages 264 and 285). The Vedic conception is different from the monarchic form of monotheism in as much as, according to the Vedas, the minor gods have been created by the Supreme God out of Himself and ultimately merge into Him. As we shall show below these minor gods have not even an independent existence apart from the Supreme God. The doctrine can therefore never be regarded as polytheism.

According to the orthodox view, we must make a comprehensive survey of the Vedas as a whole if we want to form a correct idea of the Vedic doctrines. If we frame our conclusions on isolated passages, the conclusions are likely to be wrong. Now it is well known that the Upanishads are a part of the Vedas. Dr. Winternitz also accepts it. Hence in order to arrive at the correct conclusion on the question whether the doctrine of the Vedas is polytheistic or monotheistic we should take into account what the Upanishads have to say in the matter. More so, because while the other portions of the Vedas deal mostly with sacrificial ceremonies, the Upanishads deal principally with the nature of God. It is very clearly stated in the Upanishads that there is one God from whom the universe (including minor gods) issues, and into whom the universe merges. This certainly is not polytheism. Western scholars are however fond of speculating on the doctrines of the Vedas without reference to the Upanishads. They do so because the Upanishads were composed at a later age than the other portions of the Vedas. Even though the Upanishads were composed at a later period, they contain the elaboration of the doctrines which are to be found in the other portions of the Vedas. It is also to be remembered that many portions of the Vedas are lost. Thus Patanjali speaks of 21 branches of the Rig Veda, 100 branches of the Krishna Yajurveda, 15 branches of the Shukla Yajurveda, 1,000 branches of the Samaveda, 9 branches of the Atharvaveda (Mahabhashya 1-1-1). But

* The references to pages in this article are to the 1927 edition of the translation published by the Calcutta University.

there are now extant only 1 branch of the Rig Veda, 4 branches of the Krishna Yajurveda, 1 branch of the Shukla Yajurveda, 8 branches of the Samaveda and 2 branches of the Atharvaveda. The extant texts are thus only a very small fraction of the originals. Reference to the numerous branches of the Vedas (now no longer existing) is also found in the Vishnupurana (part 3, chapters 4 to 6). There are also other proofs of the disappearance of some portions of the Vedas. In the 3rd chapter of the Adiparva of the Mahabharata it is stated that when Upamanyu became blind he prayed to the twin gods Aswini with some Vedic hymns. The Vedic hymns uttered by Upamanyu are quoted in the Mahabharata. But these hymns cannot be found in any of the texts of the Vedas. It is clear that Vedic texts containing Upamanyu's hymns have now been lost. Many other texts have been similarly lost. It is quite possible that those doctrines of the Upanishads which are not found in the extant texts of the Vedic Samhitas might have existed in the texts which have disappeared. We cannot therefore accept as flawless the arguments frequently used by Western scholars that because a particular doctrine of the Upanishads is not found in the extant texts of the Vedic Samhitas therefore it was of later origin.

From what has been said above it follows that even if no reference to the doctrine of monotheism is to be found in the Rig Veda Samhita it cannot be concluded that the doctrine of monotheism which is found in the Upanishads is of later origin, for it is quite possible that there might have been references to this doctrine in the portions of the Samhitas which have been lost. But it is not a fact that there is no reference to the doctrine of monotheism in the Rig Veda Samhita. As will appear from the passages quoted below there is ample reference to this doctrine in the Rig Veda Samhita. There is therefore absolutely no justification for characterising as polytheistic the doctrine of the Vedas. We now proceed to quote some passages from the Rig Veda Samhita in which there is clear reference to monotheism.

एकं सद विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति

इदं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः

(Rig Veda Samhita 2-3-32).

"Brahmins call that One Being by various names, *e.g.*, Agni, Yama, Matarishwa."

In the Hiranyagarbha Sookta (Rigveda Samhita, 10-121) the following lines point undoubtedly to monotheism:—

सपासते प्रशिवं यस्य देवाः

"Whose commands are obeyed by the gods."

महिला एक इदं राजा जगतो बभूव

"By His Majesty, He was the one King of the universe."

यो देवेष्वपि एकदेव आसीत्

"Who was the God of all the gods."

The following lines are quoted from the Purusha Sookta of the Rig-veda Samhita (10-90).

पुरुष एव इदं सर्वं यदभूतं यच्च भव्यं

“All this (that exists), all that existed, all that will exist is the Purusha (God).”

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षोः सूर्योऽजायत

सुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद् वायुरजायत

“The Moon was born from his mind, the Sun from his eyes
Indra and Agni from his mouth, Vayu from his Prana.”

(Here the Moon and the Sun refer to the gods, as they are mentioned in the same category with Indra.)

Again in the Rigveda Samhita 10-82 occurs the following :—

यो नः पिताजनिता यो विधाता

धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा

यो देवानां नामधा एक एव

“Who is our father and our creator, Who knows all the worlds, Who bears the names of various gods but is ONE.”

In the नासदोयसूक्त (Rig Veda Samhita 10-129) occur the following passages :—

आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं

तस्माद्वाच्यन्न परं किं वनास

“(At the time of the Pralaya) nothing existed except that ultimate principle (Brahma), who existed as one with Swadha (Maya).”

अर्वाङ् देवा अस्य विसर्जनेनाथा

“Gods were created after the creation of the material world.”

The above passages make it clear that as regards the Supreme God and the minor gods the doctrine of the Rig Veda Samhita is the same as that of Upanishads. The doctrines of the Rigveda Samhita cannot therefore be called polytheism. It is undoubtedly monotheism.

It is not that Dr. Winternitz has not noticed any of the passages quoted. Thus he writes (on page 100), “In most of the philosophical hymns of Rigveda the idea certainly comes to the foreground of a creator who is named now Prajapati, now Brahmanaspati, or Brhaspati, but who is still always thought of as a personal god.”

“..... already in the hymns the great idea of Universal Unity is foreshadowed, the idea that everything which we see in Nature and which the popular belief designates as gods, in reality is only the emanation of the One and Only One.” He then gives the English translation of the first verse quoted by us above. But he does not make it clear how the doctrine of the Vedas is still regarded by him as polytheism. It seems that the learned doctor in upholding his theory that the Vedas are polytheistic has not only

rejected the entire Upanishads but also those portions of the Samhitas in which there is clear indication of monotheism. It is needless to say that the method adopted by him is not the proper method.

Again Dr. Winternitz says (pages 78 and 79) : " Of the dismal belief in the transmigration of the soul there is in Rig Veda as yet no trace to be found." This however is not correct. In the Mantras

अथ पन्था अनुविशतः पुराणः and अवर्त्यायुन चन्द्राणि देवे

(Rigveda Samhita 3-5) the Risi Bamadeva speaks of his previous birth in which at the time of famine he cooked the entrails of the dog. Dr. Winternitz has himself (on page 97) given the English translation of a verse in Rigveda (X, 16, 1-6) which contains the following words addressed to the departed spirit at the time of cremation :—

" go as thy merit is, to earth or heaven,
Go, if it be thy lot unto the waters;
Go, make thine home in plants with all thy members."

This passage also refers to the doctrine of rebirth as it is meant that the soul will be born again on the earth or as an aquatic animal or as a plant, according to his "merit."

Dr. Winternitz has started a curious theory that the philosophical doctrines of the Upanishads owed their origin to those persons of the Vedic times who did not believe in the various gods mentioned in the Vedas nor in efficacy of sacrifices offered to the gods. He says, " We have seen how in some hymns of the Rigveda doubts and scruples already arose concerning the popular belief in gods and the priestly cult. These sceptics and thinkers, these first philosophers of ancient India, certainly did not remain isolated" (pages 226, 227). It will appear however from the passages of the Rigveda Samhita quoted above that in those passages in which there are references to the Supreme God, the existence of minor gods is not denied. In the Upanishads also the existence of minor gods is nowhere denied, nor is the efficacy of sacrifices in attaining heaven ever questioned. The point of view of the Upanishads is that the minor gods do exist and that Vedic sacrifices do ensure a transition to heaven after death, but as the gods are destroyed at the time of Pralaya (universal destruction) and as residence in heaven as a result of performing sacrifices, is for a limited period only (after which the cycle of birth and death begins again), it is not wise to hanker after heaven by performing sacrifices, and one should try to attain Brahma so as to secure everlasting happiness. The following passages in the Upanishads are often quoted in treatises on Vedanta as the starting point in the quest of knowledge of Brahma :

तदयथा इह कर्मजितो लोकः क्षीयते
एवमेवाप्तुं पुण्यजितो लोकः क्षीयते

(Chandogyanopanishad).

" Just as the fruit of action in this world gradually wears out, so also the heaven attained by merit (i.e., sacrifices, etc.) wears out."

परीक्ष्य लोकान् कर्मजितान् ब्राह्मणी निर्वेदमायान्-
नात्यक्ततः कृतेषु तद्विशानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत्

(Mundakopanishad).

"Considering the (nature of the) afterworlds which can be attained by action (i.e., sacrifices, etc.) the Brahmana should have no attachment for them, knowing that the infinite cannot be attained by means of action. To know that (the infinite Brahman) he should approach a worthy preceptor."

Moreover when a person is in quest of Brahman he is not to give up sacrifices. On the other hand, it is necessary that, along with contemplation of Brahman, he should also perform the sacrificial ceremonies which are prescribed for him. But he should do so without any desire for attaining heaven as a result of those sacrifices. Performance of the ceremonies is necessary in order to purify the mind. As a result of sins performed in this birth or in previous births, the mind of man is generally impure. So long as the impurities are not removed, lessons on Brahman which the pupil receives from his preceptor will not be effective. It is therefore necessary to perform sacrifices so that the mind may be purified and made fit for the reception of the knowledge of Brahman. That this is the doctrine of the Upanishads is clear from the aphorism *सर्वापेक्षा हि यज्ञादिभूतेरश्वद*

(Brahmasutra 3, 4, 26).

The Isa-Upanishad clearly lays down: *कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं सताः*:

"One should perform the prescribed acts and wish to live a hundred years." Dr. Winternitz is therefore wrong when he says that according to the Upanishads "in order to attain the highest object (Brahman) it is necessary to give up all works, good as well as bad" (page 260). It should be remembered that after Janaka performed the sacrifice there was philosophical discussion among the priests and other Brahmanas, and that in the Kathopanishad, Yama at first taught Nachiketa how to perform the sacrifice and then imparted to him the knowledge of Brahman.

On pages 97 to 99 Dr. Winternitz mentions what he thinks to be instances of "doubts as to the power even as to the existence of gods." in order to support his theory that persons who entertained such doubts began the speculations which are to be found in the Upanishads. But there is nothing in the hymns II, 12 and VIII, 100 of the Rigveda (which are referred to by him in this connection) to indicate that the persons who doubted the existence of gods had anything to do with the speculations in the Upanishads. The sceptics are no doubt mentioned. But it is not stated (nor even hinted) that these sceptics were philosophers. On the other hand it is stated definitely that they were wrong. Dr. Winternitz is also unsuccessful in his attempt to interpret the Hiranyagarbha Sookta (Rigveda X, 121) as indicating "scruples concerning the plurality of the gods in general" and "doubts.....whether indeed there is any merit in sacrificing to the gods." He says in this connection "Thus in the hymn (Rigveda X, 121) in which the Prajapati is praised as the creator and preserver of the world and as the one god, and in which the refrain recurs in verse after verse 'Which god shall we honour by means of sacrifice?' there lies hidden the thought that in reality there is nothing in all the plurality of the gods and that alone the one and only god, the Creator Prajapati, deserves honour." We have already quoted two lines from this Hiranyagarbha Sookta in which it is stated that the other gods obey the commands of Prajapati and that the other gods were created (by Prajapati) after the creation of matter. Though the existence of the other gods is thus clearly mentioned it is strange that Dr. Winternitz concludes that according to this hymn Prajapati is "the one and only

god" and that other gods do not exist. The refrain in the successive verses कस्य देवाय इविषा विधेम has been translated by him as "which god shall we honour by means of sacrifice?" Sayanacharyya has however interpreted the line as meaning "We shall offer sacrifice to the god Prajapati". There can be no doubt that Sayana's interpretation fits in with the context better. Then again, Dr. Winternitz fancies that "scepticism finds its most forceful expression in the profound poem of the Creation (Rigveda X, 129)." This is the famous नासदीयसूक्त. There is however not the least trace of scepticism in this hymn. The substance of this hymn is that at the time of प्रलय (universal destruction) there was nothing except God, and that the universe (including the minor gods) was created afterwards. There is no mention whatever that the many gods are a myth or that sacrifices should not be made to them. The idea that the gods do not exist at the time of प्रलय must not be mistaken as a doctrine of scepticism. It may be mentioned that the learned doctor's interpretation of the word "Kama" occurring in this hymn as meaning "sexual desire" is grotesque. This hymn describes the world as non-existent, God alone existing, and even He remaining "without breath" (अवातं) and therefore without body. In that state, to say that God had "sexual desire" is absurd. The word has been interpreted by Sayana as "desire of creation" (सिद्ध्यर्थं). This is the natural, and the only possible interpretation. Schopenhauer and Deussen have taken practically the same interpretation, as they hold that the word काम means "will". Dr. Winternitz does not give any reason why he has rejected the interpretation given by Sayanacharyya and accepted by Schopenhauer and Deussen. On the other hand he twists another passage of the hymn to mean that in this Kama "the wise searching in their hearts have by meditation discovered the connection between the existing and the non-existing." We wonder what searching of hearts by wise people is necessary to discover that sexual desire is the cause of progeny. Sayanacharyya has explained the passage to mean that the wise "searching in their hearts" have realised that even in the "nothing" which existed at Pralaya there lay the seeds of future creation in the form of the संस्कार which is the result of the action of all beings in the previous creation. It may be added that throughout the rest of the hymn there is not the least reference to any sexual desire or act.

From what has been said above it will be clear that in the following passage (on page 231) Dr. Winternitz has given full play to his fancy and that there is not the least support in the Vedas for the theories enunciated herein :

"When the Brahmanas were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upanishads. From these circles, which originally were not connected with the priestly caste (sic) proceeded the forest hermits and wandering ascetics, who not only renounced the world and its pleasures but also kept aloof from the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brahmanas. Different sects, more or less opposed to Brahmanism, were soon formed from these same circles, among which sects the Buddhists attained to such great fame."

As explained above the Brahmins who performed sacrifices were responsible for the Upanishads to a large extent. Again the Upanishads are full of references to Brahman. But in the teachings of Buddha, omission of any reference to Brahman is noticeable. It cannot therefore be said that Buddhism was a development of the doctrines in the Upanishads.

Dr. Winternitz has made capital of the fact that the Brahmanaportion of the Vedas does not contain much moral teaching. "The Brahmanas are a splendid proof of the fact that an enormous amount of religion can be connected with infinitely little morality" (pages 207-208). It is strange that the Doctor forgets that the Brahmanas were intended to lay down the detailed rules and regulations for the performance of the sacrifices. As he himself says (page 188), "It is a collection of the utterances and discussions of the priests upon the science of sacrifice." How the altar is to be constructed, what sorts of vessels are necessary, how the *havih* is to be offered—these details are given in the Brahmanas. Although many of the Upanishads are included in the Brahmanas Dr. Winternitz has treated the Upanishads separately from the other portions of the Brahmanas. To complain of the absence of precepts of morality in the Brahmanas would be as just as a complaint that a treatise on Physics or Chemistry is silent on questions of morality.

As stated above the Upanishads must be regarded as a whole. The Mantras, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads all form parts of an integral whole. It is an absolutely unfair criticism to consider separately those portions of the Brahmanas which relate to details about sacrificial ceremonies and condemn these portions because they do not contain moral teachings.

Dr. Winternitz has tried to show that some laws of Manu are against the Vedas. It is well known that Manu (and also other law-givers) have stated again and again that the laws of Manu are based on the Vedas. If Dr. Winternitz's contention is correct the writer of the Manusmriti (and also other law-givers) would be guilty of serious dishonesty. Let us now examine the charge of the Doctor. He blames Manu for prohibiting women from performing Vedic sacrifices. Now Dr. Winternitz himself has quoted from the Brahmanas where it is stated that the performance of a Vedic sacrifice is so very difficult that "if any (persons) venture into them without any knowledge, then hunger or thirst, evil-doers and fiends harass them even as fiends would harass foolish men wandering in a wild forest" (page 198). In order to learn the intricacies of Vedic sacrifices one has to undergo a prolonged course of special training—both theoretical and practical. Women do not receive such training and it is therefore only proper that those who really believed in the Vedas should prohibit women from performing sacrifices. It will be observed that along with women Manu prohibits persons who are not well-versed in the Vedas. In order to prove that Manu's law is against the Vedas Dr. Winternitz says that in the Rigveda it is found that "husband and wife together perform sacred ceremonies" and that married couple press the Soma and offer adoration to the gods. It is obvious that Manu's prohibition does not extend to these cases. His prohibition is against women undertaking the responsibility of performing a sacrifice (*i. e.*, officiating as the priest), because it requires specialized knowledge without which it would be a hazardous venture. Where the Vedas require that women should take a specified part in the performance of a sacrifice they will certainly take that part under the direction of the priest, and they do so even now. It could never have been the intention of Manu that such participation should be prohibited. In order to prevent the possibility of any misapprehension Manu has declared at the very outset that if any of his directions appear to go against the Vedas it should be at once discarded in favour of the Vedic injunction.

Again Dr. Winternitz says, "in the hymns of the Rigveda women could without restriction—at feasts, dances and such like show themselves publicly" meaning that in this matter restriction was subsequently placed

on women. But this is not so. In the Ramayana we find the same rule of conduct laid down for women.

व्यसनेषु न ऋक्षेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे ।

न क्रतौ न विवाहे वा दर्शनं दृश्यते स्त्रियः ।

"There is no fault if women are seen at times of danger, or poverty, or war or Swayamvara, or sacrifice or marriage ceremony."

(Yuddha Kanda, 114 chapter.)

The present custom among the Hindus is also the same.

Dr. Winternitz gives some accounts of creation from the Brahmanas and says that the accounts "cannot be made to harmonize with each other," (page 222). In the first account given by him it is stated that Prajapati created Agni, then plants, then the Sun and the Vayu. In the second account it is stated that he created birds, snakes, mammals. In the third account it is stated that he created man out of his mind, the horse out of his eye, the cow out of this breath, the sheep out of his ear, the goat out of his voice. Then (he says) there are other portions in the Brahmanas where it is said that Prajapati was himself created and creation began with water or nothing or with Brahman. These accounts are considered by the Doctor as mutually contradictory. But we fail to see wherein lies the mutual contradiction. What he considers to be different accounts are merely different portions of the entire process of creation. They can surely be pieced together to form the following complete account. At first there was only Brahma. The world was "nothing" (because it was not diversified by name and form). Then was created water and then Prajapati. Prajapati created the god Agni, plants, the god Sun, the god Vayu, birds, snakes, mammals, *e.g.*, the man, horse, cow, sheep, goat. This is the entire account and there is no self-contradiction in it.

Similarly the learned Doctor is mistaken when he says, "A system of philosophy of the Upanishads can only be said to exist in a very restricted sense," meaning that different portions of the Upanishads are mutually contradictory. He overlooks the method of reconciling apparent contradictions between different portions of the Vedas laid down by Jaimini in his Poorva Meemangsa Philosophy. He also forgets that all apparent contradictions between different passages of the Upanishads have been beautifully reconciled by Badarayana in his Brahmasootras which form an admirable basis for the system of the Upanishads. The Doctor has not mentioned any instances of mutual contradiction between different portions of the Upanishads.

The Doctor says (p. 66) "there is not yet found in the hymns (of the Rigveda) that caste division" which (according to him) was introduced later. He adds however that in a hymn of the Rigveda (*viz.*, the Purushasookta) the four castes are mentioned. He also mentions that in the Rigveda it is seen that "at the Kings's side there stood a house-priest (Purohita) who offered the sacrifices for him," a fact significant of the existence of the priestly caste (the Brahmins). Another relevant fact (not mentioned by the Doctor) is that there are several references to the Brahmins in the Rigveda (*e.g.*, 6-7-4, 1-10-2, 8-78-3, 8-3-26, 8-25-3).

The mention of Brahmins implies the existence of the caste system. The derivation of the word Brahmana implies a hereditary caste (ब्रह्मन् ब्र). In the face of all these facts it would be difficult to maintain that the caste system did not exist at the time of the Rigveda. Another

significant fact is that there is clear mention of the caste system in the Atharvaveda whose antiquity is established by the fact that its language and metre "are in essentials the same as those of the Rigveda" as observed by the learned Doctor himself. It is quite natural that the subject matter of the Rigveda being adoration of various gods there are fewer occasions for reference to the four castes in the Rigveda than in the Atharvaveda which deals with topics of a diversified nature.

Dr. Winternitz says, "it proved fatal for the development of Indian philosophy that the Upanishads should have been pronounced to be revelations and sacred texts." But in spite of the fact that the Upanishads were considered to be revelations, various philosophers like Kumarila Bhatta and Sankaracharyya appeared in India, and different schools of philosophy were preached by Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhwa and many other philosophers. Saints like Chaitanya and Ramkrishna Paramahansa testified to the truth of the philosophy of the Upanishads. It is because of the belief in revelation that the "deeply ethical" doctrine of Karma entered greatly into the daily life and religious practices of the masses in India. It therefore seems to us that the fact that the Upanishads were regarded as revelations has proved to be a blessing to the Hindus and not a curse.

We have remarked before how the interpretation of the *नानदीयम्* by the learned Doctor is unsatisfactory. His explanation of the sentence *तत् त्वम् असि* is equally so. He interprets it thus: "The world exists only in so far as thou thyself art conscious of it." Now this interpretation is absolutely wrong. *तत्* means the universal soul (Brahman) and *त्वम्* means the individual soul (Jeeva). According to Sankara this sentence establishes the absolute identity between the two. According to Ramanuja it means that the individual soul is like the body and the universal soul is like its spirit. In any case there can be no doubt that the proposition refers to the intimate connection between the individual soul and the universal soul. The doctrine that the world exists only in so far as thou art conscious of it is absurd and cannot bear the slightest scrutiny. What I am conscious of now may be absolutely different from what I am conscious of after a few days or years, and is different from what other people are conscious of. So the doctrine would mean that different worlds exist for different people and also for the same person at different times. "What I am conscious of" is a part of my mind (*मनः*) which is quite different from the soul which is the subject of the sentence. If the learned Doctor had referred to an elementary treatise on Vedanta philosophy (e.g., the *वेदान्तसार*) he could not have made such a hopelessly incorrect statement. With so little attempt to understand the true spirit of the Vedas his characterization of some passages of the Vedas as "foolish and nonsensical" (page 149) and as the creation of lunatics (page 182) must be considered to be the result of arrogance and ignorance. His enunciation of the fundamental doctrine of the Upanishads "The Universe is Brahman but the Brahman is the Atman" is also incorrect. The universe is visible, but Brahman is invisible. The universe does not last for ever, but Brahman does. Brahman is much larger than the universe which is created out of Brahman and merges into Brahman. Brahman is both immanent and transcendent. It is a mistake to identify Brahman with the universe, as the Doctor has done.

The entire sentence is *सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलान्* "All this is Brahma, because it comes into being from Brahma, exists in Brahma, and merges into Brahma." Brahma is the cause, the Universe is the effect. The cause and the effect are essentially the same. Hence the

universe is nothing but Brahma. The words सः खल्विदं ब्रह्म without the words तज्जलान् represents only a half-truth. Not being able to appreciate the true spirit of the Sanskrit literature which is permeated by the spirit of the Upanishads he calls it "effeminate, ascetic and pessimistic" (page 68). He has frequently referred with undisguised contempt to "the priestly class" which he believes to be the author of some portions of the Vedas. His contempt for them is evidently due to his prejudice. He also calls them "conjurers who pose as philosophers" (p. 149). The spirit of contempt and arrogance revealed by him is largely responsible for the fact that he has totally failed to enter into the spirit of the Vedas and the Upanishads. It is no wonder that he has tried to belittle the high praise bestowed on the Upanishads by Schopenhauer and Deussen.

Dr. Winternitz has dedicated the English translation of his book to Dr. Tagore and, as stated before, it has been published by the Calcutta University. These circumstances make it the more regrettable that the book should contain so many mistakes on important matters and should reveal a spirit of contempt and arrogance.

Miscellany

[*Co-operatives in Great Britain* (Benoy Kumar Sarkar)—*The State Bank of Morocco through Indian eyes* (Benoy Kumar Sarkar)—*Transcending the Limitations of Territories* (Benoy Kumar Sarkar).]

CO-OPERATIVES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

As elsewhere, the increase of membership of distributive co-operative societies in England and Wales also is dependent upon agricultural areas of the country. The question has arisen as to how to organise the administration of co-operative trade in rural areas where, as elsewhere again, travelling facilities are poor.

The *Producer* has published an interesting article which shows how an industrial co-operative society, that of Ipswich, is tackling the problem.

The Society had first to prepare the way by good propaganda work. The best results have been achieved by the organization of frequent meetings throughout the country area, and speakers chosen for their ability to "put over" the essentials of co-operation in an extremely simple manner have aroused considerable interest.

But the main problems to be solved arose from the distance to be covered and from the remoteness of contact. For a long time it has remained impossible to give a complete service through a system of branches, many country members living two or three miles away from a decent road.

The Ipswich Society, which contains in its area about 160 small towns, villages or hamlets, learned and is learning by experience, and has therefore a contribution to make to the common fund of knowledge on the subject such as may be drawn upon by India also. Actually, the Ipswich Society has a number of country branches. These branches give a comprehensive grocery service to a number of surrounding villages. Each branch has a delivery van under its control and can thus cover considerable distances.

But much of the area lies outside the range of branches. Places which are not easily reached from a branch are served by a number of travelling vans operating from the centre. There are six vans attached to the country department, and the average trade per van is nearly £100 per week. The van-drivers are trained grocers, carefully selected from the Society's staff for this specialised service. This is a most essential point, for the vanman is the members' sole point of contact with the Society. In some cases, he not only performs the composite duties of vanman, grocer, draper and passbook clerk, but he even buys eggs and butter from the members for the Society.

Until recently, the Society operated its vans as travelling shops. Now, however, they are restricted to order trade, on the grounds that the range of stock which travelling shops have to carry is too wide to justify the results obtained. Nevertheless, a careful time schedule is maintained, and the central country department can say with reasonable accuracy where a van will be at a certain time.

In general, a two days' service is given, although in some cases it is less frequent.

A grocery service dealing with fairly standardised articles can quite well be operated from the centre. Dry goods, on the other hand, demand operation at the centre.

This is becoming increasingly true as means of communication improve. The development of bus services has increased the range of demand of country people, and has at the same time made this trade a more competitive one.

The Society pays the bus fares of country members shopping in the central dry goods department up to a limit of three pence for every five shillings' worth of purchases, a payment which is to some extent counter-balanced by the size of the average purchase.

The country trade is of course directly and indirectly subsidized by the town members. At one time, this was a subject of complaint by the townspeople, but now-a-days such complaints are becoming less frequent. "Undoubtedly country trade is expensive. No society should enter this trade with any idea of making a surplus. If our ideals mean anything, every person in the country is entitled to the benefits of co-operative membership. It is from that angle,—the angle of service—that we must approach the problems of the countryside."

This British ideal and achievement should appear as yet to be too high for the ambition of the Indian co-operative system. But we understand at once how far the "industrial adults" of the world have advanced in the epoch of the "second industrial revolution" and "neo-capitalism."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE STATE BANK OF MOROCCO THROUGH INDIAN EYES.

The functions of Reserve Banks *vis à vis* agricultural credit are nowhere more prominent than in France where the institution of *Credit Agricole* functions in direct association with the *Banque de France*, as has often been pointed out by the present writer. To the Indian students of central banking and agricultural finance, of course, no credit institutions can be more valuable than the central banks of regions that are mainly agricultural. It is interesting, therefore, that the State Bank of Morocco should appear to be doubly useful to us, first, because it has developed an experience of regions that are more or similar to India in economic morphology, and secondly because it is run according to the traditional French ideas of *etatisme* in relation to the cultivators, rural credit and co-operation. (*Vide Sarkar: Applied Economics, Vol. I.*)

The State Bank of Morocco was founded more than a quarter of a century ago. The Bank has played a vital part in the development of Morocco, and if the financial situation of the Moorish Empire has gradually improved, this is largely due to the State Bank. As is well-known, it is the consortium of French banking institutions that helped forward the rise of the Moroccan State Bank.

The Report submitted on May 27, 1935, to the ordinary shareholders' meeting shows that in spite of the unfavourable circumstances, the activities of the Bank remained satisfactory in 1934, a year marked by an increase in the agricultural production of the French zone in Morocco. This is very important, for like Bengal and other parts of India Morocco is chiefly an agricultural country, a great part of whose produce is sold abroad. Unfortunately, as we know too painfully in India, it is very difficult, now-a-

days to dispose of such produce at remunerative prices. France, having become an exporter of wheat, has ceased buying Moroccan wheat. Less soft and hard wheat had been sown in that country and yet the output of those cereals was more abundant. The output of barley was fifty per cent. higher than that of the previous year. It is to be expected that when the 1935 crop of wheat is put up for sale, there will still be 700,000 quintals of the 1934 crop remaining unsold. Similarly the grape crop of 1934 exceeded the local consumption by 140,000 hectolitres, which led the Moorish Government to forbid any further planting of vines until September 1st, 1936. We give these few particulars as an indication of the economic activity of the country, but it also behoves us to cast a glance on the other items of production—coal, mines, phosphates, cement, etc.

Let us now examine the balance sheet. The State Bank paid to the Cherifian Government in 1934 dues amounting to 8 650,529 fr. The situation has been kept thoroughly sound: throughout the year the bank-note circulation was lower than it was during the previous twelve months. It amounted to no more than 565,058,000 francs on December 31, 1934, a decline of 14,814,535 francs as compared with the figure recorded in the balance sheet for 1933.

The net profit for the financial year 1934 aggregated 19,264,976 francs, after paying off all outstanding debts for the twelve months. After carrying over 639 723 fr. the credit balance on account of profit and loss worked out at 19,904,700 fr. The shareholders were consequently paid dividend of 160 francs, equal to last year's. The statutory reserve was kept at a figure of 11,550,000 francs and the supplementary reserve raised to 19,750,000 francs, while a further sum of 425,202 fr. was again carried over.

As in the past, the State Bank has continued to play a beneficent part, notably by its advances of every description to the agricultural fund, aggregating 59,400,000 fr. The Bank's advance to the *Caisse federale de la Mutualite et de la Cooperation agricole* (Federal Bank for Agricultural Co-operation) amounted to 27,000,000 fr. The advance to the *Caisse du ble* (Wheat Bank) amounted to 7,500,000 fr. (this has been paid off recently). The advance to the *Caisse des Prêts Immobiliers* (Bank for Real Estate Loans) for the fund of medium term loans, amounted to 14 000,000 francs. The non-interest bearing advances extended to the *Caisses des Credits Agricoles Mutuels* (Banks of Mutual Agricultural Credit) aggregated 1,666,666 fr.; the bills discounted in favour of the said *Caisses* amounted on December 31 last to 9,234,000 francs. The principle embodied in these practices has been advocated by the present writer in *Indian Currency and Reserve Bank Problems* (second edition, 1934).

There is no need to dwell any further on the matter to bring out the very considerable assistance lent by the State Bank to Moorish agriculture. The Bank has insisted upon the financial setting in order of the *Caisses de Credits agricoles mutuels* (Banks of Mutual Agricultural Credit). This was carried out to a certain extent. It consisted in the State remitting debts owing to it from the *Caisses* to an amount of over 23,000,000 francs. The Bank extended to them, after paying off the whole of their discount advances for the financial year 1933-1934 further credits for the financial year 1934-1935, receiving as security the joint guarantee of the *Caisse federale* and a State assignment on its outstanding credit amounts.

TRANSCENDING THE LIMITATIONS OF TERRITORIES

A new societal science which derives its sustenance as much from anthropogeography and technocracy as from demography, economics, politics and current history has been steadily growing up in Germany for the last half a generation or so. It is called *Geopolitik* (Geopolitics) and is to be credited to the scientific investigations of the student of races and race-development, Karl Haushofer. His monthly journal *Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik* has been functioning as the regular organ of geopolitical ideas and has succeeded in drawing to itself a large number of scholars interested in the remaking of peoples and race-reconstruction *

A symposium on the methods and problems of this new science in which the economist is as much interested as the ethnologist is available in *Raumueberwindende Maechte* (Space-transcending Powers) edited by Haushofer (Teubner, Leipzig, 1934). This is the third volume of a series of works entitled *Macht und Erde* (Power and the Earth) under Haushofer's charge which has been initiated by the Teubner Co. The first volume is a new edition of Kjellen's *The Great Powers before and after the World War*. The second volume deals with men and things that lie *Jenseits der Grossmaechte* (on the other side of Great Powers).

The third or the present volume deals with those forces that go to overpower or conquer space. In this publication the Earth as space for life is discussed by Prof. Maul of Graz (Austria). The relations of men to space form the subject of Dr. Hesch's study. Haushofer himself deals with the problems of state, space, self-determination as well as the sphere of culture and cultural crossings. The world-religions have attracted the attention of Prof. Oberhummer (Vienna) and world-view in relation to space that of Wuest. Keyserlingk describes the international movements and Schmidt-Rohr the language questions as factors in the conquest of space. Economy as bound to region and as transcending it has been analyzed by Wiedenfeld while Sapper focuses the attention on transportation as an agent in space-transformation. Obst has a contribution on the problems of colonial expansion and the right to self-assertion.

From this brief survey one can obtain a somewhat precise idea of the scope of *Geopolitik*. We understand that the problems of life *vis-à-vis* virtually every force, physical and moral as well as inter-racial, technical and spiritual, in one word, the interests of entire man as a growing and struggling being are being objectively studied by this group of researchers in association with Haushofer.

According to Wuest a world-view such as can actually transcend the limitations of space is impossible both as a concept and as a fact (p. 167). The so called "higher unit" which is alleged to be established by the break-up of a previous world-view of a different character through assimilation, absorption, transformation, etc. is very questionable and in the long run is liable to disruption. It is impossible to emancipate the world-view from its space-limitations. The attempts to establish artificial world-languages, e.g., Esperanto, Ido, Novial, Volapuck, have not been able to advance beyond their crude beginnings. Coudenhove Kalergi's Pan-European movement is like the League of Nations idea a still-born phenomenon. The

* B. K. Sarkar : "Haushofer's Cult of *Geopolitik*" in the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1934.

abolition of the Caliphate by Kemal Pasha is but the last item in an inevitable development, namely, the disappearance of Pan-Islam, unnatural as it is. By enunciating the doctrine that every world-view is by nature nothing but national or territorial, although it can to a certain extent transform the space and even transcend it, Wuest has exposed the philosophical bankruptcy of internationalism as a cult.

The other papers are, like that of Wuest's, critical surveys of extra-territorialism in culture. It is demonstrated that neither religion (pp. 170, 177-78), nor art, nor language (pp. 207, 230-32), nor technocracy (p. 195), nor economic developments (pp. 259, 272-73, 277), nor colonialism, nor imperialism (pp. 310-41) can in the last analysis lead to the genuine transcending of space or region. All the so-called international or internationalizing endeavours are essentially *raumgebunden* (space-limited and space-conditioned).

There is no mysticism or metaphysics in Haushofer's social philosophy. In the midst of all internationalizing ideologies his geopolitics teaches the world to remain awake to the one great reality of life (pp. 351-52), namely, that it is nothing but nationalism that rules mankind and that the eternal problem of to-day is, as our *Mahabharata* has taught for all ages, to study the science and art of *Macht*, i.e., *shakti* or power. In geopolitics the student of Hindu societal theories will thus come across such *dicta* of Somadeva's *Nitivakyamrita* as *na hi kulagata kasyapi bhumih* (nobody's territory is derived from his family) and *virabhogya vasundhara* (it is by the powerful that the Earth can be enjoyed).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Writing: Being a practical guide for all who seek to express themselves in good English. by William Freeman. A. & C. Black, Ltd., 4, 5 & 6 Soho Square, London, W.I. 1935. Pp. 149. Price 3s. 6d.

This volume is designed to give guidance to those amateur writers who intend either to earn reputation with, or to live on, their pen. It contains a good deal of suggestions and directions that will help those who want to go in for journalism and devotes fifteen chapters of which some are on style, and the technique of writing novels, short stories, drama and poetry.

BENOYENDRA CHAUDHURI.

The Causes of War, by the Very Rev. W. R. Inge, K.C.V.O., D.D., Lord Beaverbrook, G. D. H. Cole, Sir Josiah Stamp, Sir Norman Angell, Aldous Huxley, Major Douglas, Sir Austen Chamberlain, with an Introduction by H. J. Stenning, London. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Pages 105. Price 3s. 6d.

This very small volume—considering the subject and the number of essays from the pen of nearly a dozen celebrities of the world to-day—appears at times to be devoted to clever, though idle, table talk. Naturally it makes interesting reading, for, it does not show any very great effort to go deep down into the subject. Of the considerable number of books written on this subject, few read more like an academic debate than this, and few are more interesting on the surface. Excepting some writers like Sir Josiah Stamp and G. D. H. Cole, others from the Very Reverend Dean Inge down to the very obdurate brace of imperialists, my Lord Beaverbrook and Sir Austen Chamberlain wrote because they have an interesting style and the power to argue. That originally the essays were talks over the wireless might explain the lightness of their tone, but, in any case, the search for the causes and the desire for the remedies, of war might have been more honest and sincere.

Consistently with his pessimism the Dean's arguments leave little to hope for. He thinks fear is a great cause of war and he shows that this fear is amply justified. Patriotism, he knows, is a cause of war but he will not scrap patriotism altogether and be a citizen of the world, because, 'patriotism is far too good a thing to lose.' He believes that 'the problem of abolishing war is very difficult and complicated' and that there are well-grounded fears which at present cannot be removed. Yet he does not expect war (contrary to his manner, he is here too optimistic!) because in the event of another war those who have anything to lose will lose it. As if that is enough reason to stop Italy from swooping down on Abyssinia or Japan from taking another mouthful from China!

For Lord Beaverbrook, the subject has rather narrowed down. He does not concern himself with war in general in the modern world and its causes, but has discussed how England with its empire can keep out of war. He believes that this the League of Nations cannot do for England; nor can alliance with any European power effect this. The only way for

England to avoid war for herself is to consolidate her empire and seek alliance with the United States of America and create a solid bloc of the Anglo-Saxon nations who will say—'We take no part in wars.' Evidently, his lordship shows more anxiety for Anglo-American alliance than for world peace.

Mr. Aldous Huxley recognizes the complexity of the causes of war and strives to speak only about the psychological aspect of the case. Psychology, in the modern times has become perhaps the most popular science; men of letters, especially modern novelists have shown more interest in it than the psychologists themselves, and Mr. Huxley has achieved distinction among modern novelists. He has, in his essay, said quite a number of sensible things and thrown clear light on the subject, but, owing perhaps to his over-enthusiasm for psychology, drawn, here and there, conclusions which in spite of their brilliance, cannot pass either as responsible thinking or as commonsense. He shows from statistical figures that during wartime suicide rate fell considerably and concludes with mathematical calculation that 'life in wartime is about forty-five per cent. more worth living than life in times of peace;' from this he easily comes to the conclusion that man loves war. Nobody will question the truth of this conclusion but to arrive at it from the falling rate of suicide is somewhat amusing. The novelist's prerogative of explaining everything in terms of psychology does not go always well in a serious essay, and when Sir Austen Chamberlain in the concluding chapter gave, with reference to Mr. Huxley and his psychology, his ironical hint with the confession that with psychology, he is 'a little out of my depth,' he certainly gave the serious reader's point of view.

The subject is more seriously discussed by Sir Josiah Stamp, Norman Angell, Mr. Cole and Major Douglas. Mr. Angell pins his faith on a more powerful and sincere League of Nations and the others have dealt more or less with the economic causes of war. G. D. H. Cole thinks that menace to peace comes greatly from the propagandist activities of armament-makers and Sir Josiah Stamp puts war down mostly to the struggle for raw materials. The book is certainly entertaining and have all the good points of intellectual talks being more literary in its tone than scientific and practical in its purpose.

BENOYENDRA CHAUDHURI.

Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions, by Benito Mussolini, Publishers "Ardita," Rome, pp. 313.

In the vast literature which has grown round Fascism, the book under review holds a place all to its own. Written by the man who has made Fascism, it comes to us with the best recommendation and fulfills all our expectations so far as the clear enunciation of the fundamental ideas and principles of the movement are concerned. Those who care for the history of the movement, should turn to other books. Here we have an excellent presentation of its moral significance and of its political and social doctrine. Starting without any philosophical pre-occupation, Fascism has gradually developed into a dynamic philosophy of life, into an organic conception of the world, in which everyday experience is illumined by an active faith. In the first part of his exposition, the author devotes himself to a synthetic presentation of the main features of this philosophy. The fascist attitude towards life is a spiritual attitude which manifests itself in an extraordinary display of the power of will. Fascism conceives the world as power and life as struggle and emphasises the domination of both by the

exercise of one's free will. "Therefore life," says the author, "as conceived by the Fascist, is serious, austere, religious; all its manifestations are poised in a world sustained by moral forces and subject to spiritual responsibilities. The Fascist disdains an 'easy' life." It is, in other words, a cult of Sakti, composed of the dynamism of thought and the dynamism of action, which denies the possibility of perfect human happiness and universal peace and the existence of any panacea for human ills. There is no final settlement of difficulties because life is in continuous flux. Fascism, therefore, takes the problems as they come and solves them not according to abstractions, but by acting on the hints suggested by the problems themselves. There can, therefore, be nothing stereotyped in Fascism and those who know the history of the movement are aware of how often it has undergone changes.

As a movement Fascism has three aspects, an aspect which shows its destructive power, an aspect which reveals its power of conservation, and an aspect which reveals its creative genius. In its destructive aspect it came into clash with the doctrines of liberalism and may be said to have demolished them in Italy, if not elsewhere. Parliamentaryism, the form under which liberalism has generally expressed itself, has been given a death-blow by the totalitarian state of Fascism. "Liberalism denied the state in the name of the individual; Fascism re-asserts the rights of the state as expressing the real essence of the individual." And such a state in order to be something more than a mere administrator, "must utter great words, expound great ideas and place great problems before the people."

An anti-individualistic state and so without any liberty and scope for the development of personality.—to this charge the author replies: "In our state the individual is not deprived of freedom. In fact, he has greater liberty than an isolated man, because the State protects him and he is part of the State." The individual's participation in the state may be said to consist in the development of one's personality and then merging it gradually in the higher personality of the state, i.e., of the nation. In other words, the individual must attain a sort of political *nirvana*. This is according to the author, not a denial of democracy, but a higher democracy. "Fascism is opposed to that form of democracy which equates a nation to the majority lowering it to the level of the largest number; but it is the purest form of democracy if the nation is considered—as it should be—from the point of view of quality rather than quantity, as an idea, the mightiest because the most ethical, the most coherent, the truest, expressing itself in a people as the conscience and will of the few, if not, indeed, of one, and tending to express itself in the conscience and the will of the mass, of the whole group ethnically moulded by natural and historical conditions into a nation, advancing, as one conscience and one will, along the self-same line of development and spiritual formation."

As regards the second aspect it may be mentioned that though Fascism is a revolutionary movement and an iconoclast of the favourite liberal ideologies, it has at the same time a respect for tradition and the accumulated spiritual experiences of the nation as expressed "in language, in customs, in the rules of social life." Marriage, for instance, is an institution which it has a fervent reverence and monarchy, is an institution which it is determined to maintain at all costs. It has even respect for the best qualities of liberalism, socialism and democracy and is ready to preserve them because they are the "acquired facts" of history. There can be no going back in history and any movement which aims at creating

new history must take account of all such "acquired facts" left as legacy to us by all previous movements.

The creative energy of Fascism is being expended in various fields, but chiefly in the creation of the totalitarian and ethical state. We have indicated before what state means in the Fascist sense. We give another quotation. "For Fascism the State is absolute, individuals and groups relative. Individuals and groups are admissible in so far as they come within the state. Instead of directing the game and guiding the material and moral progress of the community, the liberal state restricts its activities to recording results. The Fascist State is wide awake and has a will of its own. For this reason it can be described as ethical.....Fascism desires the State to be strong and organic, based on broad foundations of popular support.....it makes its action felt throughout the length and breadth of the country by means of its corporative, social, and educational institutions, and all the political, economic and spiritual forces of the nation, organized in their respective associations, circulate within the State."

As regards religion the author says that "the Fascist state sees in religion one of the deepest of spiritual manifestations, and for this reason it not only respects religion but defends and protects it."

After the chapter on Fascism there follow two lectures by Mussolini delivered to the National Council of Corporations on 14th November, 1933 and to the Senate on 13th January, 1934, in which he gives us a most brilliant survey of the capitalistic economy, its rise and development into super-capitalism, the complications to which it has given birth. The remedy is planned economy based on the system of corporations.

The rest of the book is occupied by the fundamental laws of Fascism, *e.g.*, the law on the syndical and corporative system, chapter II of which is devoted to the interesting experiment conducted by Italy in the solution of labour problems through labour courts, the law on the functions of the syndicates and collective relations of labour, the law on the National Council of Corporations, etc.

At the end there is an extensive bibliography of literature on Fascism.

PRAMATHANATH RAY.

Abstract

HAILE SELASSIE, MONARCH OF ABYSSINIA

The following study of the great personality of Emperor Ras Tafari of Ethiopia will be very interesting in the face of the present Italo-Abyssinian dispute, which will, in the opinion of diplomats, very soon ablaze into a deadly war. Mr. Wilfrid Hindle's powerful pen-picture of this last absolute monarch, since the end of absolutism in Siam, appears in the *Review of Reviews*, from which extracts are reproduced below:—

Hailé Selassié, Power of the Trinity I. King of Kings, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Emperor of Ethiopia, is strong in his own line, which claims direct descent from the Queen of Sheba and the House of David. He is stronger in his people, who—the aristocracy among them, at any rate—are as proud and contemptuous of the European as they are domestically turbulent and indolent. He is strongest of all in his own character, which he has shown to be that of a statesman.

Ras Tafari, as he is still more familiarly known in England, was born in 1891, the son of Ras Makonnen, Governor of the rich Abyssinian Province of Harrar and owner of extensive estates. He was educated on European lines by French monks at Harrar. He was well educated. He reads and speaks French fluently, is widely read in the literature of his own country, and has some acquaintance with the standard European works on literary and scientific subjects.

His care for literature remained with him long after he left the monk's hands. He has established in Addis Ababa, capital of modern Ethiopia, a printing press whence come popular editions of the ancient Ethiopian ecclesiastical works in the native Amharic. He is also himself an author, having written an introduction to the edition of St. John Chrysostom's "Book of Corrective Admonitions," which his press published, and a narrative of his first journey abroad.

In 1916, amid the internal troubles caused by the flirtations with Turkey of Lij Yasu, the Emperor next in succession, Ras Tafari was made Regent for his aunt, the Empress Zauditu or Zudith.

His Regency was active. In 1921 he had to march forth at the head of an army of ten thousand men to capture Lij Yasu. In 1923 he affrighted the more conservative of his naturally conservative countrymen by paying an official visit to Aden, and going up in a aeroplane while there. Himself a genuine idealist (in a land where the total number of idealists is not great), he brought his country into the League of Nations, and in 1924 betook himself into the outside world with a series of official visits to Rome, Paris and London.

By the time he succeeded the Empress Judith in all power and title in 1930, he was of a character fully formed and already embarked on a policy of what, for want of a better term, is called Westernisation.

The Ethiopians distrust the friendship of Powers whose own colonies lie nearby, whether those Powers come bearing gifts or not. But there

are other Powers far away, and it is to them—Americans and Japanese—that the Emperor turns.

His whole life has been described as a triumph of mind over matter. Direct in speech, simple in manner, of innate courtesy, he is of slight build, ivory colour and Semitic cast of countenance. He works hard, from early morning until late at night. He has a passion for knowledge, particularly of the practical kind. His palace has all modern conveniences—wireless, cinema, electric light, a European chef. Within its grounds is a model dairy which would give points to some European institutions.

The Emperor, however, is a skilled politician. He did not make the same mistake as Amanullah, another reforming monarch, and in consequence has, so far at least, escaped the same fate. When he went on his visit to Europe in 1924, he took with him all the chieftains who might have been liable to make trouble in his absence.

Lord Noel-Buxton has recorded that, when he went to Addis Ababa to see how the supposed abolition of slavery was progressing, the Emperor frequently remarked to him: "I have my own secret thoughts." What those "secret thoughts" are can only be guessed by an European. It would be a safe guess, however, that they are intelligent thoughts; and it is a certain fact that they are allied with a force of character and a patriotism which will not easily be submitted to the demands of any European Power.

THE DARK AGES OF ARITHMETIC

Mr. F. Emerson Andrews has contributed an illuminating article in *The Atlantic* on arithmetical formulas during the time of Emperor Charlemagne and his great schoolmaster, Alcuin. He observes:—

An excellent way to see one's own country, or one's own century, is to visit another.

While I was making just such a mental pilgrimage to the eighth century, a recent interest in unconventional mathematics led me to examine with unusual care the arithmetic of the Franks in the days of Charlemagne and his great schoolmaster, Alcuin.

These were the Dark Ages of arithmetic, as of most other forms of learning. The Hindu-Arabic numerals we use to-day had not been imported by way of Spain, and even among the Arabs there is no evidence that the magic zero—symbol for nothing on which most mathematical science rests—was yet invented. The cumbersome Roman numerals were those used with knowledge among the learned of the still worse Greek ones. Even geometry, which the Greeks under Euclid and Apollonius had developed to a fine science capable of performing operations awkward or impossible with their numerals, was being partly forgotten.

One might suppose that nothing useful or interesting could be learned from examining the arithmetic texts of that Dark Age. I have found the opposite true. The very difficulty men had in performing simple multiplications which a child of ten now does with ease resulted in ingenious devices. Because men had no good set of simple formulas on which to guide to automatic answers, they had to think hard about quantity, and what it did and why. Their strange and often crude ideas of number

have in several instances guided modern mathematicians to important discoveries.

There are two chief sources for our knowledge of the arithmetic of the Middle Ages, both text-books. The first is the *Introduction to Arithmetic* of Nicomachus of Gerasa, concerning whom almost nothing is known except that he lived about 100 A.D., probably in a town not far from Jerusalem, and wrote in Greek what appears to be the world's first true arithmetic. His book contributed little that was new, but it summarized most of the arithmetical knowledge and beliefs of his time. Boethius, prolific writer and Christian martyr of the sixth century, popularized Nicomachus by re-writing him in Latin, the common language of the scholars of the day. The text-books of these two men, together with minor contributions of other writers, constituted the arithmetic of the Dark Ages.

There are dreary wastes and blind stumblings in this arithmetic, but there were also some facts which most of the world has since forgotten. How many people know to-day that any number can be squared without multiplication, simply by adding a series of odd numbers equal to the number to be squared? For instance, the square of 3 (which is 9) is the sum of the first three odd numbers, $1+3+5=9$. And the square of 8 (or 64) is the sum of the first eight odd numbers, $1+3+5+7+9+11+13+15=64$. And so on infinitely, through all the possible integral squares.

We no longer need this method since multiplication has been reduced to an efficient formula. But imagine the difficulty the powerful emperor Charlemagne had in trying to multiply, say XXXVII by XXIX. Just these practical difficulties, in either the Roman or the Greek numerals, led to some concepts of number that sound strange in our ears, and will bear examining.

Nicomachus thought the creation could be divided into two varieties—magnitudes and multitudes. Magnitudes were things like the earth itself, or a tree, and were infinitely divisible. Multitudes were like a heap of stones or a flock of ship, and these were infinitely increasable. It followed that 'sciences are always sciences of limited things,' or things that could be numbered. Arithmetic itself occupied a special position, for without it no science could exist, but it needed no science for its own existence.

Boethius used number for his division of the famous quadrivium of the Middle Ages. 'Numbers absolute' constituted arithmetic. 'Numbers in mutual relationship' were the foundation of music. 'Quantity at rest' was the subject-matter of geometry; 'quantity in motion,' of Astronomy.

TRAINING INDIANS FOR MILITARY CAREERS

None should deny that with the introduction of the new constitution, greater avenue should be explored to train Indian youths in the art of strategy in a more perfect way than it was before.

St. Nihal Sing in an article on the above subject in *The Modern Review* partially criticizes, amongst others, the recommendations of the Skeen Committee in the following manner:—

The Skeen Committee recommended that young men who had passed the Matriculation examination should be eligible to admission to the Indian Military Academy. They should undergo a three years' training—twice as long as at Sandhurst. The first year should be devoted chiefly to academic studies to enable cadets drawn from institutions not of the "public

school " type to improve their general knowledge and colloquial English and also to develop physique and character. These objects, it was thought, could be better achieved in that way than by compelling them to remain a further year and a half at school and then undergo a short military training. The remaining two years at the Academy should be devoted largely to studying military subjects. The cadets would thus be able to obtain their commissions at approximately the same age as British cadets passing out of Sandhurst.

It was specially stipulated that the course should be so framed as to secure specific recognition from Universities. Young men who did not succeed in securing the King's Commission could, through that device, continue their studies at a University on a level with contemporaries of like age.

The Committee further recommended that the cadets who succeeded in passing the tests should be attached to a Cavalry or Infantry unit in the United Kingdom for a period of one year. Through this device they might become accustomed to associating with British officers.

A careful note must be made of this point. I shall refer to it in the second article.

To grasp the other recommendations of the Skeen Committee it is necessary to realize that cadets at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst are trained only for the infantry and cavalry units and that those desirous of entering the technical units of the army receive training in other institutions in England. In India the term "Sandhurst" has been used loosely to comprehend training for all arms and this has given rise to misconception. This practice is strongly to be deprecated.

The Skeen Committee recommended the lifting of the barriers that were keeping Indians out of technical arms—that henceforward Indians be made eligible to serve as King's Commissioned Officers in the Artillery, Engineer, Signal, Tank and Air arms of the army in India. The members of the Committee who had travelled in other lands and studied conditions there had come to the very definite conclusion that adequate facilities for giving the necessary training for such purposes were not available in India. Existing engineering establishment in our country—the Thomason College of Engineering at Roorkee was specially mentioned—fell below the standard of similar institutions in Britain. Since it would be uneconomic immediately to provide facilities in India corresponding to those in Britain, they recommended that carefully selected young men should be admitted to Woolwich and Cranwell for some years to come.

These boys should be required to pass the same qualifying tests as their British compeers. Eight vacancies should be allotted to Indians at Woolwich (in 1928) and two at the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell ; and the number should be increased progressively in due proportion.

These words are significant. They need no comment from me.

News and Views

[A monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.]

State Scholarships

In order to encourage students to acquire specialised instruction in subjects like medicine, agriculture, engineering, pedagogics, technology, etc, Junagadh State Government have sanctioned Rs. 5,264 a year, in addition to Rs. 5,960 already sanctioned, to be given away to students as scholarships.

These are open to students of the backward classes only, provided that they are prepared to offer their services to the State for the first three years after passing their final examination should the State required them to do so.

Indian's success: Obtains Honours in LL. B. Degree

An Indian's name figures in London University's LL.B. honours list. There are only five firsts in the present list and Mr. Subimal Chandra Roy is one of them.

A son of Mr. Subodh Chandra Roy, the Calcutta barrister, Mr. Subimal Chandra Roy came to London after a brilliant career at the Calcutta University. During his three years' stay in London he has been an active member of University College Debating Society and a member of the Law Society of the University of London. Mr. Roy has left to spend a short holiday in India and will return to London to read for the Bar.

Carnegie Scholarship for Indian Scholar

Dr. Itrjt Husainzubri has been awarded the Carnegie Scholarship of £250 for two years by the Edinburgh University, for higher research on 17th century English poetry.

He is the first Indian to be awarded this scholarship.

London University : Indians in B. Sc. Honours list

A number of candidates from India secured Honours in the B.Sc. (Economics) examination of London University.

Manoharrao Narsingrao. Amiya Kumar Sen and Tarlok Singh obtained a second class pass in the upper division.

Shiavax Sorabji Bhathena, Ganesh Vasudeo Deshpande, Tehmuras Darashaw Doongaji, T. J. D'Souza, Muhammad Abdul Khadar, Mijar Vittal Pai, Konda Malli R. S. Reddy, Durgeshwar Dayal Seth and Akbarali Gulamhusen Vazir obtained a second class pass in the lower division.

Kumaril Vinayak Mehta secured a second class pass (external examination).

Education Congress : More than 1,500 Delegates Present

More than 1,500 delegates were present in Oxford for the meeting of the World Education Congress.

All grades of teaching, from free school to university, were represented.

The delegates have come from all parts of the British Empire (including India), the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and many other countries.

The Congress is the occasion of synchronized conferences of the World Federation of Education Associations, the International Federation of Associations of Secondary Teachers, and the International Federation of Teachers Associations.

A Private Museum worth Rs. 2 Lakhs : Zeminder's offer

The proposal by Mr. Narendra Narayan Roy, Zamindar of Baldah in Dacca district, to present his entire private museum worth about Rs. 2,00,000 to the Bengal Government on condition that its collections are housed in the Dacca Museum, has brought the affairs of the Dacca Museum to the forefront again.

About 10 years ago Mr. Roy began to interest himself in the formation of a home museum. The museum grew and soon occupied almost all the available door space on the ground floor of his Dacca residence. Inscribed and historical swords, daggers, spears, battle-axes, matchlocks, armour, old coins, Dacca Muslins, carpets, and musical instruments are some of the articles to be found in his museum.

About three years ago Mr. Roy purchased on the outskirts of the city of Dacca more than 300 bighas of land, almost an entire village, with the intention of converting the area into a botanical garden. As it is his habit to look into everything personally, the strain of maintaining his home garden, his home museum and finally his new venture probably proved too much for him. Hence the proposal to hand over his museum to the Bengal Government to be made a part of the Dacca Museum.

In 1933 the Bengal Government appointed a committee to consider what steps should be taken to reorganize the Dacca Museum and bring it into closer association with Dacca University.

The committee submitted a unanimous report in October, 1933, but the Government has not yet given effect to its recommendations. It is believed that Mr. Roy's offer will help the Government in coming to a decision regarding the future of the Dacca Museum.

Dr. William Carey

To commemorate the 175th birthday anniversary of Dr. William Carey, the founder of the Serampur College, a meeting of the staff and students was held in the College Hall, Rev. J. N. Rawson, the Principal, presiding.

The Rev. B. A. Nag who was a speaker for the occasion, dwelt on the influence Dr. Carey exerted upon Bengal's religious leaders of the last century such as Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshabchandra Sen and Dwarkanath Tagore.

A Social was organised on the previous evening for the resident staff and students in the College Hostel where tributes to the memory of Dr. Carey were paid by Professor Barclay and Professor Guha, and several students. Dr. Barclay spoke about the Carey centenary celebration held last year in England, and Scotland and at the Baptist World Congress, in Berlin.

Practical Farming for Youths

The Government policy of imparting a rural bias to education in Bengal will be introduced at the Agricultural Institute at Rajshahi, which will be named after the donor, the late Kumar Basantakumar Roy of Dighapatia.

The courses of study at the Institute will consist of training in dairy-farming, including preparation of dairy products, horticulture, poultry rearing, cigarmaking and practical farming.

Specialized courses will be provided for dairy chemistry and dairy bacteriology, and instruction will be imparted in the canning and bottling of fruits and vegetables.

The Institute will have for its use the lands of the Government farm at Rajshahi, while the present staff of the Rajshahi College will be utilized for instruction in the basic sciences.

The extra staff to be employed will consist of a horticulturist who has specialized in canning and an instructor in dairying. Provision has also been made for an instructor in poultry management and a dairy overseer.

Admission will be open to two classes of students, namely, casual and regular.

The donor created by his will an endowment of a nominal value of Rs. 2½ lakhs in Government Promissory Notes for the introduction of agricultural education at Rajshahi. The funds of the endowment now stand at Rs. 3,84,300 of which it is proposed to utilize Rs. 30,000 to meet the capital expenditure of the Institute while from the balance a sum of Rs. 15,000 will be available annually in interest to meet the running cost.

Need of Scientific Training

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who returned from England about five weeks ago, is now engaged in drafting the provisional report of the U. P. Unemployment Committee, of which he is the chairman.

It is understood that the draft report will shortly be considered by the committee.

His Excellency Sir Harry Haig, Governor of the United Provinces, is believed to be of the opinion that education should be so adapted to the needs of the country that after the completion of educational careers the question of unemployment will not arise.

It is understood that after his recent tour of foreign countries, where he closely examined the question of unemployment, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru holds the view that the unemployment remedy lies in the expansion of industries and wider and more extensive industrial and vocational teaching.

Secondary Education.

It is likely that a considerable modification of the system of secondary education will be recommended in order that students, after finishing secondary education, may be fitted to enter an industrial course of studies. There is apparently a considerable volume of opinion in the country demanding the provision of scientific and industrial education immediately after the secondary education stage.

The Allahabad University, Chemistry Department has furnished to the committee a statement showing the extent of unemployment among ex-students of the Chemistry Department. It is reported that of the 18 persons

awarded the Doctorate degree during the past 14 years, one is at present carrying on research work in Paris. The rest are employed in important teaching or research posts all over the country. Of the 115 M.Sc. degree students turned out during the same period, only five are reported to be unemployed. This, it is stated, strongly supports the view that there is a considerable demand in the country for qualified persons in scientific and industrial careers.

An important recommendation which is likely to find a place in the report is the introduction of the Chamber practice system in the United Provinces, under which the work of a certain number of senior lawyers will be restricted to Chamber practice, that is, of giving legal advice.

Education Board's Functions

"The Government of India have decided to revive the central Advisory Board of Education," says a resolution of the Department of Education, Health and Lands.

The functions of the Board will be to advise on any educational questions which may be referred to it by the Government of India or by any local Government; to call for information and advise regarding educational developments of special interest or value to India; and to examine this information and circulate it with recommendations to the Government of India and to local Governments. The constitution of the board will be the Hon. Member in Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands (chairman), the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, six nominees of the Government of India, of whom one at least will be a woman, one member elected by the Council of State, two members elected by the Legislative Assembly, three members nominated by the Inter-University Board of India, a representative of each local Government who will be either the Minister in Charge of Education (or his deputy) or the Director of Public Instruction (or his deputy).

Method of Working.

The tenure of office of non-official members of the Board will be three years. Official members of the Board will continue to act until they are replaced by others. The Secretary of the Board will be appointed by the Government of India.

The resolution gives details of the method of working. The Board will form standing and *ad hoc* committees and will have the power of appointing to those committees persons who are not members of the Board but who possess special knowledge and experience of the problems which the committees will examine. The Government of India have not yet fixed any date for the first meeting of the Board but it is anticipated that it will be held at Delhi as soon as possible after the beginning of the cold weather.

Education for Hill Boys

A Government education conference opened recently at Shillong under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. W. L. Scott, Revenue Member, on the policy to be adopted for the education of boys in the hill districts of Assam.

Representatives of missionary bodies working in the hills, the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners of the Hill districts, the Director of Public Instruction and the Secretary to the Education Department attended.

Important items on the agenda were the medium of instruction, the steps to be taken to encourage industrial and agricultural training; and the better control and inspection of village schools.

Indian Military College

It is understood that Dr. B. S. Moonjee's scheme for an Indian Military College is now complete. He will register it in the course of this week. Although the site for the College has not yet been fixed, it is almost certain that it will be situated between Manmad and Nasik. The college is expected to commence work immediately.

University of Allahabad

For the purpose of advising students of the Allahabad University desirous of competing for the various competitive examinations held in India by the Public Services Commission of India, the Executive Council of the Allahabad University has appointed an Advisory Board. The Board will consist of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Charles Weir, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Mr. Prakash Narain Sapru, Dr. Meghanath Saha, Dr. Tarachand and Prof. Amarnath Jha. It is to be hoped that other Universities in India will follow the example of the Allahabad University.

Government Arts College, Rajamundry

The inaugural address of the Metcalfe Young Men's Literary Association attached to the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, was delivered by Mr. S. K. Chettur, M.A., I.C.S., the subject of his discourse being "The appreciation of Poetry." Mr. D. S. Sarma, M.A., L.T., Principal, presided. Mr. Chettur criticised the way in which poetry was being taught in schools and colleges in India and said that no attempt was made by lecturers to interpret the spirit of the poem and the mood in which it was written by the poet. The President remarked that poetry was a great civilising agent in the history of mankind and that poetry would reveal to us the significance of life. The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. V. Butchi Ramiah, the Secretary of the Association.

Teachers' College, Madras

The Universities must train young men not only to make them fit for the struggle in life but also for welding the nation together so that our differences may be wiped out and we may become one. In this welding together of the nation teachers have a great part to play" observed Dr. P. Subbarayan, B.A. (OXON.), B.C.L., BAR.-AT-LAW, M.L.C., delivering the inaugural address of the Teachers' College Association. Rao Sahib P. K. Ananthanarayana Aiyar, M.A., L.T., Principal of the College, presided.

Gurselves

I. The late Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary.—II. A New Ph.D.—III. A New D.L.—IV. Dr. A. J. Barnet Kempere.—V. Darbhanga Research Scholar for 1935.—VI. Sadhan Memorial Prize.—VII. New Affiliation.—VIII. University Extension Lectures.—IX. University Readership Fund.—X. University Students' Information Bureau.—XI. Dates of University Examinations.—XII. Results of University Examinations.—Notifications.

I. THE LATE SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY.

It is with a feeling of profound melancholy that we have to refer to the death of Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, who passed away in the early hours of the 11th August at the old age of seventy five. In him Bengal has lost a patriotic son and the University its first non-official Vice-Chancellor. Son of Dr. Surya Coomar Sarvadhikary, the first Indian Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and nephew of Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikary, the first non-Brahmin Principal of the Sanskrit College, it was quite in the fitness of things that Sir Devaprasad should devote his leisure and energy unsparingly to the cause of culture and education. For long a member of the Syndicate, Sir Devaprasad was regarded as the right-hand man of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee while that great Vice-Chancellor was slowly but steadily organising the teaching and research departments of the Calcutta University. When Sir Asutosh vacated his office after eight years of uninterrupted labour and unbroken success, Sir Devaprasad was called upon to occupy his place and it was during his Vice-Chancellorship that the dreams of Sir Asutosh were realised and a teaching institution was superimposed upon the old examining University. He came to the helm of the University at a critical moment and his brilliant success earned him the Knighthood he deserved so well. As an educationist Sir Devaprasad will always occupy a very high position in the history of this country. But his activities were not confined to education alone. Every movement, social, political, spiritual or intellectual, drew from him a ready response and there is hardly a society or association worth the name to which he did not lend his support and extend his patronage. A Congressman of the old type, Sir Devaprasad believed in a policy of co-operation but he never failed to work according to his conviction. He was one of those twenty-eight immortals who resigned their seats on the Corporation in protest against the Mackenzie Act. The Bengali

literature owes him a heavy debt of gratitude. He shared Sir Asutosh's robust optimism and sincerely believed in the future glory of his mother tongue. He wielded a powerful and facile pen and his charming prose will be a source of pleasure and joy to generations of the Bengalee reading public. A scion of a Kulin family, Sir Devaprasad was a fit representative of the aristocracy of intellect and a perfect embodiment of olden courtesy, which never failed to touch a responding chord in his friends and acquaintances. The call of duty never found him slumbering and he readily placed himself at the disposal of his country. Twice did he represent his *Alma Mater* at the Universities' Congress of the British Empire; was a member of the assembly of the League of Nations; even the stupendous and almost impossible task of winning the elementary rights of citizenship for his fellow countrymen in South Africa could not cool his ardour or shake his faith in the ultimate triumph of Truth and Justice. It will be long before the void he leaves can be filled. Our sympathy goes to the bereaved family whose loss we mourn and whose sorrow we share.

* * *

II. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Banikanta Kakati, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University on a thesis entitled "Assamese, its formation and development." The thesis was adjudicated by a Board of Examiners consisting of Professor Jules Bloch, Dr. A. C. Woolner and Professor Sunitikumar Chatterji.

We offer our congratulations to the worthy recipient of the distinction.

* * *

III. A NEW D.L.

Mr. Jitendranath Das-Gupta, M.A., M.L., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Law of this University on his main thesis entitled 'Burden of Proof' supplemented by two subsidiary theses (1) 'The rules against and the Indian Evidence Act,' (2) 'Effect of Mistake on Possession.' The theses were examined by a Board consisting of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee and Sir Krishnaswami Aiyar.

Mr. Das-Gupta is Professor of Law in the Dacca University where he has distinguished himself by his learning and researches. We offer our hearty congratulations to the worthy recipient of the honour.

* * *

IV. DR. A. J. BARNET KEMPERE.

We understand that Dr. A. J. Barnet Kempere, PH.D., has been appointed special University Reader to deliver a course of at least two lectures on the "Development of Hindu-Japanese Culture and Art specially in connection with its relations to Indian Culture." The date of the lectures will be announced later.

* * *

V. DARBHANGA RESEARCH SCHOLAR FOR 1935.

We are informed that on the recommendation of the Faculty of Medicine Mr. Hemendranath Chatterjee, M.B., has been appointed Darbhanga Research Scholar for the year 1935 on the usual terms and conditions.

* * *

VI. SADHAN MEMORIAL PRIZE.

The University has accepted an offer from Sreemati Charubala Devi of 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 400 for creating an endowment for the annual award of a Prize to be called "Sadhan Memorial Prize" to be given to the student, male or female, irrespective of caste, colour or creed, who will secure the highest marks in Sanskrit in the Matriculation Examination from the schools in the district of Backergunj. The prize is to be awarded in books.

The amount may be small but the spirit of the gift is commendable.

* * *

VII. NEW AFFILIATION.

We are informed that with effect from the commencement of the session 1935-36, "Our Lady's House," Shillong, will be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Khasi, Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, Latin, History, Logic and Civics to the I.A. standard.

VIII. UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LECTURES.

We are glad to announce that Mr Nagendranath Ghosh, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta has been invited to deliver a course of University Extension Lectures on the Vedas and the Avesta. The lectures are to be delivered after the Puja holidays. Mr. Ghosh was formerly Tagore Professor of Law in the University. His range of study transcends the domain of Law and he has already distinguished himself by his thoughtful contributions on Ancient History. We have every reason to believe that his lectures will be illuminating.

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IX. UNIVERSITY READERSHIP FUND.

We understand that the University is in communication with the Government of Bengal in the matter of the restoration of the Government Grant under the above head to its former amount, viz., Rs. 4,000. The amount has of late been reduced to Rs 2,000, to which the University had to agree purely as a temporary measure. In view of the commitments (to the extent of Rs. 9,000) already undertaken by the University in regard to the lectures of Madame Montessori, Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, Sir Denison Ross, Dr. C. E. Turner, Prof. Y. Noguchi and Prof. Zoltan de Takaes, there will hardly be any working balance left in the Fund. In the circumstances, it is but legitimate that the Grant should be restored now that there is ample balance available within the total grant sanctioned by the Legislative Council for the University. Otherwise, the University will not be in a position to take any further steps in accordance with the provisions of Chapter X of the Regulations.

• • •

X. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' INFORMATION BUREAU.

The University Students' Information Bureau for 1935-37 has been constituted as follows:—

The Vice-Chancellor, Chairman, *Ex-officio*.

The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, *Ex-officio*.

Prof. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D.LITT., D.D. (Representative—Faculty of Arts.)

P. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.). (Do.—Science.)

Lt.-Col. A. D. Stewart, C. I. E., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.S.E., D.P.H., D.T.M. & H., F.S.M.F. (Bengal)—Faculty of Medicine.

Amin Ahmed, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), M.A. (Cal.), Barrister-at-Law, Representative of the Faculty of Law.

R. Wolfenden, Esq., M.B.E., M.Sc., M.I.MECH.E., M.I.E. (Ind.), Barrister-at-Law Representative of Faculty of Engineering).

A. H. Harley, Esq., M.A.

Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law.

Prof. Hemendrakumar Sen, M.A., D.Sc., D.I.C.

} Appointed by the
Syndicate.

Prof. Surendranath Sen, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT. (Oxon.)—Representative, Ex. Com. of the Council of P. G. T., Arts.

Prof. Himadrikumar Mookerjee, D.Sc., D.I.C. (Lond.)—Representative, Ex. Com. of the Council of P. G. T., Science.

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XI. DATES OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

The commencing dates of the University Examinations have been fixed as follows:—

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Matriculation Examination, 1936 | ... 12th March, 1936. |
| 2. I.A. & I.Sc. Examinations, 1936 | ... 17th February, 1936. |
| 3. B.A. & B.Sc. Examinations, 1936 | ... 23rd March, 1936. |
| 4. Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law, January, 1936 | ... 6th January, 1936. |
| 5. M.L. Examination, 1935 | ... 16th December, 1935. |
| 6. L.T. & B.T. Examinations | ... 15th April, 1936. |

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XII. RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

The results of the last Law and Engineering Examinations have been reported as follows:—

Preliminary Examination in Law, July, 1935.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 650, of whom 123 were absent and 2 were disallowed.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 525, of whom 267 passed and 258 failed.

Of the successful candidates 16 were placed in Class I and 251 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 50·8.

Intermediate Examination in Law, July, 1935.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 485, of whom 78 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 407, of whom 282 passed and 125 failed.

Of the successful candidates 24 were placed in Class I and 258 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 69.28.

Final Examination in Law, July 1935.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 691, of whom 229 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 462, of whom 329 passed and 133 failed.

Of the successful candidates 25 were placed in Class I and 304 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass is 71.2.

I. E. Section A.

45 candidates were registered in connection with the Examination. Of these 8 were registered for Mathematics only, having already qualified in the Groups Chemistry and Physics. 1 was registered in Physics only, having already qualified in Mathematics and Chemistry; and 2 were registered in Chemistry only, having already qualified in Mathematics and Physics.

Of the 34 who presented themselves in all groups, 20 passed in all groups, 10 were partially successful, 1 failing to qualify in Mathematics only, 1 in Physics only and 7 in Chemistry only; and 4 failed completely.

Of the 8 candidates who appeared in Mathematics only, all passed. Of the 2 who appeared in Chemistry only, both qualified and one who appeared in Physics only, qualified. Thus 31 have passed and have now completed I.E. Section A.

I. E. Section B.

58 candidates were definitely registered for the Examination and 6 were provisionally registered subject to their completing Section A.

Of these 6, all qualified in Section A. The number, therefore, validly registered for this Examination was 64. Of these, 41 passed and 23 failed.

Of the 11 B.Sc. candidates (included I.E. Section B) who were validly registered for this Examination, and therefore appeared in Section B only, 9 passed and 2 failed.

B.E. (Civil Engineering).

Non-Professional Section.

35 candidates were registered in connection with this Examination. Of these 1 was registered for Mathematics only and one for Science only. All were present. Of the 33 candidates who presented themselves for the whole examination, 31 qualified in both Mathematics and Science ; 1 failed to qualify in Mathematics only, and one failed to qualify in Science only. The candidate who had qualified previously in Science and appeared in Mathematics only, qualified in Mathematics and thus completed the Examination. The candidate who had qualified previously in Mathematics and appeared in Science only, duly qualified in Science. 33 candidates thus completed the Non-Professional Section.

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THE LATE PROF. PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI.

Close upon the death of Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary comes the stunning news that Professor Prabhatchandra Chakravarti is no more. By his death the University has lost a teacher distinguished for scholarship and power of exposition. A man of rare intelligence and profound learning, Prof. Chakravarti never spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge. Ever since he joined his appointment as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Post-Graduate Department, he set to himself a very ambitious scheme of work which it was his most cherished wish to see accomplished. He had the satisfaction to find that his industry had borne fruit at last, though alas, it was at the cost of his life. Two of his works, *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* and *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*, will bear testimony to his claim to distinction: they ultimately won for him the Asutosh Chair of Sanskrit in this University. But, alas, it was not given to him to enjoy this hard-earned distinction for long. His health had already given way and he died on the 2nd September, only a year after he had been appointed Asutosh Professor, and he died in harness, having taken upon himself the arduous task of preparing a comprehensive selection of the Vedas. A valuable life with promise of a glorious future has been cut short and the University is the poorer by the sad and untimely demise of Prof. Chakravarti. We offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family.

NOTIFICATIONS.

1. *Woodhouse Memorial Prize.*

In memory of Mr. E. J. Woodhouse, Late Economic Botanist and Principal of Sabour Agricultural College, who was killed in action in France in 1917, a biennial prize in the form of a silver medal and books of a combined value of Rs. 100/- will be awarded to the writer of the best essay on a subject of botanical interest to be selected from the list noted below. The length of the essay should not exceed 4,000 words. The competition is open to graduates of Indian Universities and to Diploma-holders and Licentiates of recognised Agricultural Colleges in India who are not more than 30 years of age on the date of submission of their essays. Papers should be forwarded to the Director of Agriculture, Bihar and Orissa, Patna, before November 1st, 1935. Failing papers of sufficient merit no award will be made. Essays must be typewritten on one side of paper only.

1. *Intergeneric hybrids and their importance to Agriculture.*
2. *The problem of rust of wheat in India.*
3. *The constancy of agricultural and Botanical characters of paddy and their suitability for being used in a scheme of classification.*
4. *Rotation of crops in relation to the eradication of weeds.*

2. *Public Service Commission (India).*

In December next or as early as possible thereafter, a section will be made of:—(a) Eight candidates for appointment as Special Class Apprentices in the Mechanical Engineering and Transportation (Power) Departments and 4 Special Class Apprentices in the Electrical Engineering Department of the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways under the regulations published in Part I of the *Gazette of India*, dated the 13th July, 1935, under Railway Department (Railway Board) Notifications Nos. E.-35-R. R.-71 and E.-35-R. R.-71-1 respectively. (b) Fifteen candidates for appointment as Apprentices for training in Ordnance and Clothing Factories in India under the rules published in Part I of the *Gazette of India*, dated the 13th July, 1935, under Army Department Notification No. 417, as follows:—

(1) For the Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore	...	3
(2) For the Rifle Factory, Ishapore	...	5
(3) For the Gun and Shell Factory, Cossipore	...	5
(4) For the Clothing Factory, Shahjahanpur	...	2

The selection will be a combined one for the purpose of selecting candidates for appointment as Apprentices to either of the above-mentioned Departments, for one or both of which a candidate may apply to be admitted. If he wishes to be a candidate for both he should state this on his application form. He need send in only one application form. He will be required to pay the fees mentioned in the rules and regulations once only and will

not be required to pay separate fees for each Department for which he applies. If he proves successful as a candidate for both Departments he will ordinarily be assigned to that Department for which he expressed a preference at the time of his application, but the Government of India reserve power to assign him to either of the Department for which he is a candidate, if, in their opinion, the exigencies of the public service render this desirable. The qualifications of candidates and the method of selection are contained in Part II of the relevant rules and regulations. Candidates must have been born not earlier than the 2nd August, 1916. This age limit can in no case be relaxed. Any person who has appeared, or intends to appear, at an examination the passing of which will render him eligible for selection may also apply. His application will be accepted provisionally if he is eligible in all other respects, and he will be required to furnish to the Public Service Commission, before the date on which the test prescribed in the Rules and Regulations is held, proof of having passed such qualifying examination. Every candidate must apply on the prescribed form of application so as to reach the authority mentioned in Regulation 6 each of the Railway Board's Notifications and in Rule 8 of the Army Department Notification *on or before the 16th September, 1935*, accompanied by the necessary documents. No application received after that date will be considered. No allegation that an application form, or letter respecting such form, has been lost or delayed in the post will be considered unless the person making such allegation produces a Post Office registration receipt or a certificate of posting. Candidates who delay their applications, or their requests for forms, until a late date will do so at their own risk. Copies of the Rules and Regulations, Application Form, etc., can be obtained from the Local Governments and Political Officers or Agents. The Government of India reserve the power to modify the arrangements and rates of pay indicated in the Rules and Regulations according to the requirements of the services.

3. *Leiden University.*

S. J. Visser, LL.D., who died in 1919, bequeathed his fortune to Leiden University on the condition that the revenue should be utilized in order to promote the study of international public and private law: he specially stipulated that every three years a sum of at least 5,000 Dutch guilders should be destined for an international prize-subject. Accordingly, the Law Faculty of Leiden University the following prize-subject:

The *Legatum Visserianum* invites essays on the question how the idea of an international police force can be developed with a view to the formation of an international air force, having regard, in particular, to the legal, military, and technical aspects of the subject. Essays should be based upon a critical survey of the present position of the problem, as it appears from legal, technical and military publications, and from actual schemes, framed by governments, parliaments, or expert private associations and should, if possible, be accompanied by draft clauses of treaties, regulations, instructions, etc.

Essays may be submitted by individuals or groups of two or three persons, provided that they belonged to different professions, *e.g.*, by a jurist, a soldier, and an engineer, or by similar groups.

The answer shall be typewritten in German, English, French or Dutch and must arrive in the hands of the Dean of the Law Faculty of Leiden University before March 1st 1937; the manuscript shall bear a motto, that must be reproduced on a sealed envelope joined to the manuscript and

containing both the name and the address of the author or the authors.

Prizes will be adjudged to an amount of 5,000 Dutch guilders to those answers which, in the opinion of the Faculty, will deserve the reward.

After the prizes being adjudged the Dean, in a session of the Faculty, will open the sealed envelopes corresponding to the answers to which prizes have been awarded, and will inform the author or the authors about the Faculty's decision; the other envelopes will be burned during the same session.

4. University of Mysore.

(Notification No. 2589, dated the 29th July 1935)

The Navinam Ramanujacharya Sanskrit Prize.

1. A prize of the value of Rs. 120 founded by *Dharmapravrittha Dharmadhikari Navinam Ramanujacharya* will be awarded by the University Council for the best essay in Sanskrit on any one of the following subjects:—

1. Kavisamaya.
2. The Conception of Atman in Indian Darsanas.

2. Graduates of any Indian University who have taken the B.A. Degree not earlier than 1925, are eligible to compete for the prize, but no one who has already won it may compete again.

3. The essay must be the result of the personal investigations of the author and must contain clear evidence of independent and original research.

4. Each candidate should state generally in an introductory note, and specifically in foot-notes, the extent to which he has relied upon different sources of information and the portion which he claims as his original work. If any portion of the work was done in collaboration or under guidance, the nature and extent of such collaboration or guidance must be stated clearly.

5. Each candidate must forward two copies of his essay together with a statement as to when and where the work was carried out.

6. The essay should have a motto instead of the writer's name and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the candidate, the year in which he passed the highest University Examination, the name of the University, his post office address and a declaration that the essay sent by him is his own *bona fide* composition.

The essay should be forwarded to the Registrar, University of Mysore, so that it may reach him on or before the 30th June 1936.

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V. GOPALASWAMI AYENGAR,

Registrar.

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OCTOBER, 1935

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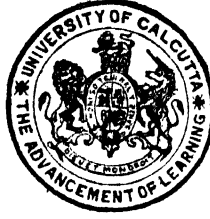
SAIVISM AND ASSOCIATE CULTS OF CENTRAL JAVA

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

The Calcutta Review



THE LATE PROFESSOR P. J. BRÜHL, D.Sc., I.S.O., F.C.S., F.G.S.
F.A.S.B.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1935

HINDU SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE FROM CHANDESVARA TO RAMMOHUN (C. 1300—1833).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

SMRITI NIBANDHAS OF THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES

CHANDESVARA'S *Smritiratnakara* is a *Nibandha* or digest of law in seven sections, each called *Ratnakara*.¹ The sections are named after (1) *Kṛitya* or ceremonial observances and festivities (*vratas*), (2) *Dana* (gifts), (3) *Vyavahara* (legal procedure), (4) *Suddhi* (purification on birth, death, etc.), (5) *Puja* (worship), (6) *Vivada* (civil and criminal law), and (7) *Grihastha* (house-holder). Some of these *Ratnakaras* were composed in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (1314-24). His *Rajanitiratnakara* in an independent treatise. It may have been composed in the third quarter of the same century.

Madhava, the minister of Vijayanagara, is the author of a commentary on the *Parasara Smṛiti*. His work on *Kalanirnaya* also is well known. Both these treatises were composed in the middle of the fourteenth century (1335-1360).

¹ Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol. I (Poona, 1930).

Visvesvara's *Madanaparijata* is a *Smṛiti* work written for King Madanapala of Kanauj (1360-70). His *Smṛiti Kaumudī* is a treatise specializing in the *adhikara* (rights) and duties of the Sudra. Two other works, ascribed to him, namely, the *Madana-maharnava* and *Tithinirnayasara* have become famous.

A classic in the line of *bhasya* is Kulluka's commentary on Manu. The author is a Bengali but belongs to the Benares school by domicile. He draws substantially upon Medhatithi's commentary (c. 850) but does not mention Jimutavahana (c. 1100-50). His dates are uncertain (c. 1250-1425 ?).

Vachaspati's *Vivadachintamani* was written for Harinarayana of Mithila towards the end of the fifteenth century.

The *Sarasvati-rilasa* was composed under orders of King Prataparudra (1497-1539) of Orissa in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The work is authoritative in Southern India. Towards the commencement of the work we come across the Kautalyan doctrine of *mandala*. It is discussed on the authority of Parasara, Usanas, Visnu, Brihaspati, Visalaksa, Manu and others.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century the *Todarananda* was composed by Todaramalla (d. 1589), the celebrated Hindu commander and statesman of Akbar the Great. This encyclopaedic work, dealing as it does not only with law but with astronomy and medicine as well, is a few years anterior to but may be taken as contemporaneous with Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* (1597).

RAGHUNANDANA

Raghunandana's *Astavimsatitattva* may have been composed about 1570. He is said to have been a fellow-pupil of Chaitanya (1485-1534) under Vasudeva Sarvabhauma and may have been his junior contemporary and a senior contemporary of Akbar the Great and Abul Fazl. He is by all means anterior to Nilakantha and Mitra-Misra. The *Smṛiti* encyclopaedia of this Bengali jurist may be taken to represent the ideas of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Raghunandana is a man of Navadvipa (Bengal). His treatise is a work in twenty-eight sections, each given over to a *tattva* or topic. The treatise, as available in print, although not in Devanagari but in

Bengali script however, covers over 690 pages of Royal octavo size. The material is made up of some 27,600 verses.¹

Like other *Smṛiti* works the *Astavimsatīṭṭva* also is encyclopaedic. Only, this encyclopaedia covers nothing but the *achara* (individual and domestic *mores*) section of a full-fledged *Dharma* or *Smṛiti Sastra*.

The interests of Raghunandana are wide as life itself. The influences of the season on the human body and mind as well as those of the diverse tastes are to him important enough for analysis. The food-grains, the vegetables, the salts, the fruits, the waters (including the milk of cocoanuts, for instance), the preparations of milk (curds, whey, ghee, etc.), the sugarcane, the palms, the onions, the garlicks, the fishes and the meats and so forth have been likewise described with reference to their physiological bearings on man (Text, pp. 194-200).

Kṛaya-nirṇaya deals with the analysis of purchase as a category of law and economics. The authorities cited in regard to diverse aspects of sale and purchase transactions are Manu, Yajñavalkya, Narada, Brihaspati, and Katyayana (Text, p. 227).

The excavation of tanks, the establishment of gods, the construction of boats, and the treatment of diseases are some of the items of social life described in this treatise. In Raghunandana's discussion of human interests the agricultural lands and their qualities, the plough, the seeds, the bullocks, the art of cultivation have likewise commanded a special attention (pp. 293-296, 297-301, 635-636).

On *Rajanīti* also Raghunandana (pp. 296-297) has something to say. He is a chip of the old Brahmanic diplomacy in the statement that *kṛitva samvāndhakam chapī visvasat satruna nahi*, that is, the king must not trust an enemy even after some relationship (pact) has been established with him. Among the others not to be trusted are the *rajaseri*, i.e., the king's officers. The bad king is always to be feared (*kurajani bhayan nityam*).

In Raghunandana's judgment the king to be adored by everybody is Kartyavīrya, the monarch *yena saagaraparyanta dhanusa nirjita mahi* (by whom the Earth up to the seas was overpowered with his bow). He advises that people should get up in the morning with salutations to Kartyavīrya.

The king should be neither *mṛidu* (mild) nor *daruna* (severe). In the first instance he is likely to be a failure. In the other case he is likely to excite the people (*tiksna udvijate janah*).

¹ Edited by Dukkhiram Kavyaratna (Calcutta, 1907).

The authorities of Raghunandana in political science are the *Matsya Purana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Harivamsa*, and the *Visnu Purana*. He does not mention Manu by name. But Manu's phrases are to be met with. In all the twenty-eight sections this encyclopaedist has quoted altogether some three hundred authorities.

In 1816 Raghunandana's hold on the Hindu society of Bengal was described by Rammohun Roy (1772-1833)¹ as follows: "The whole community in Bengal, with very few exceptions, have since the middle of the last century (c. 1750) forsaken their ancient modes of the performance of ceremonial rites of religion and followed the precepts of the late Raghunandan, and consequently differ in the most essential points of ceremonies from the natives of Bihar, Tirhut and Benares."

Raghunandana was held in great esteem by Rammohun. On the subject of concremation (*sahamarana*) or burning of widows, the so-called *Suttee*, against which it was Rammohun's life-work to agitate until final penalization by law, he places Raghunandana in an interesting light. He says that "the *Smartta* Raghunandana, the modern expounder of law in Bengal, classes concremation among the rites holding out promises of fruition." According to Rammohun, Raghunandana inculcates that learned men should not endeavour to persuade the ignorant to perform rites holding out promises of fruition. Raghunandana is thus interpreted by Rammohun as being opposed to concremation. The verdict of the ancient jurist Angira to the effect that "there is no other course for a widow besides concremation" is interpreted by Raghunandana, says Rammohun, "as conveying exaggerated praise of the adoption of that course."²

In the judgment of Rammohun the position of Raghunandana is very high. In the preface to his English translation of the *Ishopanishad* (1823) "the great Raghunandana" is cited by him as having quoted the authority of Jamadagni, thus: "For the benefit of those who are inclined to worship, figures are invented to serve as representations of God, who is merely understanding and has no second, no parts, nor figure; consequently to these representatives, either male or female forms and other circumstances are fictitiously assigned."

¹ Preface to the English transl. of the *Ishopanishad* (The *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Panini Office, Allahabad, 1906), p. 71.

² Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows (Calcutta, 1830) in The *English Works*, pp. 368, 371-72.

In other words, Raghunandana is a rationalist in regard to Hindu image-worship and Rammohun who is out to defend Hinduism against Christianity accepts Raghunandana as a reliable interpreter of the Hindu images. It is very significant that both as regards *sahamarana* and idolatry or rather image-worship Raghunandana should have been treated as authority by Rammohun with a view to fortify his own social reform propaganda. A man who could furnish even Rammohun with social reform ideas is evidently an extraordinary figure in Hindu sociology.

Social Thought in the 17th and 18th Centuries

The seventeenth century is very great in the output of works on law. The two cousins Kamalakara and Nilakantha, Mitra-Misra, Nanda Pandit and Anantadeva are some of the most remarkable names of his period. Nor must we forget Visvesvara (1620-85), nicknamed the "Gaga Bhatta," who officiated at the coronation ceremony of Shivaji the Great in 1644. He is a nephew of Kamalakara. The treatise entitled *Kāyastha-dharma-dīpa* (1677) is his work in which there is an attempt to raise the Kayasthas socially.

The writer on the most diverse sciences and the author of some twenty works is Kamalakara, the Decanni jurist. His *Nirnaya sindhu* (c. 1612) is still influential among the Marathas of the Bombay Presidency. Two other works on the topics of *Smṛiti Sastras* are the *Sudrakamalakara* and *Viradatandava*. The latter deals with the ordinary topics of *Vyavahara*. The former is an interesting work as it is given over exclusively to the rights and duties of the Sudras. One of his treatises, entitled the *Purtakamalakara* deals with the dedication of tanks, wells, trees, etc., the foundation of public buildings, consecration of temples, images, flags, etc., and the coronation of rulers. It is strange that he should not have cared to devote a special section or treatise to *Rajaniti* like Nilakantha, Mitra-Misra and Anantadeva.

Nilakantha's *Bhagavantabhaskara* is complete in 12 *Mayukhas* (rays). One of the *Mayukhas* is given over to *Rajaniti*. The author was a cousin of Kamalakara and may be taken to have composed his works between 1610 and 1650.

Mitra-Misra's *Viramitrodaya* is an encyclopaedic treatise of *Nibandha*. Its sections are known as *Prakasas*, one of which is the

famous *Rajanitiprakasa*. A commentary on the *Mitaksara* commentary of Yajnavalkya is also from this pen.

The author's patron was Virasimha at whose hands Abul Fazl found his death (1602). Like Nilakantha he flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century and is posterior to Raghunandana.

Nanda Pandita's commentary (called the *Vaijayanti*) on the *Visnu-dharma sutra* is still considered to be an authority of the Benares School. Equally authoritative is his treatise on adoption known as the *Dattaka-Mimamsa*. His works belong to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

A digest of the seventeenth century which is comprehensive in its sections is the *Smritikaustubha* (c. 1675) by Anantadeva, a Deccani jurist. One of its sections is the *Rajadharmakaustubha*, divided into several *Didhitis* (parts). One *Didhiti* deals with the virtues and vices of kings, queens, ministers, etc., the coronation ceremony and so forth. In another *Didhiti* is to be found the description of the law court, the judge, the plaintiff and other items discussed generally in *Vyavahara*. The work was composed under the orders of Baz, Bahadur, ruler of Almora in the Himalayan Hills (c. 1638-1678).

Two great *Nibandha* writers of the eighteenth century were Balambhatta, the "Maratha," and Jagannatha, the Bengali. Both of them came into contact with the British authorities.

Balambhatta's commentary on the *Mitaksara* commentary of Yajnavalkya is a late eighteenth century work (c. 1775). The author was a Deccani (Maratha) scholar, and a *Pandit* to Colebrooke (c. 1800). He is said to have died in ripe old age about 1830. Balambhatta (1740?-1830?) was therefore a senior contemporary of Rammohun (1772-1833).

The commentary is, curiously enough, described, in the colophon as being the work of his mother Laksmidevi. There are several rulings in this treatise to endow women with rights of inheritance such as are denied by the masters Yajnavalkya and Vijnanesvara themselves, and of course by others. Sisters, for instance, are authorized by Balambhatta to succeed immediately after brothers in case a man dies without a male issue.

The real Bengali contemporary of Balambhatta in *Smriti* is Jagannatha Tarkapanchanana (1695-1806), whose life is said to have covered something more than the entire eighteenth century at both ends. But his work *Vivadabhangarnava*, a digest, was prepared at the

suggestion of the British Government under the inspiration of Jones. Parts of it were translated into English by Colebrooke (1797). He was held in great esteem by Rammohun.

The literary work of Rammohun (1772-1833) belongs to the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. He is different from both Balambhatta and Jagannatha in so far as, although they came into contact with British scholars, jurists, or administrators, neither was a student of Western legal or social institutions. Rammohun was born almost at the time when Warren Hastings got the *Vivadarnavasetu* compiled by several Pandits (1773), translated into Persian and then rendered from Persian into English as Halhed's *Gentoo Code* (1774). His early years were passed during the period of the expansion of Western administration in India. We may recall that the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1789 and that the College of Fort William established at Calcutta with Carey as Principal in 1800.

Rammohan was experiencing the new all the time. And if he still appreciated the old it was because of its innate strength and utility. Besides, while Balambhatta and Jagannatha wrote in Sanskrit, Rammohun wrote in Persian, Bengali and English and very little in Sanskrit. Last but not least, so far as the present times are concerned, he was convinced (1) of the greater utility of the modern knowledge, *i.e.*, the culture developed in Europe since the appearance of Baconian¹ philosophy—"mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy and other useful sciences—than of the Hindu *Vyakarana*, *Vedanta*, *Mimamsa*, *Nyaya*, etc., and (2) of the English language than of the Sanskrit as a medium of instruction and culture. To him Bacon was a veritable *Yugavatura* for Europe and for mankind, and the entire Hindu culture similar in value to the pre-Baconian achievements of Europe. It is the post-Baconian arts and sciences that he wanted to see introduced in India under British auspices. All this of course had been *ultima thule* to Balambhatta and Jagannatha.

THE REALISM OF RAMMOHUN

"During the last twenty years," says Rammohun,² "a body of English gentlemen who are called missionaries, have been publicly en-

¹ *A Letter on English Education*, Calcutta, 1823 (*The English Works* pp. 471-474).

² *The Brahmunical Magazine* (or the Missionary and the Brahman) being a Vindication of the Hindoo Religion against the Attacks of Christian Missionaries, 1821 (*The English Works*, pp. 146-147).

deavouring in several ways to convert Hindoos and Mussulmans of this country into Christianity." One of the methods of the missionaries is described as that of distributing among the people various books, large and small, reviling both Hinduism and Islam, as well as of abusing and ridiculing the gods and saints of the former.

This attitude of the English missionaries is subjected by Rammohun to strong criticism and here we encounter, first, his scientific contribution to comparative methodology, and secondly, his objective approach to the socio-religious realities of life. He begins by observing that if the missionaries were to preach the Gospel in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey, Persia, etc., they would be esteemed a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion. But in his logic Bengal's case is entirely different because "for a period of upwards of fifty years this country has been in exclusive possession of the English nation. Here the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people." And, therefore, argues he, under such conditions of helplessness "an encroachment upon the rights of her poor, timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act."

Rammohun is a hardheaded realist. His positivism does not allow him to remain blind to the inevitable disadvantage of a subject race in regard to the scientific and philosophical controversy or discussion with representatives of its political masters. "It seems almost natural," says he, "that when one nation succeeds in conquering another, the former, though their religion may be quite ridiculous, laugh at and despise the religion and manners of those that are fallen into their power. It is, therefore, not uncommon if the English missionaries, who are of the conquerors of this country, revile and mock at the religion of the natives."

It is interesting that nearly a century after these epoch-making passages were written the position of comparative sociology or culture-history with special reference to the relations between Asia and Eur-America remained virtually the same. And the present writer's criticism of the "century-old doctrine of superior races" as responsible for the pernicious fallacies in social science—"The Futurism of Young Asia"—was published in the *International Journal of Ethics* (Chicago, July, 1918).

Not less positive and realistic is the manner in which Rammohun accepts the challenge of the English missionaries *vis-à-vis* the problems

of Indian religions *vs.* Christianity. He knows the realities of the world too well to believe that arguments command respect solely as arguments. Naturally, he suspects that "the small huts in which Brahmans of learning generally reside, and the simple food such as vegetables, etc., which they are accustomed to eat, and the poverty which obliges them to live upon charity" are likely to be taken as evidences of intellectual inferiority by those who happen to be materially in prosperous circumstances. So at the threshold of accepting the challenge on behalf of Hindu India Rammohun hopes that "the missionary gentlemen may not abstain from controversy from contempt" of the poor as the Brahman intellectuals generally are.

To the English missionaries used as they are to political mastery and economic superiority Rammohun's logic that "truth and true religion do not always belong to wealth and power, high names or lofty palaces" should appear to have been quite revolutionary or radical although expressed in a rather moderate and modest language. We understand, at any rate, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Hindu Brahmana was maintaining the same secular viewpoint and clear-headed grasp of the objective joys and sorrows of the world as everybody who had been anybody in Hindu culture-history from the earliest times on.

The problem of Hinduism *vs.* Christianity or rather East *vs.* West, as it is called today, found in Rammohun the first great controversialist of modern Asia and the most redoubtable champion of Brahmanical culture. In his own field he was successfully accomplishing what had been likewise successfully accomplished by Shivaji the Great in another.

In the first number of the *Brahmunical Magazine*¹ he replied to the arguments that had been adduced against the *Sastras* or immediate explanations of the Vedas by the Christian missionaries writing in the *Samachar Darpana* of July 14, 1821. The objections against the *Puranas* and *Tantras* were answered by him in the second number. Rammohun demonstrated (1) that the doctrines of the Vedas were "much more rational" than the religion which the missionaries professed, and (2) that the teachings of the *Puranas* and *Tantras*, "if unreasonable, were not more so than their Christian faith."

¹ *The English Works, etc.*, pp. 147-48.

Comparative religion and sociology were thus placed on new foundations, nay, as we have seen, the logic of the comparative social sciences, *i.e.*, comparative methodology itself.¹ One will recall that almost the same foundations of the comparative method in religion had been laid by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* although he was a member of the ruling race. It is the traditional objectivity, humanism, worldly wisdom and realistic sense of Hindu positivism that enabled Rammohun to encounter the new socio-economic forces and the new *mores* on terms of equality. Thus was modern India once for all endowed with the doctrine of racial equality with which to carry on the subsequent tug-of-wars with the powers that be in fields of societal reconstruction and the remaking of man. The *Vedanta*, the *Puranas*, and the *Tantras*, those great documents of humanism and secular strength that had served the Indian millions through the ages with the perennial power to fight the battles of life, were once more assured the selfsame status in connection with the new conjunctures of the nineteenth century. Indeed the era dawned for a fresh career of *digvijaya* for Hindu culture both in the East and the West.

The last word of Hindu culture as embodied in the qualifications, aptitudes and character of the Indian people was found by Rammohun to be eminently satisfactory. Writing in 1832 (Sept. 28) while in London Rammohun gave his opinion that the Hindus and Mussulmans had the "same capability of improvement as any other civilized people." In his judgment, the people about the courts of the Indian princes were not inferior in point of education and accomplishments to the respectable and wellbred classes in any other country.²

The passage is derived from Rammohun's paper on the "condition of India" submitted as a part of his communication to the Board of Control in connection with the enquiries instituted by the Select Committee of the House of Commons (1831) to consider the renewal of the Company's Charter. His communications dealt also with (1) the judicial system, (2) the revenue system, and (3) the settlement in India by Europeans.³

¹ Re the comparative methodology in Rammohun see Sarkar : *Vartaman Yuge Chin Samrajya* (The Chinese Empire Today 1921), pp. 352-63; *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 83, 301, 303, 304; Badtir Pathe Bangali (Bangalis in Progress), Calcutta, 1934, pp. 514-18.

² *The English Works, etc.*, p. 299.

³ *Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India and of the General Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants* (London, 1832), See the *English Works, etc.*, pp. 229-320.

THE SMRITI AND NITI SASTRAS OF RAMMOHUN

Like Hemadri, Raghunandana, Mitra-Misra and others Rammohun is somewhat of an encyclopaedist. But his writings did not assume the systematic form of those veritable encyclopaedists among his great predecessors. Like his work on the *Vedanta*, the *Upanisads*, the *Bible*, etc., his works on economics, politics, law and sociology also are "occasional," i.e., dictated by the circumstances, occasions or needs of the day. He is a philosopher of action and his pragmatic philosophy has grown from need to need. Each one of his literary contributions owed its existence to a definite and precise purpose. His studies are nothing but "applied," and each one is therefore an essay. He is a propagandist, a pamphleteer and an essayist.

In the fields of applied sociology two items demanded his special attention. The first is the law of property affecting both men and women, and the other is the doctrine of *sahamarana* or concubinage. It is in these two fields that he touches the ground of *Smriti* and *Niti Sastras* and represents the transition between the old and the new in modern India.

Rammohun's *Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance* came out in 1822. It was followed in 1830 by the *Essay on the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal*. It has to be added that eight letters on the Hindu law of inheritance were published in the *Bengal Harkaru* from September 20 to November 23, 1830. Last but not least are to be mentioned his statements to the Select Committee of the House of Commons (1831-32) on the judicial, revenue and economic conditions of India.

Rammohun's appreciation of the Bengali jurists and social thinkers is marvellous. In his *Essay on the Rights of the Hindus over Ancestral Property* (1830) he agrees with Colebrooke in describing Raghunandana, the author of *Dayatattva* (one of the eighteen sections of the *Astavimsatitattva*) based on Jimutavahana's *Dayabhaga* as the "greatest authority on Hindu law" in the province of Bengal. The description of Srikrishna Tarkalankara as the "author of the most celebrated of the glosses of the text" of Jimutavahana's *Dayabhaga* is also accepted by Rammohun as quite valid. And Jagannath Tarkapanchanan is described by Rammohun himself as the "most learned,"

as the "first literary character of his day." "Jagannath's authority has nearly as much weight as that of Raghunandana," says he.

The conservation of the Bengali Hindu tradition in property-law has found in Rammohun a staunch supporter. The "doctrine of free disposal by a father of his ancestral property" is alleged in certain quarters to be opposed to the authority of the medieval Bengali jurist Jimutavahana. This allegation is not accepted as valid by Rammohun. For argument's sake he is prepared to concede this for a moment. But he points out at the same time that the three greatest *Smṛiti* writers of Bengal since Jimutavahana have openly advocated this doctrine. Accordingly Rammohun would ask everybody to support at least the latter-day jurist even, if necessary, against Jimutavahana and argues that "it would be generally considered as a most rash and injurious as well as ill-advised innovation for any administrator of Hindu law of the present day to set himself up as the corrector of successive expositions, admitted to have been received and acted upon as authoritative for a period extending to upwards of three centuries back."¹ Rammohun functions here as a continuator of the tradition established not only by Raghunandana but by the great starting-point of Bengali jurisprudence, namely, Jimutavahana, himself.

On *suttee*, the burning of widows, called *sahamarana* (concremation) Rammohun has three brochures published in 1818, 1820 and 1830. In regard to this question he analyses the *Smṛiti* texts from Manu to Raghunandana and finds that the practice has not been advocated by all. Among the ancients neither the *Vedas*, nor Manu, nor Yajnavalkya can be cited in support, says he. On the other hand, Angira, Visnu, Harita and some other latter-day jurists recommend either concremation or a virtuous life. Rammohun argues, besides, that even when concremation is recommended as an alternative by a jurist it is done as a measure for obtaining "future carnal fruition." But measures like this are forbidden by the *Gita*, Manu and Raghunandana. And Vijnanesvara, the author of the *Mitaksara*, considers concremation as something inferior to virtuous life. Rammohun argues, further, that even Harita and other advocates of concremation do not support concremation if it is not free and voluntary, and permit the widow to abstain from it if she so desires. According

¹ *The English Works, etc.*, pp. 411-412.

to Rammohun, therefore, *suttee* is nothing but suicide and female murder. ¹

We observe that Rammohun's logic is realistic enough not to condemn the Hindu *Smritis* and *astras*. He examines the authorities one by one and finds that they cannot be reasonably held responsible for the *suttee*, inhuman as it is. His profound respect for the juristic and other achievements of Hindu culture is an element in his remarkable positivism. It is the objective *data* of Hindu legal literature that he ransacks and then he applies his reason to the elucidation and comparison of those texts. It is on the strength of Hindu law that he passes his final verdict against concrementation ² such as became associated with some latter-day self-seekers.

The old Hindu institutions of law and polity are in Rammohun's judgment useful and important enough to be preserved in modern times. "The principle of juries," says he, "under certain modifications has from the most remote periods been well understood in this country under the name of the *Panchayet*." In his days the system existed "on a very defective plan." "In former days," he observes, "it was much more important in its functions. It was resorted to by parties at their own option, or by the heads of tribes who assumed the right of investigation and decision of differences; or by the government, which handed over causes to a *Panchayet*." He considers therefore that the *Panchayet*-jury system would be beneficial and acceptable to the inhabitants. Only, as a realist, again, he would like to have it adapted to the circumstances of the times, ³ *i.e.*, supplemented or enriched with the new British juridical institutions.

In regard to the laws of inheritance, ⁴ again, Rammohun is convinced of the value of the Hindu and Moslem codes in use for generations. He wants them to be preserved. It is the *Dayabhaga*, says he, that is generally followed by the Bengali Hindus "with occasional references to other authorities." But he observes that in the Western province and a great part of the Deccan it is the *Mitaksara* that is chiefly followed. As for the Mussalmans, the majority is described by him as following the doctrines of Abu Hanifah and his disciples. Their chief authority is accordingly the *Hidaya*.

¹ *The English Works, etc.*, pp. 368, 370, 372.

² *The English Works*, pp. 265-266.

³ Address to Lord William Bentinck on the Abolition of the Practice of *Suttee*, January 14, 1830. See *the English Works, etc.*, pp. 475-476.

⁴ *The English Works, etc.*, pp. 250-252.

He is aware also of the use of *Fatawae Alamgiri* and other books of decision or cases.

Rammohun does not believe that the diverse Hindu and Moslem laws of inheritance are in need of any change. They should "remain as at present," says he. That is, their diversity is not to be disturbed. But he is an advocate of standardization, and yet not at once. He believes that "by the diffusion of intelligence the whole community may be prepared to adopt one uniform system." The virility and utility of Indian institutions are to him the first postulates. But he is at the same time modernist enough to admit the importance of assimilations, modifications, uniformizations, codifications, etc.

In these statements to the Select Committee Rammohun, the student of law, polity, finance, economics and culture, is functioning in a double capacity. First, he is a spokesman of the Indian tradition and is giving the Devil his due. He is not writing original *Smriti* or *Niti Sastras* or *Bhasyas* or *Nibandhas* on these topics. But his short observations furnish us with the final estimate of all that he thinks about their societal value. In the second place, he is convinced of the importance of the new forces and their usefulness to the people of India. He wants the association of the European institutions with Indian or of the Indian with the European in order that the needs of to-day may be satisfied. Altogether, in Rammohun the jurist, economist, statesman and sociologist we meet two personalities. We encounter, on the one hand, the last representative of the *Smriti-Niti* (or Kautalya-Manu-Shukra-Abul Fazl-Mitra Misra) tradition. On the other, the British socio-economic and politico-legal philosophies as embodied in the tradition of Bacon, Hume, Smith, Austin, Ricardo and Bentham has found in him an able exponent for the Indian people. While analyzing the mentality and achievements of Rammohun the economists, sociologists, statesmen and jurists of to-day will have to bark as much back to Apastamba, Vasistha, Kautalya and Manu as to the Europeans from Aristotle to Bacon and Bentham.¹

¹ Sarkar, *Ekaler Dhana-daulat o Artha-sastra* (The Wealth and Economics of Our Own Times), Vol. II (Calcutta, 1935), pp. 603, 604, 607, 645.

HUNDRED YEARS OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN INDIA*

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THE PERIOD OF BEGINNING: 1835-54.

THOMAS Babington Macaulay came to India as a member of the Supreme Council of India and soon on his arrival, by virtue of high literary reputation, he was requested by Lord Bentinck to assume the post of the President of the General Committee of Instruction. Macaulay was already conversant with the controversy which was raging inside that committee between the Orientalists and Anglicists and he refused to undertake the task of the President of the Committee unless his policy were accepted. He had come to India with preconceived notions about Indian culture which he did not wait long to fling at the head of the people of the country. He had his own ideas of reform. Was he not nurtured with the ideals of the "Clapham Sect" whose leader Wilberforce while advocating the abolition of slavery abroad did not raise a finger to abolish the equally bad type of child slavery at home? Macaulay was the typical product of that age in England, full of a sense of superiority, a self-complacent and yet well meaning idealism which blinded him to the good points of his adversary. His blundering and tactless championship often antagonised his opponents. He lacked that imaginative insight and sympathy which would have put him in the right. Macaulay never understood (nor cared to do so) the Indian mind which he was out to reform. In that spirit of self-complacency he wrote his famous minute in 1835 which greatly changed the whole course of Indian cultural history in the following century.

Coming now to a discussion of his minute we see that he stated the question at issue as follows:

"All parties seem to be agreed on one point that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that until they are enriched from some other quarter, it

will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

“ What then shall that language be ? One half of the Committee maintain that it should be English. The other half strongly recommend Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to be—what language is the best worth knowing ?

* * * *

“ I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that *a single shelf of a good European literature was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.*¹ * * * * How then stands the case ? ”

“ *We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue.*² We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West * * * Nor is it all. In India English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher classes of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. * * *

“ The question now before us is simply whether when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which by *universal confession*,³ there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

¹ Italics are mine.

² Italics are mine.

³ Italics are mine.

“The languages of Western Europe, civilised Russia, I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindu what they have done for the Tartar.”¹

This then was the firm conviction of Macaulay. He then goes on to examine the arguments of his opponents and rejects them as untenable. In this connection Macaulay makes out an interesting point. He says that while the people took to English learning without any material inducement in the beginning the Government had to give stipends to attract pupils to the colleges of Oriental learning. “We are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanskrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us.”² Macaulay knew how this argument would be effective with the practically minded Governor-General. He goes on further and states that while the Arabic and Sanskrit books printed by the Government were not selling at all the School Book Society was selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year. Then again in spite of the advocates of oriental learning holding that no Indian could possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English there were many Indians who were quite competent to discuss political and scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. “I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction.”³

So, Macaulay held, among the Indian people too there was evidence of a greater desire for learning English than Sanskrit or Arabic. He summed up the whole case in these words:

“I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813, that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied, that we are free to employ our funds as we choose, that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing, that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic, that the Natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic, that neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement, that it is possible to make

¹ *S.E.R.*, Part I, P. 107 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.”¹

Having thus defined the aim Macaulay goes on further to show how this aim is to be achieved. He says:

“ In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a *class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect*”² To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of Science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.”³

Here once again we come across the “ filtration theory ” of which we have made mention previously.

This then is the minute which Macaulay submitted to Bentinck for approval and the latter approved it and on it was based the famous resolution of the 7th March, 1835, which runs thus:

“ His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India ; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.”

* * * * *

“ His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science *through the medium of the English language*,⁴ and His Lordship in Council requested the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.”⁵

So the die was cast and henceforth it was the acknowledged, though not exclusive aim of the Government educational policy to promote liberal education by means of English.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 116.

⁴ *Italics are mine.*

² *Italics are mine.*

⁵ *S. E. R.*, Part I, pp. 180-81.

³ *Ibid*, p. 116.

On the strength of this resolution the General Committee decided to open Zillah schools in different district headquarters for the teaching of English literature and science through the medium of English. The Government resolution practically barred any new expenditure on vernacular teaching. In some provinces, *e.g.*, Madras, the immediate effect was the prohibition of the use of vernaculars as the media of instruction in all Government schools and the employment of Government funds exclusively for English education. In Bengal however a vernacular teacher was attached to all government schools in which in the lower forms the vernacular was exclusively taught.

Bentinck's decision in favour of Macaulay was influenced by other considerations than those which inspired Macaulay. Macaulay was an idealist, he was fired with a zeal for western culture and in the introduction of English education he saw nothing but a cultural revolution in India, a spiritual conquest of the East by the West. It is to be doubted if Bentinck fully realised the spiritual implications of Macaulay's move; he was of a more practical nature and the consideration which weighed most heavily with him was that of running the machinery of the Government at a cheaper cost with the help of a body of English-trained clerks who would fill in the lower ranks of the civil service. There was also the talk of exploitation of the material resources of the country which could be done only with the help of English-trained natives. There was also the idea of getting enlightened co-operation of the Indian people for the moral elevation of the masses and the eradication of social evils attributed to superstitious ignorance. English education was considered to be the panacea for these. But it is not far from wrong to say, as some critics do, that "the production of clerks was the chief purpose for which the system was originally elaborated."¹

There was a good deal of difference between the attitude of Bentinck and that of Macaulay. Macaulay was not blind to the larger implications of the policy he advocated. In his speech to the House of Commons in 1853, he said: "It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never

¹ F. F. Monk, *Educational Policy in India*.

will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history."

Macaulay's advocacy won the day for English education but perhaps it is fair to mention here, as has been done by Mr. Mayhew and others, that he (Macaulay) was not the prime mover, that his intervention was late and "the forces which he represented would probably have been successful without his singularly tactless and blundering championship. The movement towards anglicisation originated in Missionary and Hindu quarters before Macaulay had begun to sharpen his pen and select his epithets in the land of 'exile' whose culture he was to traduce. And it was fostered by the Hindu support for many years after he had left India. Far more important than that 'master of superlatives' was Rammohan Ray, whose antecedents, career and aspirations won for him friends among Hindu reformers and missionaries alike."²

This formal adoption of English education as the prime object of Government encouragement was a decision pregnant with important and far-reaching consequences and marks a turning point in the life of modern India. In fact it is not too much to say, as I have already done, that that event marked the birth of modern India; too much significance cannot be ascribed to it; for, all that followed was contained within its implication.

The resolution of the Government was welcomed by some and opposed by others. At that time these others formed the majority but throughout the succeeding hundred years this majority has been gradually losing strength and is now a minute minority, if it exists at all. As the western system began to take root the vehement opposition became more and more reconciled and the very people who had opposed the system were not slow in appreciating the advantages that were to be had from an English education. Several factors contributed to this change of opinion and whittling down of the opposition, the chief among which was economic. We shall discuss that presently. It is interesting to note here that the opposition at first gathered its strength from religious considerations which were foisted on this new move on the part of the Government. It was represented in certain quarters that the introduction of the western system of education by the Government was in reality an attempt on their part to undermine

¹ Quoted in Sir Valentine Chirol's *India, Old and New*, p. 79.

² Arthur Mayhew, *The Education of India*, p. 13.

the religions of India and gradually to convert Indians to Christianity. It was assumed as a violation by the Government of the pledge of religious neutrality. As a result of this feeling the majority of the orthodox Hindus and the Mohammedans as a body rejected this new proposal altogether. This happened inspite of Lord Bentinck's strong disavowal of any such motive on the part of the Government. The Hindus however very soon began to change their opinion and to take advantage of the new system but the Mohammedans did not do so. The consequence was that the spread of western education among the Mohammedans was delayed by many years.

Though Bentinck's resolution theoretically and practically put an end to the Anglicist-Orientalist controversy yet actually it did not cease until the time of Lord Auckland who succeeded Bentinck as the Governor-General. He exercised more tact than Bentinck had. The result was that though in an important minute published in 1839 he reiterated the principle enunciated by Bentinck he could pacify the feelings of both the parties. This he did by taking a more tolerant attitude towards the institutions of oriental learning. He said :

"I would in the strictest good faith, and to the fullest extent, make good the promise of upholding, while the people resort to them, our established Institutions of Oriental learning. I would make those Institutions equal sharers with others in any general advantages or encouragements which we are satisfied ought to be afforded with a view to the promotion of due efficiency in study. . . . I would then make it my principal aim to communicate through the means of the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands and for whose instructions our funds will admit of our providing. All our experience proves that by such a method a real and powerful stimulus is given to the native mind. We have seen that in Bombay, as at Calcutta, from the time at which arrangements have been made of the higher branches of instruction in English the understandings of the students have been thoroughly interested and roused and that the consequences have wonderfully, to use the words of the Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction in 1831, 'surpassed expectation.' " ¹

This was a shrewd and conciliatory statement. In the face of this the controversy could not stand on its legs and gradually it came to a

¹ S. E. R., Part I, pp. 156-7.

rest by 1841 when the Court of Directors in a despatch gave their general approval of the policy of Bentinck and Auckland.

Auckland's minute came to be regarded as an authoritative pronouncement of the educational policy of Government and all subsequent reforms and improvements up to 1854 were carried out in accordance with this policy.

But the despatch of the Court of Directors did not express any decided opinion as to the medium of instruction and this led to a fierce difference of opinion which persisted till our times. And yet at one time the Court of Directors had emphasised the importance of the Vernaculars as the media of instruction.¹ In Bombay, from the very beginning of its operations, the Bombay Education Society had expressed itself clearly on the subject and favoured the use of the vernacular for this purpose. Mountstuart Elphinstone had endorsed these views in his famous education minute and said :

"It would be surely a preposterous way of adding to the intellectual treasures of a nation to begin by the destruction of its indigenous literature ; and I cannot but think that the future attainments of the natives will be increased in extent as well as in variety by being, as it were, engrafted on their previous knowledge and imbued with their own original and peculiar character."

But with the publication of Macaulay's minute things began to change and the emphasis was shifted from the vernaculars to English. Lord Curzon was perfectly right when he said, "ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of Indian languages and Indian books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue has shrivelled and pined."

I have already referred to some factors which strengthened the movement in favour of English education in its early years. They were : (1) the abolition in 1837 by Lord Auckland of the use of Persian as the language of law courts and the gradual introduction of the vernaculars and English in its place ; and (2) the resolution of Lord Hardinge in 1844 to the effect that "in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established ² and specially to those who have distinguished themselves therein ³ by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment." ⁴

¹ Vide Despatch of 1830 referred to in my previous article.

² and ³ Refer to the institutions for English education.

⁴ *S. E. R.*, Part II, pp. 90-91.

Too much significance cannot be attached to this last statement. It enunciated a principle which gave a stamp to the educational system in this country which it would fain get rid of but which it has not been able to do so far. It gave a valuation of education in terms of money. He who would receive this education would be rewarded by a good job. Education, as it were, was a sound investment, a sound business proposition. As a result the other far more important aims of education were lost sight of and only the grossly utilitarian aim prevailed. Lord Auckland had first introduced the principle of demand and supply in the field of education. He virtually said that he would cater for that particular type of education for which there was demand. And now came Lord Hardinge's resolution saying that those who would receive English education would be eligible for public employment. By throwing open the ranks of the lower civil service to English-trained Indians he held out an allurements which was hard to resist. The consequence was, English Education was considered merely as a passport to government service. The cultural aims for which Macaulay stood and which were reiterated in later pronouncements of Government, became a secondary consideration.

Lord Hardinge had meant by this measure to encourage the spread of English education. Spread it did. In Bengal the number of institutions rose from 28 in 1843 to 151 in 1855 and the number of pupils increased from 4,632 to 13,163. In Bombay there were in 1834 two English schools containing in all 318 students. In 1840 the first report of the Board of Education gives us a total of 7,426 and from the Elphinstone Institution, 681. In 1851 the total in Government schools and colleges was nearly 13,500 and for English education above 288. The advance in Madras however was less rapid. It was not till 1837 that Madras had a school teaching English at all and not till 1841 that a Government institution resembling the Hindu College of Calcutta was opened. This was curiously called the Madras University and the number in it did not reach even 200 up to 1852. The work of the Missionary Societies, however, was comparatively extensive. By the year 1852 the total number of mission-schools was nearly 1 200 and of pupils 38,000. The Madras Christian College also had 200 to 300 pupils. The returns laid before the House of Lords in 1852 give the total in the three presidencies as 25,372 under instruction, and 9,893 for English education. These figures certainly indicate rapid progress.

I cannot close the story of this period without making a mention

of two other events of importance. I have already referred to Mr. Adam's report on Vernacular education in Bengal in 1835, 1836 and 1838. This enquiry was initiated by Lord Bentinck who however failed to realise the importance of the findings of Mr. Adam. Mr. Adam was the first to point out the unsoundness of the "filtration theory" and to suggest a scheme which would form the basis of a national system of education based on the existing indigenous system. He had suggested that attempts should be made to bring new life to the numerous primary schools in the villages in the country. For this purpose he proposed that (1) to improve the indigenous schools, the teaching staff must be improved and inspectors should be appointed to supervise the work of school-masters and such inspectors should co-operate with the local committees; (2) on the results of examinations held periodically by the inspectors if the *gurus* could show that their students had made fair progress, then they themselves should be encouraged by grants and rewards; (3) a normal school for the training of teachers should be established in each district; (4) small *jagirs* of land should be assigned in each village for the support of these improved teachers, (5) a few districts should first be selected for the trial of the scheme; (6) an educational survey, giving exact details of the population, the existing means of instruction, and the state of its schools and attendance should be made in each district so selected; and (7) the Government should take the responsibility of preparation and distribution of text-books suited to the needs of the vernacular schools.

But Mr. Adam's recommendations were rejected and disregarded by the Committee and the Government lost a splendid opportunity of building a truly national system of education for the country.

In 1844 an attempt was, however, made by Lord Hardinge to give effect to some of the recommendations of Mr. Adam. 101 Circle Schools were started each with a master "capable of giving instruction in vernacular reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and the histories of India and Bengal." It was also proposed to make the Zilla schools serve the purpose of normal schools to some extent. But a variety of causes contributed to the failure of Hardinge Schools, as they were properly called. Not the least of these causes was the rising tide of English education which swept away the indigenous village schools. By 1850 when Committees of Public Instruction were replaced by Councils and Board in the three major presidencies, these were firmly wedded to a policy of English education.

TWO CASES OF CULTURAL VARIATION

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.

IT may be taken as a general rule that cultural traits are always in a state of flux. They never remain stationary or static in character. The elements which constitute a cultural trait constantly change ; while the geographical area over which a trait is spread is also subject to ceaseless alterations of boundary.

When the province of a cultural trait becomes very extensive, it often happens that the trait takes on new shapes in different quarters of its province. As all parts of a cultural province cannot be so intimately connected with one another as to present the growth of local variations, it may be taken as a general rule that the wider the province and the feebler the intercommunication between parts, the greater is the differentiation to which a trait-complex is subjected in course of time. We shall try to illustrate this with a cultural trait picked up from India's architectural history.

North India developed a specific type of temple, called the *Rekha*, some time between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D. By the 9th and 10th centuries, the form had spread all over the Indo-Gangetic plain and extended southwards into the Deccan both along the eastern coastal plain to Kalinga and along the west of the Peninsula, down to the kingdom of the Chalukyas.

The *Rekha* is characterised by a cubicle with a heavy curvilinear tower surmounted by a flattened and ribbed spheroid named *āmalaka*, the last component being in turn crowned by a water-pot or *kalasa*. The sides of the *Rekha* are not plain, but some portions of it are placed in *ressault*, which produces a number phalanges or *pagas* on each surface from the bottom up to the base of the *mastaka* or crown.

All over the province of the *Rekha* temple, from Osian in Rajputana, Chamba and Almora in the Himalayas, Khajuraho in Central India to Manbhum and Orissa in the east and Aihole and Pattadakal in the west, the earlier forms of the temple show more points of similarity in structure and ornamentation than those belonging to a later date. Even in the earliest times, however, they display marked points of differentiation, but the total amount of differentiation is less than that observed between forms of the temple in mediaeval times. A greater uniformity seems to have prevailed in India with respect to

architecture between the 9th and the 10th centuries than between the 13th and 18th centuries A.D.

During the latter period, two new types of temples appeared in the United Provinces and Bengal, both of which were ultimately derived from the Rekha. That belonging to the United Provinces may be termed the Benares variety owing to its abundance in and round the city of Benares. It rises like the Rekha, straight up to a certain height ; but the height of the cella is greater than its length or breadth, which was not so in the original.

The elongated cubicle is surrounded by a tapering tower, the sides of which present a very slight curvature. The tower is reduced to a point at the top, which is surmounted by a vestigial *āmalaka*. The *āmalaka* has several *kalasas* of decreasing size surmounting it, so that the *āmalaka* and the *kalasas* together have the appearance of a pinnacle. The wall of the Benares is treated in the same way as in the Rekha. The tower itself is ornamented with numerous pinnacles set upon it. In rare cases, the pinnacles are absent ; and then the resemblance between the Benares and the Rekha becomes more pronounced than otherwise.

But why did this change take place from the Rekha to the Benares ? There is abundant evidence in the ruins of Sarnath and of Vindhyachal in the Mirzapore district, that originally the Rekha was the popular form in this part of India. But, unfortunately no Rekha temple of any size has survived anywhere in the province ; their place having been taken by the Benares variety described above. What was the reason of this change ?

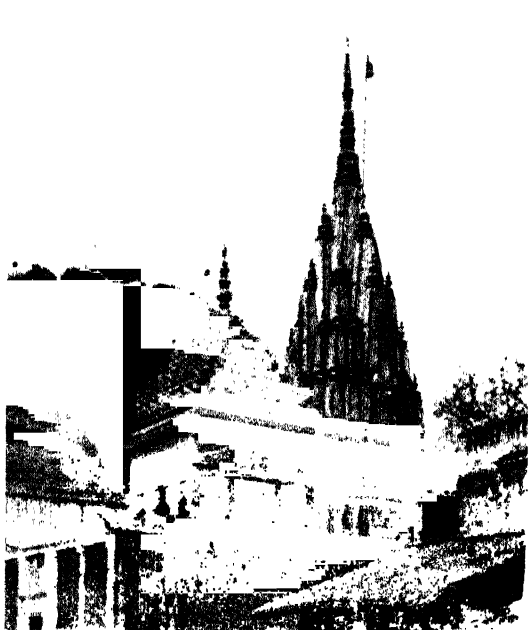
It is well known that the Rekha temple is a costly affair both in point of materials and of labour. The Benares variety is a slight structure compared to this. It is possible that during the Mohammedan period, the form arose because the Hindu patrons of architecture grew poorer but still wanted to build temples of former height. The Benares gives the same height as the Rekha at less cost ; while its numerous pinnacles make up for the deficiency in solidity by an added richness of appearance. It is also probable that with the introduction of Mohammedan artistic ideals into this part of India, the older Hindu ideals of stability and dignity in architecture gave place to those of elegance and refinement. This may have been a second factor concerned in the evolution of the Benares from the Rekha type of temple.



1. A small Rekha Shrine at Sarnath.



2. An interesting frieze from Sarnath depicting the dance of Siva, the Seven Matrikas and Gai es



3. The Benares type



4. Ruined Rekha temple at Manbhum



5. Deul at Boram, Manbhum, showing corbelled arch in place at lintel



6. Deul at Para, Manbhum, built of stone

In Bengal, on the other hand, the *Rekha* was subjected to a different process of transformation. The Bengali *Deul* shows some important points of departure from the parent style. The tower is not gently curved as in Orissa ; but, after rising stiffly almost up to its upper extremity, it suddenly plunges with a sharp curve inwards which reduces the opening at the top to one of negligible dimensions. The *āmalaka* is accordingly reduced to a small size. The door of the *Deul* is also unlike that of the *Rekha* ; it has no lintel, that being replaced by a steeply corbelled arch. In internal structure too, the *Deul* has nothing in common with the *Rekha*. The latter consists of two or three square rooms, one on top of the other. But the interior of the *Deul* is quite different in appearance. The opening of the ceiling is reduced to smaller and smaller size by corbelling from the four walls of the room, until it is reduced to a point which can be closed by a single piece of tile. Consequently there can be no compartments above the cella in a *Deul*. Such striking differences between the construction of the *Deul* and the *Rekha* may naturally raise the question whether the two were not originally independent types, which came to have some common features like the *āmalaka* or the *kalasa* due to later familiarity.

If we compare the *Deul* with the *Rekha*, some more points of similarity can be discovered between them. The walls of the *Deul* are segmented as in the *Rekha* ; and, in the corner of both, a type of moulding, called *bhumi-amlā* appears at regular intervals. The medial ressalt in the frontal façade is ornamented at the centre in both by a design in imitation of *Chaitya*-windows. The term *deul* is the common name for temples in Orissa, while in Bengal it is limited in architecture to this particular form. This similarity of names, the presence of common designs organically unrelated to the structure, can never be fortuitous occurrences. The chances are great, therefore, that the *Deul* developed from the *Rekha* which was introduced into Bengal from outside.

Let us now enquire into the probable causes which led to the development of one from the other. *Rekha* temples all over India are built of stone. But in Bengal, *Deuls* are built of brick instead of stone.¹ In Orissa, the curvilinear tower is made by a process of

¹ There is one *Deul* at Para, Maunbhum district, built of stone. The form evolved for brick-*deuls* has been reproduced in stone ; but a lintel has been placed above the door as in Orissa.

corbelling. As the tower goes up to a certain height, the reduced opening at the top is closed by a large slab laid across from one wall to the other. That is how it is possible to build up a set of rooms inside the tower. But with bricks, this process could not be pursued in Bengal. As has been already said, the interior accordingly has no stone ceiling and takes the form of a corbelled arch tapering to a point. With regard to the curvature outside, it may be pointed out that it is more difficult to give a slight curvature to a tower uniformly on all sides, than to build it up straight to a certain height and then add a sharp curve of short height at the top. It is a change in the material used for construction and also want of skill in building curvilinear towers which have been together responsible for altering the shape of the Rekha in Bengal.

The transformation of Rekha into the Benares on one hand and the Deul on the other has thus been due to several probable factors: (a) change in the economic condition of patrons of architecture, (b) change in aesthetic ideals, (c) substitution of building materials and (d) decline in engineering skill.

If Bengal, Orissa and the United Provinces had been in more intimate intercommunication, the observed change in aesthetic ideals and engineering skill would perhaps have not come into being; and the total differentiation of the Rekha would, in that event, have been less than what it actually was.

MALTHUS

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NO economist would be worthy of serious study a hundred years after his death if his speculations were not informed by a sociological outlook. To rivet our attention over so long a period, an economist would have to be a sociologist. It is my claim that Malthus was a sociologist, though his theories find place in text-books on the history of economic thought. Here, as elsewhere, the layman's appraisal is a more sensible one. To-day, Malthus' investigations into the high prices of corn, the nature and progress of rent and the measure of value, his treatise on Political Economy and his definition of its terms are forgotten. Only his Essays on population have been selected to survive. They alone are in the focus.

I do not ask you to accept this empirical test. I have some logical tests for the thesis. A sociologist does not describe facts as such, he seeks to establish their correlations, which are twofold. Particular disciplines or systems collect and refine certain relevant data, but they remain isolated before the sociologist comes to connect them by discovering their inherent and changing relations. Then again, there is a constant interplay between social factors and the non-social, like the purely biological and the environmental. The sociologist would unfold and generalise on the nature of this give and take. By methods well-known to science the general features of agreement, difference or variations between the given and the acquired are discovered and framed in the shape of average tendencies. As these two types of relations are apt to repeat themselves the sociologist may be said to be building on the fact of recurrence. Thus it is that sociology belongs to the generalising sciences. It has a special kingdom of its own.

One of its founders was Adam Smith, another was Malthus. Malthus was certainly interested in the economic problems of the day as such, like duties on imported corn, wages, pauperism, etc. But he sought for the general relations between them which would explain the perennial connection between agriculture and industry on the one hand and poverty on the other. His enquiries seemed to suggest a ratio between the factors. Henceforth his main concern was to discover the nature

of the man-land ratio, that is to say, the balance between natural resources and human needs. Natural resources then meant the food supply, and human needs, the growing numbers. He concluded that the latter always tend to outstrip the former, and so they must come to some understanding. In an ideal static society there would be balance and plenty all round. But in societies as they are, which alone are the subject-matter, the main concern of the sociologist, things are otherwise. If the equilibrium is upset there is pauperism and wholesale lowering of the standard of comfort. That was the essence of his work. Let us expand this cardinal proposition of Malthus, to understand the working of his method.

Malthus' concern was not about food-supply merely, for he was not a historian of agriculture nor the minister of food supplies. His interest was not the growth of numbers, Malthus was neither a human biologist nor a psychologist of sex. In fact, these two sciences had not yet been born, so, for his purpose, he depended upon the little psychology of family life and reproduction he could guess, and a certain amount of knowledge of the habits of people he could acquire at home or by travel abroad. He was not an ethnologist or a historian of manners either. His interest was to find out the general features about food supply and about the growth of population and deduce a wider generalisation about their relation therefrom. He succeeded eminently in his task, for his generalisations remain true to-day. If we thus understand the nature of the problem he set to himself and the character of his cardinal attitudes, we find that much of the criticism of his general propositions on the basis of specific facts obtaining in one country or another is irrelevant. Thus the case either of India or China, of the U.S.A. in Carey's times or of Australia to-day, does not wring the withers of Malthus at all. Any instance, just because of its singularity, is unique, non-recurring and individual. *No heap of instances varying between themselves can militate against a sociological generalisation*, just as the actual number of years lived by an individual may not accord with the actual death rate of the group. The general and the particular seem to belong to two different realms in social sciences. Sociology, in as much as it is a generalising science of human relationships in their entirety, in their recurrence amidst change, might thus claim Malthus as its own.

The following quotations from his own writing will illustrate my point of view. "The situation of the labourer being then again

tolerably comfortable"—i.e., after the decrease of births and the development of land, "the restraints to population are in some degree loosened; and after a short period, the same retrograde and progressive movements, with respect to happiness, are *repeated* This sort of *oscillation* will not probably be obvious to common view; and it may be difficult even for the most attentive observer to calculate its *periods*." ¹ An Essay on the Principle of Population, Ch. II. The *repeated periodic oscillations* are to sociology what *uniformities* are to natural sciences. In other words, Malthus' exercise was to generalise on the more or less *constant elements in the shifting relations between social and non-social factors which govern human happiness or welfare*.

That such was his regnant aptitude would be further borne out by his use of two mathematical series indicating tendencies or progression, viz., the arithmetical and the geometric, in his major premise, and by the word 'constant' in his significant propositions. Human beings *tend* to multiply *at least* in geometric progression, but subsistence *tends* to multiply *at most* by arithmetic progression; each of these factors *tends* to change by pressure of the social and the physical environment. The social habits are themselves the resultant of human desires and natural gifts of the environment, chiefly, in the matter of food. These two factors again interact upon one another. In other words, Malthus built upon change. The factors are changing, their relations are shifting; at any particular moment there may just as well be a balance, but there is always the danger of this balance being upset, unless Nature or human beings themselves intervene, the latter course being preferable to the former.

Which are the constant elements in this see-saw? Malthus first describes an imaginary case, and then writes:

"In this supposition no limits whatever are placed to the produce of the earth. It may increase for ever and be greater than any assignable quantity; yet still the power of population being in every period so much superior, the increase of the human species can only be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the *constant* operation of the strong law of necessity, acting as a check upon the greater power." Here the word *constant* does not signify anything static or fixed, for Malthus, in the next paragraph, when he is

¹ Italics are mine.

discussing the ultimate and the immediate checks makes it clear that it is the *fear of overstripping that is constant, i.e.,* operating every moment, *in spite of* improvement in the position of either of these factors, the biological or the environmental.

Thus once we know what Malthus really meant, *viz.,* the *constant* interplay of two changing sets of factors, the usual text-book criticisms appear to be unjust. Human numbers may be *dwindling* to-day in a particular country by the adoption of preventive methods, food-supply of any territory may be *increasing* to-day by leaps and bounds either as a result of scientific agriculture or of imports from abroad, the importance of the latter may have *diminished* now in consequence of industrial expansion, yet the *constant* fear of the latter overtaking the former survives, at the present moment, now, to-day. More of this later on.

Now where generalisations are to be framed from two sets of phenomena both of which are moving, but one more permanent than another, then limits are to be posited. The next point, then, in the work of framing general propositions is the determination of the possible scope of the change. Malthus, as is well known, was a keen student of mathematics. He was usually tied to the deductive method. This method was also popular in his time. In the second edition of the *Essay*, his historical accounts were only supporting the conclusions he had reached by deduction, in the first edition. Therefore the limits or the limiting conditions of the inter-relation between growing numbers and growing food-supply but at different tempos were discovered by deduction. With such a technique of thinking and in such circumstances the limiting conditions would have to be a progressive series starting from an initial point, which by itself is fixed. And that is exactly what is to be found in Malthus' argument. In an *imaginary case*—Malthus usually starts from imaginary cases—he states, “The necessary effects of these two different rates of increase when brought together will be very striking.....the human species would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256 and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4096 to 13 and in 2,000 years the difference would be almost incalculable. *In this supposition no limits whatever are placed to the produce of the earth.*”

There is another imaginary absolute limit necessitated by his method—equality of conditions. “The preventive check, as far as it

is voluntary, is peculiar to man," says he, for plants and animals are not troubled by the problem of supporting their offspring. "In a *state of equality*, if such can exist, this would be the simple question. In the present state of society other considerations occur." The contrast between the static and the dynamic, the imaginary and the actual is to be noted. At present, human beings lower their standard of comfort. Malthus' allegiance to the deductive method was half-hearted.

There are two other zero-points or imaginary social situations—an unlimited territory to be distributed and an unlimited wages-fund to be disbursed. With reference to the former, Malthus says, in his last edition: "The rate according to which the productions of the earth may be supposed to increase, it will not be easy to determine. Of this, however, we may be perfectly certain, that the ratio of their increase in a limited territory must be of a totally different nature from the increase of population. A thousand millions are just as easily doubled every twenty-five years by the power of population as a thousand. But the food to support the increase from the greater number will by no means be obtained with the same facility. Man is necessarily confined in room. When acre has been added to acre till all the fertile land is occupied, the yearly increase of food must depend upon the melioration of the land already in possession. This is a fund which from the nature of all soils, instead of increasing, *must be gradually decreasing*. But population, could it be supplied with food, will go on with unexhausted vigour; and the increase of one period would furnish the power of a greater increase the next, and this without any limit." A similar argument is offered for the wages-fund, which, when *unlimited*, will not allow the problem to arise.

These zero-points are imaginary nothingness. Yet they are mentioned to bring the realities into relief, as they should be by one who reasons deductively. They are not essential to the need of discovering the actual limits *constantly* obtaining in a given society at a certain specified period. They are of secondary importance to the realist, which Malthus undoubtedly was. For him, the actual limits

The character of the latter is governed by the difference in the rates of progress of human numbers and subsistence. In between them come the habits of people, which also are changing. In Malthus' language—"In general their tendency is to change together." When

population increases, wealth or the means of purchasing subsistence increases, when the latter increases, more people marry and beget more. Then, like the hare, numbers catch the tortoise of subsistence. In consequence, the standard of comfort is lowered. Malthus writes: "When the funds for the maintenance of labour are rapidly increasing, and the labourer commands a large portion of necessities, it is to be expected that if he has the opportunity of exchanging his superfluous goods for conveniences and comforts, he will acquire a taste for these conveniences and his habits will be formed accordingly. On the other hand, it generally happens that, when the funds for the maintenance become merely stationary, such habits, if they ever existed, are *found to give way*; and, before the population comes to a stop, the standard of comfort is essentially lowered."

Therefore, in actuality, there are three types of limits—in the purely physical environment, in the social environment, and what is curious in the writing of a parson, in the purely human. Malthus the priest was a humanist and did not believe in divine redemption. The physical limit is that of diminishing returns from land, the inexorability of which Malthus divined before Ricardo. The limits of the social environment are war, pestilence, human misery or vice, and a lowered standard of living or pauperism—the evil that was most obvious in his times on account of lowered wages, high prices of foodstuff, and above all the bungling of Poor Law administration by the system of outdoor relief and bread schedules. (These economic effects he hoped to partially counteract by stiffer Poor Laws, by education and by Protection). Another socio-economic limit is wages itself. Malthus, in the previous quotation from his Political Economy, seems to suggest that wages which are the outcome of the interplay of the demand and the supply of labour do determine the standard of life of the labourer. For though the standard of life plays a secondary rôle here, Malthus gives it a primary one in his Essay on Population. In that sense he might be held to be a precursor of the standard of living theory of wages. Other factors like political despotism or liberty, education or ignorance also are included in the social limit. The most important limits however are what human beings set to themselves, *individually, viz.* — postponement of marriage and prudential self-restraint after marriage. Obviously, the two latter limits vary more than the first one. Yet, within such a shifting scope population grows at a much faster rate

than subsistence. In other words, *all limits in Malthus' writings are limiting conditions*. This is exactly the operation of causal relations in Sociology.

Now, when we talk about limits we are apt to think of an upper and a lower one. An upper one of subsistence beyond which population *cannot* pass would be inconceivable, as it would go against the spirit of Malthus' generalisation, *viz.*, that population increases at a faster rate than subsistence *even* in an unlimited territory with every inch of it fertile and producing its utmost and with an unlimited wages fund and with a perfect equality of conditions. Such is also not the sociological way. The absolute limits mentioned before, or the zero-points in the deductive process, as has been pointed out already, are imaginary situations from which factors which are alleged to interfere with the operation of the two selected factors, *viz.*, human numbers and subsistence, are artificially removed to allow the same operation to be studied in an atmosphere of purity in a spirit of scientific asceticism. In such frictionless situations the quicker growth of population is seen at its best. The upper and the lower limits that the man in the street associates with the marking of *extent* are different from those necessitated for the clearing of the ground by the deductionist. This is an important point to be remembered for it answers much of the criticism rampant. The real problem of population, which Malthus understood, is *not* what would happen when atoms are split releasing energy that would turn Earth into Paradise, or when equality in all spheres is reached. Malthus might well have retorted 'When the Heavens fall, we will catch the swallows.' In the meanwhile, this limited earth remains where it was, under the blue vault.

There is only one sense in which the term upper or lower limit can be understood, *viz.*, of a limiting condition that obtains throughout the process (as opposed to the beginning or the end of the process) of interaction between man and land. Halevy in his *History of Philosophical Radicalism* has understood it in this way. He writes: "But if the means of subsistence are a limiting condition in the sense that population cannot in a lasting way either rise above or sink below this limit, then we can say with scientific exactness that the amount of subsistence determines the number of consumers"—p. 238. In other words, the real problem is "not whether population in course of time outrun the means of subsistence" or the opposite

state, " but whether the silent pressure of excessive numbers is *now* being felt in the form of unemployment, using prices and encroachments upon the standard of life in the industrial centres "—Wright's *Population*, p. 176. In other words " the *constant operation* of the checks to population which arise out of want of food " (Wright, p. 33) is constantly being emphasised throughout Malthus' writings.

Here it is to be admitted that his use of mathematical series cannot be taken as laying the foundation-stone either of the statistical or of the mathematical study of population. The statement about numbers increasing *at least* in the geometric and food supply *at most* in arithmetic progression is a double approximation. The *inverse* ratio between preventive and positive checks is also a guess-work. Such generalisations are attempts to understand the nature of limited conditions. What is wanted to-day in the sociological study of population is, therefore, a refinement of those limiting conditions of the *inter-functioning* of the changing factors noted above. Studies of the changing factors belong to different and particular disciplines. These latter alone can elaborate and refine Malthus' findings. The sociologist will build on them ; and then only will he find whether the fear of overstripping is constant or not.

Before I indicate ways of refinement of the actual limiting conditions I shall mention certain striking similarities in the historical situation, then and now. For the sociologist can only take the recurring factors into account. That he had sensed the recurrence of certain factors and the persistence of the interplay at the very initial stages of the present order, redounds partly to the credit of the deductive method that every discoverer of an abiding generalisation adopts and partly to his genius in hitting upon the essentials. In other words, though the social and physical factors have changed considerably, his main propositions about the limiting conditions of the number and subsistence ratio remain as they were. Thus, instead of the Napoleonic Wars we have had the Great War, for the Industrial Revolution and its consequent dislocation of the rural economy and trade of England, we have the impact of new industrialism on the East, particularly on those countries which had so long been supplying raw materials to Europe and had built up its prosperity by exchanging them for its manufactured goods, in which procedure there was a comparatively greater gain to Europe per unit of labour and capital. In this

connexion the following lines from the Essay Book, III, Ch. XII, sound prophetic:

"In the wildness of speculation it has been suggested, of course more in jest than in earnest, that Europe ought to grow its corn in America and devote itself solely to manufactures and commerce as the best sort of division of labour of the globe. But even on the extravagant supposition that the natural course of things might lead to such a division of labour for a time (in the XIX cen. it did, as Mr. Keynes has pointed out in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, Ch. II), and that by such means Europe could raise a population greater than its land could possibly support (the colonies and India did duty for America, and India still does, to some extent) the consequences ought justly to be dreaded. (They were not, by the Victorian optimists.) It is an unquestionable truth that it must answer to every territorial state, in its natural progress to wealth (substitute national economy) to manufacture for itself, unless the countries from which it had purchased its manufactures possess some advantages peculiar to them besides capital and skill. (Reference is to the geographical advantages, and to comparative costs, of course, as understood by Adam Smith in his plea for Free Trade). But when upon this principle America began (would begin) to withdraw its corn from Europe (the tariffs and subsidies by national governments served the same purpose) and the agricultural exertions of Europe were inadequate to make up the deficiency (notice the frantic attempts to settle people on land) it would certainly be felt that the temporary advantages of a greater degree of wealth and population, supposing them to have been really attained had been very dearly purchased by a long period of retrograde movements and misery." (In some of the outpourings of English newspapers about the effects of the Ottawa Agreement upon British trade and industry the phrase 'dearly purchased' occurs.) This division of labour between Europe and America or other undeveloped countries of to-day (*vide* Greaves' *Modern Production among Backward Peoples*) is no longer a joke, nor is it an extravagant supposition. It is an earnest fact and a very simple one of the economic life of the world. Bertrand Russel in his *Freedom and Organisation* refers to the modern transport-facilities, the technical improvements in agriculture and the rapid diminution of birth-rate among workers in general, in this connexion, but concludes, "This is perhaps not a refutation of

anything that Malthus said, but it has destroyed the importance of his theory so far as the white races are concerned. In Asia it remains important." Aye, there's the rub, for Europe and Asia are not now two different economic entities. Asia is the economic annexe of Europe. And Africa too. Asia and Africa between themselves can restore the importance of Malthus' theory, now that the States and Canada are safely out of the European picture. One is not sure about South America as well.

The Economic Crisis may be said to have covered the real issue. Even in 1934-35 the World Foreign Trade is shrunk like the wild ass's skin. Each country is hastily shutting herself inside protective barriers, as each city in India used to do against marauders. New national units have lengthened the total tariff wall, old countries have raised it. There has been a big increase in production, though not to its fullest extent, as found by the Research Department of the Brooklyn Institute, but a bad division between classes and countries has spoilt its effects. The limiting conditions in the production of agricultural goods now operate *covertly, indirectly*, but none the less truly and surely, through attempts to establish national monopolies over them in the interest of national industries. No better symptoms are needed than the mal-distribution of agricultural products in the world, the loss of equilibrium of agricultural and industrial economies between different countries, and also within the same country. There is hardly any government to-day which does not feel hard-pressed to meet the conflicting demands of industrial and agricultural interests upon its attention. Malthus' statement about the calico-printers getting rich at the expense of agricultural labourers is worth quoting :

"I cannot conceive anything much more detestable than the idea of knowingly condemning the labourers of this country to the rags and wretched cabins of Ireland, for the purpose of selling a few more broad cloths and calicoes. The wealth and powers of a nation are, after all, only desirable as they contribute to happiness"—Essay, Book IV, Ch. X.

The English labourers do no longer go to Ireland (the Italian labourers were going, and do still want to go, everywhere), nor do they live in wretched cabins, their wages have increased no doubt. Yet, as Sir William Beveridge never fails to point out, the rigidity of wages as brought about by the concerted action of Trade Unions

has been partly responsible for the high figure of unemployment in recent years. The fact is this ; to-day agricultural operations can continue *either* under the stimulus of *rising prices* or by the *fiat of the State* backed up by national considerations.

Then again, birth-rate is diminishing, but the more or less irreducible death-rate of civilised countries hides the real increase. Even differential birth-rate tends to be level (World Population Conference Reports) on account of the spread of those practices which Malthus had condemned as impure. They belong to the same category as *limited market*, and anti-immigration laws, for they betray a constant fear about number catching up subsistence. When wage-earners become 'modern' and protectionists, there must be something true in Malthus even for to-day.

Unemployment Insurance has come in, on the shoulders of an old theory, *viz.*, the right to maintenance. The uncovenanted benefits, the gap-system, the mounting expenditure, the persistence of Poor Law, the introduction of Assistance Boards in the Act of 1934, including the opposition thereto, remind us of the Gilbert Act of 1782, the Act of 1784, the Speenhamland Bread Policy, and what happened to Poor Law administration up till the Act of 1834.

One possible objection to the above line of argument may be raised here. Are all these phenomena, poverty, etc., recurring or persisting? In other words, does poverty only repeat itself and appear spasmodically? Did Malthus know that it was implicit in the system of production which was then being inaugurated? The honest answer is in the negative. It can be proved from his writings that he was no philosopher of history. He was deeply interested in the poor, but his concern was about the class to which he belonged. He remained a sociologist showing the interlocking of factors. We give him his dues when we say that certain phenomena of to-day resemble those which he dealt with and generalised from, and conclude that he struck upon their formal right relations. That persistence which is perversely recurring to give unity to history was certainly beyond his scope. Probably, why should things recur could not trouble one who wrote so early as he did. In any case, as students of sociology, we notice the resemblance that merges into recurrence without shaping itself into persistence or history. New social factors there may be, but they call for refinement of his generalisations. The Malthusian Devil is our Living Presence.

Refinement can only proceed along the lines laid down in his treatment, which is sociological. The following are suggested :

(1) The distribution of population over the world's surface has to be mapped out with reference to resources. In Malthus' time emigration was not a release. In the nineteenth century, it was. In the twentieth, emigration has been stopped or controlled for political, racial and economic reasons. Therefore an adjustment on the basis of the balance between resources and needs in different countries has to be worked out to eliminate non-essential factors, particularly the political and the racial ones. The disturbance is acute, particularly in South-Eastern Asia, *i. e.*, China, the Malayas, and India, where density in rural areas is high, birth-rate is high, death-rate is high, and the land has been cultivated for long and very intensively.

(2) For each local unit or economic zone, the balance or the ratio will have to be struck. Thus, on the one hand, economic surveys, and on the other, social surveys of the habits, customs or the folkways of the people will have to be undertaken. In Malthus' times such regional studies were not known. Without such studies of economic and ethnic groups, the influence of social habits on marriage, birth and death-rates cannot be understood and limits of supportable population ascertained with any exactitude.

From the point of view of accuracy,

(3) Mathematical and statistical analysis of the growth and drift of population and of resources are essential ; and

(4) a concept is necessary. There is the new concept of the optimum. Optimum is understood in different ways among which the highest average income per capita and the highest average expectation of life are the two most important. The former is purely economic, in the hands of Prof. Cannan. and bio-economic with Prof. Car-Saunders. The latter is purely biological with Dr. Pearl, but bio-social with Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji. Dr. Mukherji's definition of the optimum is based on the fact that certain biological considerations determine social and economic phenomena and changes, and that they determine the optimal number supportable in a particular region. Each zone, in the light of new developments of social biology, *i. e.*, of ecology, has a definite order of distribution of plant, animal and human communities. Social ecology deals with

the dynamic interdependence manifest in the balance between them and in its constant tendency to be upset.

Thus it is that a sociological study of the population (along the lines suggested in Malthus) will relate the findings of different sciences, most of them new and biological, to determine more exactly than he could even do, the subtle workings of the *constantly* operating but, usually, the dramatically *recurrent* tendencies towards a loss of equilibrium between resources and human needs. If such findings support Malthus he remains ; if they do not, he goes out.¹

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¹ A lecture read at the Malthus Centenary, Lucknow University.

A GLIMPSE OF THE VEDANTIC THEORY OF NON-PERCEPTION

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THE process of knowledge which determines the relation between the knower and the known is called a *Pramāṇa* or mode of proof in Indian philosophy. These *Pramāṇas*, as enumerated by the philosophers, vary in number from one to as many as eight according as the thinkers belong to the materialistic school of Chārvāka or are adherents of one or the other schools of Vaiśeṣika, Bauddha, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Prabhākara, Bhāṭṭa, Vedānta and Purāṇa. Of these Vedānta has admitted six sources of knowledge namely, *Perception*, *Inference*, *Analogy*, *Agama* or Authority, *Arthūpatti* or Presumption and *Negation* closely following their next-door neighbours, the Mīmāṃsakas of the Bhāṭṭa school whose epistemology as well, is based on these six *Pramāṇas*. Of all these *Pramāṇas*, *Negation* or what is more properly called *Anupalabdhi* or non-perception is, we think, only next in importance to perception because of the peculiar treatment it has received at the hands of the Vedāntins. The problem of negation is of great interest in Indian philosophy. Very learned and subtle disquisitions have centred round this topic of negation, and the Naiyāyiks, the Buddhists and the Mīmāṃsakas have all contributed their best to it. The ingenuity displayed by the Vedāntins in this matter deserves our special notice. The object of this short essay is only to give a very rough idea of the theory of non-perception with special reference to the Vedāntic point of view in order to satisfy, to some extent, the curiosity of those who have not much treaded on this thorny path of philosophical mythography.

Now, before we proceed to discuss in particular the different views on negation we shall do well to learn something of the nature of the subject in general. We know that all objects existing at a certain time and at a particular space may be apprehended in two aspects—positive and negative. Our experience cannot rightly ascertain the nature of things which do not stand in these two relations. As a matter of fact, a thing must be either '*sat*,'—positive or '*asat*,'—negative to be a

thing at all. A thing which is existing, *i.e.*, *sat* is viewed in its positive character and while it does not exist it is *asat* and is viewed in its negative character. It is only in the former case that the objects come within the purview of our senses and in the latter cases the negative existence of the objects can be known by a separate mental process. This is what is called *Anupalabdhi*, non-perception or non-apprehension, the only means for the cognition of '*abhāva*' or negation.

Opinions differ as to the necessity of admitting *Anupalabdhi* as a separate *Pramāṇa* for the perception of negation. The Naiyāyikas say that the perception of the non-existence of an object (*e.g.*, there is no jug on the ground) can be had from the apprehension of its locus. This may be explained as follows: In the case of the perception of the non-existence of the jug on the ground, the ground is in contact with the senses and the negation of the jug is in an identical (*svarūpa*) relation with the ground. So with the perception of locus, the ground, the negation of the jug also is perceived

(cf. अभावप्रत्यक्षे समवायप्रत्यक्षे चेन्द्रियसम्बन्धविशेषणता हेतुः । भूतत्वादी घटाद्यभावः संयुक्तविशेषणतया गृह्यते—भाषापरिच्छेद—सुक्तावली । Bombay Ed., p. 48).

Thus we see that according to them 'the perception of non-existence (*e.g.*, there is no jug here) is a unitary perception of one whole, just as any perception of positive existence (*e.g.*, there is a jug on the ground) is. Both the knowledge of the ground as well as the knowledge of the non-existence of the jug arise there by the same kind of action of the visual organ, and there is therefore no reason why the knowledge of the ground should be said to be due to perception, whereas the knowledge of the negation of the jar on the ground should be said to be due to a separate process of knowledge. The principle that in order to perceive a thing one should have sense-contact with it applies only to positive existents not to negation or non-existence. Negation or non-existence can be cognised even without any sense-contact. Non-existence is not a positive entity, and hence there cannot be any question here of sense-contact.'

The Naiyāyikas also hold that all negations in general cannot be perceived. The negation of those things only whose existence can be perceived can be proved by perception. This is clear from their mention of '*Yogyānupalabdhi*,' a term which we shall explain later on.

They do not admit *Anupalabdhi* as a separate *Pramāṇa* for the perception of negation, inasmuch as such a cognition can be effected by perception (*Pratyakṣa Pramāṇa*) only.

The *Prābhākaras* also hold almost the same view as the *Naiyāyikas*. According to them, non-perception of a visible object at a particular place is only the perception of the empty place. Hence they do not feel any necessity for admitting non-perception as a separate mode of proof or *Pramāṇa*.

The *Buddhists*, however, overcome this difficulty by denying the existence of negation as such. They hold that when a negation is apprehended, it is apprehended with the specific conditions of time and space (e.g., this is not *here now*); but in spite of such an apprehension as the *Buddhists* explain, we can never think that a negation by its very nature can thus be associated with those specific conditions in any relation.

The *Mīmāṃsakas*, i.e., *Kumārila* and his followers, on the other hand, refute the *Naiyāyikas* and the *Prābhākaras* and establish *Anupalabdhi* as a distinct *Pramāṇa* like the other five *Pramāṇas* of the *Prābhākara* school. *Kumārila* expresses his opinion very clearly on this point in his master work *Śloka-vārttika* in the following way:—

“ न तावदिन्द्रियैरेवा नास्तीत्युपपद्यते मतिः ।
 भावशिनेन संयोगो योग्यत्वादिन्द्रियस्य हि ॥
 गृहीत्वा वस्तुसदृशभावं ज्ञत्वा च प्रतियोगिनम् ।
 मानसं नास्तितात्त्राजं जायतेऽज्ञानपेक्षणात् ॥
 संयोग-समवायादिसम्बन्धो नैव विद्यते ।
 नागृहीते हि धर्मत्वं, गृहीते सिद्धसाधनम् ॥

The notion ‘it is not existent’ cannot be formed through perception, for there is no contact here of the sense-organs and the object (which is possible only in the case of positive existence of things). We perceive the ground and remember the jug (the thing negated) and thus in the mind arises the notion of non-existence which has no reference at all to visual perception. If you do not admit ‘*abhāva*’ there cannot be any पक्षधर्मत्व (the quality of the subject of which the *probandum* or the major is to be predicated—in the case of proving चकार by अनुमान) in it ; but if you admit it at the outset to escape this charge it is all right by the very confession of yours—(here the positive nature of ‘*abhāva*’ is argued). This point can be cleared up by a concrete example as mentioned by *Pārthasārathi Mīra*, the well-known

commentator of Mīmāṃsā. When in the morning a man staying at a particular place does not find any tiger or other beasts there during his stay and also remains unaware of the non-existence of such animals at that time because of his not thinking whether they actually exist there or not, and then returns to the village at noon after having perceived the place only and is asked by some other persons if he had seen any tiger, elephant or lion there, at that time only he becomes aware of the non-existence of those animals in the morning (which fact was not known to him before) by remembering now the spot previously perceived by him. The non-existence of tigers in the morning cannot be known at noon through perception which knowledge is possible only in the case of objects present at the moment and capable of coming into contact with the sense-organs. Further, Kumārila points out that 'abhāva' is a *Pramāṇa* only where all the other five *Pramāṇas* fail to secure the end.

It is given in the following two lines :

प्रमाणपक्षकं यत्र वस्तुरूपे न जायते ।
वस्तुसत्तावबोधार्थं तदाभावप्रमाणात् ॥

The very nature of 'abhāva' as being a fact of cognition calls for a similar *Pramāṇa* as *Anupalabdhi*. As much as an object in its positive aspect cannot be proved to be known by an 'abhāva' or negative *Pramāṇa*, so also it is impossible to prove it in its negative aspect by a positive *Pramāṇa*. Thus

“ मानं कथमभावश्चेत् प्रतीयं चास्य कीदृशम् ?
नेवो यदवदभावो हि मानमप्येवमिच्छताम् ॥
भावात्मके यथा मये नाभावस्य प्रमाणात्,
तथाऽभावप्रमयेऽपि न भावस्य प्रमाणात् ॥ ”

Hence the admission of *Anupalabdhi* as a *Pramāṇa* separate from *Pratyakṣa* and others for the knowledge of the non-existence of a thing is conclusively proved.

Now when the general nature and the utility of *Anupalabdhi* as a separate *Pramāṇa* have been demonstrated to some extent, we shall try to understand the Vedāntic view on the subject. Vedāntins, in a like manner, with the Mīmāṃsakas, insist on admitting *Anupalabdhi* as a separate *Pramāṇa* for the cognition of negation. But we shall carefully note here the fundamental distinction between the two schools on this point. Vedāntins hold that 'abhāva' is actually

perceived, '*pratyakṣa*' and not otherwise known, although this perceptual knowledge comes not through perception but through some other source of knowledge known as *Anupalabdhi*.

Anupalabdhi is defined by them as a *Pramāṇa* which is a special means for the apprehension of negation which is not possible through any other mode of knowledge such as, inference and the like. This definition excludes inference, perception, memory and the unseen merit '*adrṣṭa*' (which is the general cause of everything) from the room of *Anupalabdhi* for the perception of non-existence. But we must take this *Anupalabdhi* in a qualified sense for proving negation, since, if taken otherwise (i.e., *Anupalabdhi* as such), it would not be a valid means for the apprehension of the negation of such supersensuous (*atindriya*) objects as '*dharma*,' merit and '*adharma*,' demerit. These supersensuous objects can be proved only by an inference. We are not sure of the non-existence of these insensible things in the self though they remain unperceived therein. Thus we find that *Anupalabdhi* in its general nature is not indiscriminately applicable to all cases of non-existence for a cognition thereof. Hence we must take this non-perception or *Anupalabdhi* in a qualified sense. Only that *Anupalabdhi* which is '*yogyā*,' i.e., relates to proving negation of objects capable of being known or perceived by our senses in a perceptible locus will be helpful for the purpose. This is what is known by the term '*Yogyānupalabdhi*.' The '*yogyatva*' of *Anupalabdhi* is to be determined by the admission of the object to be negated i.e., '*pratiyogī*,' and the locus where something is negated, both of which are capable of being perceived and of all other conditions favourable for such a perception as being present. Thus, if there is a jug in a well-lighted room it will be perceived; but if in such cases the jug does not exist there, the non-existence can be proved by a simple non-perception of it. We can easily distinguish a ghost from a pillar by this *Anupalabdhi*. If ever a ghost takes resort to a pillar it can be known in the same way as the pillar is through perception. We should also note here that in the case of ascertaining difference such as in the case of the ghost and the pillar we are not concerned so much with the '*yogyatva*' of the '*pratiyogī*' as with that of the '*anuyogī*,' the locus. But merit and demerit, incapable as they are of being perceived, cannot be proved to be non-existent in the self by non-perception. Now, a question may arise that if non-existence is perceived through non-perception by virtue of the sense-

contact with the locus we may say that the senses are the means to create a mode of mind in the form of non-existence (*abhāvākārā vṛtti*). Vedāntins argue that this cannot be so apprehended, because the sense organs can come in contact with the locus only and hence they cannot directly receive the non-existent thing owing to the absence of any contact with it.

According to Vedānta, the perception of objects underlies a process in which the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*) proceeds like the flow of a stream through the eyes, etc. (which are like gate-ways) to the object when it comes in contact with the eyes, etc. and thereby the *antaḥkaraṇa* being transformed in the form of that object, a complete identity of the consciousness underlying the object and that underlying the subject is established. The Naiyāyika contends that in the case of the perception of negation also the process being all the same—the locus of negation coming in contact with the senses and an identity of the consciousness underlying the negation of the object with that underlying the subject (the *Pramātā* or knower) being established, perception is therefore the right source of knowledge for the cognition of negation. Vedānta shows the untenability of this contention as follows. Although the resulting knowledge is a case of perception we cannot say that the means of attaining it is also perception. We know that the sentence like “you are the tenth” also leads to visual perception whence we find that the means or source of that knowledge is the sentence, but the resulting cognition is perception. The significance of this lies in the fact that, although something is perceived, there can be no guarantee that such perception must always come through the same perceptual mode (*cf.*

न हि कलौभूतज्ञानस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वे तत्करणस्य प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणतानियतत्वमस्ति ; दशमस्त्वमसौत्यादिवाक्यज्ञानस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि तत्करणस्य वाक्यस्य प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणभिन्नप्रमाणत्वाभ्युपगमात् । फलवैजात्यं विना कथं प्रमाणमेदं इति चेत्, न ; इतिवैजात्यमात्रेण प्रमाणवैजात्योपपत्तेः ।)

In the perception of negation the *vṛtti* or mode of mind is in the form of negation of an object that is caused not through the activity of a sense-organ (as is seen in the case of a perceptual knowledge of a positive substance) but through another mode of proof called *Anupalabdhi*.

Now we shall discuss about the illusory apprehension of negation. When a person under the spell of illusion perceives the non-existence of an object though it is really present, what shall we say as to which

forms the material of that '*anirvacanīya abhāva*'? The old school of Vedānta holds that it is not a case of '*anirvacanīyākhyāti*' but of '*anyathākhyāti*.' So, instead of saying that *māyā* is the material of negation there we must say that the negation of the object, *e. g.*, 'the jug,' which is always there in the nature of the locus, *e. g.*, 'the ground' (*bhūṭalarūpa* and not simply *bhūṭala*) is attributed to its locus (the ground).

On the contrary the new school of Vedānta holds that in such cases the illusory negation of the object is '*anirvacanīya*' and the materials thereof are supplied by *māyā*, or in other words, *māyā* is the material cause of this illusory negation. We cannot also, on the ground that *māyā* is a positive idea, question this negative apprehension, different in character as it is from *māyā*, as a necessary effect of it. This we can account for from the fact that there is not any regularity in the matter that the cause and the effect should be entirely of the same nature, *i. e.*, one representing the other in every respect. Some similarity which we expect between the cause and the effect is not altogether absent in the present case as well. Here '*mithyātva*,' *i. e.*, the state of being found to be contradicted is the same in '*anirvacāipa*' negation and *māyā*. But from the admission of a difference of the cause and the effect, *i. e.*, the positive *māyā* and the negative apprehension, as we have mentioned above, we must not say that Brahman is the material cause of the world (Brahman and the world being different in nature as the former is real and the latter merely an appearance), because Brahman is only the substratum of this illusory world and also because It is an inorganic whole, it cannot be the material cause of anything. Thus the nature of negation and the means for its apprehension are discussed to an extent which will at least give us a general idea of the subject from the Vedāntic standpoint. Now we wish to conclude the topic with an addition of a few more words to the foregoing observations in order to clarify the positions of the different schools of thought.

The view of Prabhākara has been mentioned above. We must note that Prabhākara denies '*abhāva*' as such or the '*vastutva*' of *abhāva* and accepts it only as a particular kind of knowledge which we can get from the perception of the empty locus without any reference to any other source of knowledge. The Buddhists also do not admit the '*vastutva*' of '*abhāva*,' or in other words, they say that there cannot be anything called '*abhāva*' as such. According to them

the idea of '*abhāva*' is only what is called '*vikalpasiddha*;' it comes later on just as the notion of class, quality, action, etc., is developed by the mind at a later time to supplement the idea of the pure '*nirvikalpa*' and '*swalakṣaṇa*' thing (*i e.*, which has a specific existence of its own without any reference to its odour, form, name, class, quality and action—which is Kant's 'thing-in-itself,' free from all categories). On the other hand the Naiyāyikas, the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vedāntins all take the realistic point of view, in other words, they say that there is some objective reality of '*abhāva*'—it is not a mere fiction or an idea as the opponent suggests.

JOYZELLE AND THE TEMPEST

MAKHANLAL MUKHERJI, M.A.

NO one, we think, can pursue these two plays, each a masterpiece of two of the world's greatest dramatists, without being seriously impressed by their strong family-likeness so to say. As we go reading between the acts and scenes, we are constantly reminded in *Joyzelle* of almost the same motive and design found to be at work in the *Tempest*. The same ship-wreck and the meeting of two souls towards their life's predestined fruition in the enchanting island ; the same designed way of putting love to a severe test—in one case the love of Ferdinand and in the other the love of Joyzelle ; the same wrathful attitude from the magician-lord of the island towards the suitor till he is revealed in his true austere benignity ; the same mechanical working out of events with the help of white magic in one case and the transfigured or personified genius of a mystic in the other. Indeed, so very alike is the outline of plot-construction, that one may as well venture the suggestion that the difference in the impression of the two plays is due, more than anything else, to the disparity in the angle of vision of the ages in which they have had their being. It seems rather tempting to imagine that Maeterlinck might as well have penned the *Tempest* had he been born in Shakespeare's time ; while Shakespeare, if he were to write in the present century, could not but produce a *Joyzelle*. This one would also rather willingly believe. For, the very opening scene of *Joyzelle*, where Merlin wakes up his sleeping genius Arielle, brings into prominent relief the new mystical outlook ; and the lines—"men are persuaded that his secret virtue, which is obeyed by the planets and the stars, by water, stone and fire and to which future at times reveals some of its features ; they are persuaded that this new and yet so human virtue is hidden in philtres, in horrible charms, in hellish herbs and awful signs"—seem to be a deliberate fling at Shakespeare's naive conception of white magic and the magician in Prospero. Maeterlinck in many places of his charming book of essays, "The Treasure of the Humble," thus appraises the miraculous change wrought through centuries of silent education in men and women of these days who have developed a new mystical depth

and significance in their lives as against men and women in the days of Shakespeare, when life was lived in its plain, petty incompleteness. This fact alone, in spite of its discrepant, individualistic tone, shows the drama, *Joyzelle*, in the making, laying bare as it does, the inner working of the artist's mind. Observed from this vantage-ground of a mystic, the other consequent changes in the drama appear almost inevitable; and the drama looks almost like a modernised presentation of the *Tempest*.

But these various points of similarity, on second thoughts, seem rather superficial. To emphasize at once what is most obvious. The motive that inspires Merlin to institute the tests for his son is quite of a different nature from what guides Prospero in the case of Ferdinand. Prospero's motive is merely this :

“ * * * This swift business
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
Make the prize light.”

While with Merlin, the tests are the very steps—he has only forestalled them a little by the power of his vision—by which destiny takes each one of us, not to speak of Lanceor, to our life's fulfilment. For each one of us, must undergo the same travails so that our souls may be born anew with the ripening of our individual experiences in life. “Each one of us finds anew the agony, each one of us finds anew the desperate hope and folly of the ages.”

This shows us that the entire attitude of Maeterlinck towards the construction of the drama, towards the treatment of love which is the theme of both the plays, is essentially different from that of Shakespeare.

With Shakespeare, the island-scene is vital for the growth and development of the weird atmosphere of the drama where everything is possible. And it applies so pre-eminently in the case of *Miranda* that we find her as she is not only under her father's conscientious guidance, but also under the silent, benign influence of the solitary, strange island.

But for Maeterlinck, the solitude of the island has only a symbolic meaning ; and the atmosphere is neither of the natural, nor of the supernatural kind—it is a spiritual atmosphere, which every one of us, not to speak of Joyzelle and Lanceor, breathes in our exalted and pregnant moments of life ; but which a mystic soul, like Merlin, in a state of realisation carries about him every single moment. In this

sense, we are always being brought into the enchanting island, when our souls meet in silence in our intensest moments.

This difference becomes all the more remarkable when we compare Ariel of the *Tempest* and Arielle of *Joyzelle*—of the same name, and two of the finest, because the most elusive, creations of their poets. The Ariel of Shakespeare is a creature of imagination, an etherealisation of gross conceptions of his age which was steeped in fairy lore—conceptions which in the process of germination in the vast fertile stretch of his imagination have flowered in the world's most perfect extravaganza—*The Midsummer Night's Dream*. In the *Tempest*, Ariel is but an air, a touch, a feeling—an efflorescence of the finest forces of Nature. Suffocated under the heavy, leaden air of the earth to which he must submit to do the bidding of a human master under whose superior power he is, he presents a picture of suffering. No wonder then that agonised in his insistent cry for freedom, he would sometimes prove intractable.

But in the words of Ariel to Prospero—"I cleave to thy thought"—Shakespeare suddenly throws a new light of mystery on the character of Ariel, which is that he is an objective projection of Prospero's thought. This subtle suggestion of Shakespeare Maeterlinck accepts and transforms into a new creation—certainly a revelation for us—that he is the genius of Merlin.

Now a genius, according to Greek and Roman belief, is a protecting spirit which was thought to take possession of each man at his birth and to accompany him through life. But with Maeterlinck it is a different conception altogether. This is conceived to be the special inherent aptitude which every man possesses to communicate with the mighty spiritual forces that lie dormant in his soul. This aptitude when awakened and exercised to the fullest degree serves to clarify our vision which is ordinarily blurred by the limits and imperfections imposed on us by a mysterious, unknown power, which may be called our Destiny. That this is the poet's intention is clear from the opening address to Arielle, which sounds very much like a soliloquy. This power, inborn in man, is conceived as a gentle maiden, all invisible, who retains some shadow even in the light in which Merlin has been able to train her—"a certain cruelty that takes too great a pleasure in men's weaknesses." She is in a fury when the golden moment of Merlin's life is lost in inaction; for, her own fate is inextricably woven into the dark fatality that awaits Merlin in case he lets slip this rare opportunity.

Now let us turn to a consideration of the dramatic art of these two masters. The art of Maeterlinck is a conscious reaction against that of the previous masters. His aspiration is to create what he calls "a static drama." By this he means the drama of active silence, which when absorbed into our very being, emerges into a kind of action, very different from our familiar "dramatic action." This action is quickened with the very quintessence of our being; through an "yes" or a "no" it moulds the whole course of 'dramatic action,' that is to say, the action of the drama that is being enacted in our lives by Destiny every moment.

The art of Shakespeare, specially in the marvellous series of tragedies, is absolutely of a different genre. In Shakespeare, we are treated to situations of a character or characters having a dominant passion or motive and the situations are dramatic simply because we are shown that the passion itself makes for the situations one after the other as it goes on unfolding itself. The situations are dramatic because for the moment the character is merged completely in the situation, the outer world and the inner world seem to be completely unified. To put it briefly, the dramatic action in Shakespeare is a psychological development of the soul, tracing the variations in the character to their primal source. In Maeterlinck, the action is a spiritual growth, and the ultimate reality is the reality of the soul—not a bare, monstrous abstraction, but a vital, living presence transmuting every fibre of our existence. In this broad sense, the art of Shakespeare may be characterised as analytic; while the art of Maeterlinck is synthetic. Of course, Shakespeare never presents us merely with an analysis of mind, but with characters wonderfully vitalised and real; and in this lies the perennial triumph and elusiveness of his genius. But his characters rarely move beyond the psychological level. And on the psychological level, though we live fully and completely in the complexity of a single situation, we still live only in fragments. Whereas on the spiritual level, every moment of our life is rounded up with eternity and we live in the truest attainable synthesis.

But this psychological level is transcended in Shakespeare in the soliloquies of a Hamlet, a Macbeth or a Prospero when the soul rises supreme as master of the situation and takes a sudden flight. This overflow and luxuriance of soul which finds distant echoes in tremulous

cadences, is the meeting point between Shakespeare and Maeterlinck, with this difference that in the theory of Maeterlinck, when language is stretched to the breaking point it is really a futility of art. It is better that the artist should look up to life, and use simple, vital words, or better still, utilize the pervasive influence of silence to dwell on the soul. But this theory of Maeterlinck fails to get the better of him as an artist; and we find in him also those strange whisperings of soul made audible through a finesse of form and expression which sounds mysterious to ordinary ears. And in this regard, he belongs to that rare brotherhood of the world's greatest language-painters, if such an expression be permitted.

Yet, while Shakespeare rises to this fine height of the soul in snatches, Maeterlinck makes that height the common ground in his plays. We can recall only occasional flashes of Prospero like :

“ * * * we are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep,”

when compared with the character of Merlin which is pitched from the beginning to this high key.

This brings us to the difference in their treatment of love, which is the theme of both the plays.

For our purpose, three different aspects of love may be noted. In the first place, there is the pragmatic aspect, born of the complexities of our modern habits of life. Now-a-days we cannot love with our whole being. We are so absorbed in mercenary or intellectual pursuits that we neither have the good sense nor the leisure to meet the demands of sentiment in a healthy, normal outlook. We see in love at best a community of interest, a sense of partnership. The world, which wants us to keep up our reputation, is in constant clash with the sincere outpouring of love, which is ‘cribbed, cabined and confined’ rather than court lifelong misery in a hopeless struggle. This aspect of love is the dominant note in the literature of to-day and finds forceful expression in ‘Babbit’ of Sinclair Lewis, the famous novelist.

There is, again, the romantic aspect of love, which is simple, daring and easily takes fire. Under its spell, we entirely give ourselves up to our imagination and live in an expansion of being in the beloved, as Shakespeare portrays love in his immortal sonnets and in

Romeo and Juliet. The scoffings of the world are here faced smilingly because each heart is true to the other. There may be just a peep of suspicion, but that is completely blotted out of thought in the glamour and fire of true love. This love is capable of being engendered in the youth as well as in the maiden to the same degree or pitch of intensity and feeling.

In the *Tempest* Shakespeare contrasts the first kind of love with the second, and shows that the difficulties that stand in the way of giving ourselves away to the lofty sentiment of love are the civilization's own making ; so that our only remedy lies in flying away from civilization. The serene intensity of love in Miranda has an artless simplicity, a primitive sanctity about it, which we do not find in the passionate overpoweringness of the love of Juliet, whom we may set down as a sort of sublimated school-girl. Indeed, the shreds of social reputation fall off from us the moment we cast away our social skin and live in communion with nature in a more primitive fashion with fewer and simpler needs.

But there is yet a third kind of love, which is capable of expression by the woman alone, and never by the man. We speak here of the true, predestined love. As Maeterlinck says in his essay on "Women" : " Who shall tell us of what consists the first look of love, ' the magic wand made of a ray of broken light,' the ray that has issued forth from the eternal home of our being, that has transformed two souls and given them twenty centuries of youth ? " " Therefore it is, perhaps, that besides their primitive instincts all women have communications with the unknown that are denied to us. The woman never forgets the path that leads to the centre of her being." In Joyzelle we are presented with a perfect expression of this sort of love. This spiritual love is not mere feeling, nor ecstasy. The only thing needed to keep its flame burning is the living presence of the beloved—nothing else does count. He may deceive, he may be deformed ; but none-the-less he remains the eternal object of love. In response to Lanceor's heart-breaking cry : " But what am I, Joyzelle, what do you love in me, in whom I have profaned and others destroyed all that you once loved ?"—Joyzelle answers : " You. It is he alone, it is you alone, in whom no change can come but that which increases love. * * * " This love is naturally fortified in its own conviction that the object of love can never be degraded owing to the incidents of human nature ; this love is sure that a saving touch of

itself will cleanse off every impurity; and every trial is a step forward towards its crowning achievement. It does not pine away in the hope of a return; it will live in the very being of its beloved forgetting its own existence; it will set no price by her immaculate virtue, which it will sacrifice in a trice for the mere life of her beloved, only to feel the breath of his being. Such is the colour of love that meets the eye in Joyzelle and every bar that is crossed sheds a light that deepens the colour-tone. These trials that are arranged for her through Arielle who conspires to veil Lanceor's reason and make him a changed man, only set off the love of Joyzelle in a more and more glorious light.

To find this love and to have one's life immortalised in its radiance is the privilege not only of the youth, but of the aged also. The time-worn mystic who has always been deceived in this life by the wiles of a false love, as Merlin is shown to have been, may find youth eternal, if he happens to realise even in his last moment this soul-awakening love. Merlin succumbed to this human weakness and was tossed between his son's happiness and his own. But he could not induce Joyzelle, who as a woman has surer instinct of her life's fruition. So that his son ultimately got the better of him and he passed into oblivion with this sweet and serene reflection: "Thanks to the unknown gods, I have been able to give happiness to the two hearts dear to me, but I can do nothing more. I am going towards my destiny and I go in silence."

Now, let us address ourselves to the comedy aspect of the two plays and conclude. For, surely enough, both the dramas end in union in spite of severe odds and culminate in triumphant rejoicing. Yet, both the plays have such a seriousness of outlook that it may seem somewhat baffling to lay our finger upon the elements wherein the comedy lies. Taking all in all, we shall not be far off from the truth when we say that it lies in the clockwork, mechanical way of disposing of events through the intervention of magical or spiritual power which gives a touch of unreality to both the plays and is in itself the fruitful source of all comedy, as shown by the famous philosopher M. Bergson in his masterly analysis of all shades of comicality in "*Laughter*." Though it may be said that by this intervention of magic, Shakespeare wishes to preserve the unities of time and place—a classical convention which, by the bye, he honoured more in the breach than in observance—still, it is this superhuman way of disposing of events that

always arouses in us pleasurable sensations, inasmuch as we have the inevitable belief that everything will go right in the end. In this sense, the wrathful attitude of Merlin towards Lanceor at their first meeting—which is comparable to the same sort of scene in the *Tempest*—is more comical, for it seems without basis altogether. In this sense, again, there can be no meaning in depicting characters, when they are mere pantomimes, without any trace of individuality or freedom of action. Joyzelle, alone of all persons, is endowed with a personality and in her case love triumphs over destiny itself.

In fine, we realise that though of kindred spirit—these two artists—the development and expression of their arts have been very different because of the demands and exigencies of their own age ; and even so, the difference, though in some ways vital, is in other respects only a sort of limitation that is born with every age and is imposed on every artist. It is undeniable that however much an artist will strive to live in eternity, he is more or less a creature of his age, whose deepest aspirations he intuits in his largeness of imagination and visualises in art which is eternal only in a limited sense. But the artist who is gifted with the most profound imagination, that feeds with inexhaustible life the creations of his heart, is sure to be discovered anew and enjoyed in the newer aspirations and thoughts of every new age, which has been the fortune of Shakespeare and which, we hope, would be the fortune of Maeterlinck also.

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SUTHERLAND'S REMINISCENCES OF RAMMOHUN ROY

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

[James Sutherland was one of the closest European friends of Rammohun Roy and was with him on board the *Albion* during the voyage to England. He had thus unequalled opportunities of knowing Rammohun's character and wrote a fairly lengthy article on him after his death. This article, which to all appearance was published in the *Literary Gazette* and reproduced in the *India Gazette* for February 18, 1834, was in no sense a regular biographical sketch, but it is extremely valuable as an account of his character by an educated European who both loved and admired him. This account has been drawn upon in part in Miss Collet's biography but has nowhere been reproduced in full, though the intimate and vivid picture of Rammohun it provides fully deserves reproduction. One of the difficulties in the way of a full reproduction was that the files of the paper in which it had been published had become almost unobtainable. Fortunately however, I have been able to get a transcript from the India Office Library, London.]

The death of this distinguished and extraordinary man, which occurred at Stapleton, near Bristol, on the 27th of September, was announced here too late to be noticed in the last number of the *Literary Gazette*; but although the other papers of the presidency have since given several brief sketches of his public life, the following reminiscences illustrative of his character, set down without much reference to order, may still prove not wholly uninteresting to the Indian public.

The public career of Rammohun Roy in Calcutta must be familiar to most of my readers ; but although he was generally known, and esteemed by the European community, I doubt if he was properly appreciated. These people, accustomed to hear other natives speak English perhaps even more fluently, and who met them only in that sort of mixed society in which there is little scope for the display of mind, wondered what others saw in him so astonishing. Of his various acquirements, and the immense obstacles over which he had triumphed in shaking off the prejudices of habit and creed, born as he was a high caste Brahmin, they could form no adequate estimate; for it is wonderful how little the generality of our countrymen, especially of those located at the Presidencies, know of these matters. They heard something of Rammohun Roy's numerous writings, but they read them not, and fancied, if they ever thought about them at all, that they probably related to the feats of Brahma, or the incarnation of Vishnu ; they confounded him, in fact, with the portly Baboos who babble—not of green fields, but of the price of opium and the rate of exchange. Among the more enlightened of his own countrymen, and the more intellectual of ours, however, he was better appreciated and especially by those who approached to a closer intimacy with him, and met him in the ease and freedom of familiar intercourse.

The writer of this article had shared the friendship and confidence of Rammohun Roy for several years, and was early, of his acquaintance with him, imbued with a profound veneration for his character, which displayed qualities extremely rare in an Asiatic. Although he had abjured the prejudices of caste, he still abstained from the food forbidden by it, in order that his reasons for departing from the faith of his ancestors might not be mistaken; and that he might still preserve his influence over his countrymen. This he did to a certain degree; but to such an extent was he persecuted by the more bigoted Hindoos, that his life was actually in danger from them, and at one time Dwarkanauth Tagore and a few faithful friends only adhered to him, while his aged mother is said to have gone to Juggernaut, and died of grief and vexation at his apostacy, as she probably called it. He never could go to a party at any European gentleman's, but he was watched by hurkarus and bearers till a late hour at night, peeping through the *jhilmils* to detect him in any violation of the rules of caste, so that he has been known to suffer severely from thirst, being afraid to take even a glass of water. The civilians of the old school, too, by no means approved of any indication of the march of mind among the natives: they infinitely preferred the sleek and servile Baboo who threw off his shoes at the foot of the stairs and hoped "master was well;" and some of them treated him with indignity. It is said that he once fought a duel with some one who had presumed to do so, and I know that he had a very high and delicate sense of honour. One of his relatives also was shamefully persecuted in those days when it was too much the principle of our government to support power at the expense of justice. It will be admitted that these were trials which it required no common fortitude to sustain; but they were borne with a dignity and firmness that has seldom been surpassed.

Rammohun Roy was a great friend of Mr. Buckingham, and it was highly honorable to the former, that at a time when party-spirit ran very high here, and Mr. Buckingham was held up to the world by the Government and its adherents as a sort of political bugbear, and his house *tabooed*,¹ as they say in the Pacific, that this enlightened native advocate of freedom made a point of being more frequent in his visits to him and they discussed with zeal and animation the great questions of Indian polity.

The first striking indication of deep reflection and earnestness on subjects of political importance I met with in Rammohun Roy, was shortly after his memorable appeal to the King in Council, for the liberty of free printing in India, was ready for the press. We had conversed about it frequently, but it had been said that it had been written for him, and not knowing him so well, I thought it not unlikely; but while talking it over one evening with him, he observed suddenly, "that another argument, or rather illustration, might still be introduced which would give additional force to the memorial. Urge, said he, that in Canada where free institutions have long prevailed, notwithstanding its proximity to the United States, that even during the war the loyalty of the subjects there has never been shaken or suspected; but that, on the contrary, these privileges have increased their attachment to the British throne. I wrote the clause down nearly in his own words, and they are printed in the memorial. At that time, I believe, he was in the habit of getting his

¹ The natives of the Pacific Islands affix certain marks on the huts of the proscribed or outlawed. The huts are then said to be *tabooed*.

English compositions looked over by some of his European friends, from his anxiety to be correct, though he wrote the language with considerable fluency and elegance; and even in his later days, though his knowledge of it was of course improved, he would frequently get an acquaintance who might be near him to write a note for him: but then he was most fastidious and difficult to please as to the style, and no one better understood how to adapt his expressions with the greatness (*sic*) exactness to the condition of the party addressed and the circumstances of the case.

His philanthropy was unbounded, and generally took a wise direction. It is known that he maintained a school here for many years, and in printing books and contributing to useful institutions and objects of benevolence, he expended large sums of money. Some of these publications, indeed, were of too polemical and metaphysical a character perhaps—too much devoted to speculative theology. I should rather have seen his energies directed to subjects less sacred and abstruse than disputations with missionaries on the divine incarnation—a question of faith rather than of reason and logical inquiry.

He was not always judicious in the choice of friends. His generosity and unsuspecting nature were sometimes abused; and he was too apt to be misled by high-sounding professions. One instance of the kind he had reason bitterly to repent; for the individual alluded to, a European, on whom he and his friend Dwarkanauth had heaped kindnesses in overflowing measure, disappointed in his hopes of accomplishing by means of Rammohun Roy, other objects of ambition, turned round upon him and assailed him with the most atrocious calumny, in which he was to a certain degree abetted, by a journal here that too eagerly lent itself to the propagation of any base slander against a political rival. The offender in this case, however, afterwards begged pardon on his knees, and successfully solicited a pecuniary favour from the man he had reviled!

Speaking of his eldest son, who is still living in Calcutta, he told me that he never attempted by direct efforts of argument, still less by ridicule or sarcasm, to bring him round to his own opinions, and that he was still, when he had nearly attained the age of manhood, worshipping his images of wood and stone; but said he, I invited him to study with me, and as his mind became enlarged, he gradually forsook these prejudices of ignorance and superstition.

Persons who first met him in company, where political and literary subjects came under discussion, were astonished at the acquaintance he displayed with our institutions, our public men, and our literature: they were surprised to hear a native talking of the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*—of Whigs and Tories—of Lord Liverpool and of Mr. Canning. There was something in the sparkling oratory of the latter that had a peculiar charm for him, and indeed that statesman's advocacy of the Catholic claims touched him nearly, for there was no subject on which he felt more keenly than on one which involved the great question of religious liberty; he always reflected on the possibility of this country being made, like Ireland, another arena for the fierce contention of rival sects, owing to the adoption here of those principles against which Mr. Canning so successfully contended at home.

In short, he was the enthusiastic advocate of liberty, civil and religious, all over the world, and watched with intense anxiety every indication of its retrogradation; rejoicing in its success, and deploring every reverse it experienced. When the Spanish Constitution was established, he and his enlightened friend Dwarkanauth Tagore, who were regarded as the leaders of

the liberal party of the natives in India, gave a grand dinner in honor of the event. It was at one of these parties, indeed, given by these distinguished natives, that Mr. Ferguson made one of those eloquent speeches which alas! were all sound and fury, signifying nothing: for he went to England, and so entirely forgot his native friends and all his pledges to them, that he never attempted even to present their powerful appeal in behalf of the liberty of the press. But with Rammohun Roy the love of freedom was not a mere matter of impulse or momentary excitement, subsiding with the occasion that called it forth. It had sunk deeply into his heart, and so completely carried him away at times, that his own interests were entirely absorbed in it. When he heard the news of the French Revolution—the glorious Three Days,—so great was his enthusiasm that he could think and talk of nothing else, though it was the period of his separation from country and friends, too probably, and indeed, as it has actually fallen out, for ever.

He did not, however, in his interest in European politics forget those of his own country, and as the period for the renewal of the charter approached, he made up his mind to undertake that voyage over so many thousand miles of ocean, so arduous to a native, who had scarcely ever even crossed the sacred Ganga in a boat, and who had still new prejudices to overcome, new privations to suffer, new trials to undergo, in making it, to which the Anglo-Indian is of course not subjected; but his devotion to the cause triumphed over all obstacles, and has conquered all but death, to whose stern fiat we must all alike submit.

On ship-board Rammohun Roy took his meals in his own cabin, and at first suffered considerable inconvenience from the want of a separate fireplace; having nothing but a common earthen *choola* on board. His servants, too, fell desperately sea-sick, (though, as if his ardour supported him against it, he himself never felt this malady at all) and took possession of his cabin, never moving from it, and making it, as may be easily conceived, no enviable domicile; in fact, they compelled him to retreat to the lockers; but still the kindness of his nature would not allow him to remove them. The greater part of the day he read, chiefly, I believe, Sanskrit and Hebrew. In the forenoon and the evening he took an airing on deck, and always got involved in an animated discussion. After dinner, when the cloth was removed, and the dessert on table, he would come out of his cabin also, and join in the conversation and take a glass of wine. He was always cheerful, and so won upon the esteem of all on board, that there was quite a competition who should pay him the most attention, and even the sailors seemed anxious to render him any little service in their power. In a gale of wind he would be upon deck, gazing at the foam-crested surges as they roared by the vessel, and admiring the sublimity of the scene. On one occasion I brought on deck the "*Ocean Sketches*," and read to him the first piece, entitled "*The Breeze*," which though I am writing for the editor of the *Literary Gazette*, and the author of the poem, he must permit me to quote:—

" The distant haze, like clouds of silvery dust,
Now sparkles in the sun. The freshening breeze
Whitens the liquid plain; and like a steed
With proud impatience fired, the glorious ship
Quick bounds exultant, and with rampant prow
Off flings the glittering foam Around her wake,
A radiant milky way, the sea birds weave
Their circling flight, or slowly sweeping wide
O'er boundless ocean, graze with drooping wing
The brightly-crested waves. Each sudden surge,
Up-dashed, appears a momentary tree
Fringed with the hoar-frost of a wintry morn;

And then, like blossoms from a breeze-stirred bough,
The light spray strews the deep.

How fitfully the feeble day-beams pierce
The veil of heaven!—On yon far line of light,
That like a range of breakers, streaks the main,
The ocean swan—the snow-white Albatross,
Gleams like a dazzling foam-flake in the sun!
Gaze upward—and behold, where parted clouds
Disclose ethereal depths, its dark-hued mate
Hangs motionless on arch resembling wings,
As though 'twere painted on the sky's blue vault.
Sprinkling the air, the speck-like petrels form
A living shower! A while their pinions gray
Mingle scarce seen among the misty clouds,
Till suddenly their white breasts catch the light,
And flash like silver stars!

He recognized at once the fidelity of this picture, although not much given to poetical reading.

His equanimity was quite surprising. In more than one case every thing in his cabin was quite afloat, owing to the sea washing into the quarter-galley window—but it never disturbed his serenity. If any thing threw him off his equilibrium of temperament, it was the prevalence of contrary winds; because of his great anxiety to get on, and his alarm lest the great question of the Company's Charter should come on before he arrived in England.

At the Cape he did not go ashore, except for an hour or two, and then only at the particular request of a friend at first owing to the sickness of his adopted son (who accompanied him to England, and who is still there), and afterwards to an accident he met with himself in returning on board the vessel, when in consequence of the carelessness of the officer on deck in not securing the gangway ladder, he got a fall, from which he was lame for eighteen months afterwards. Indeed he never entirely recovered from it I believe, and it frequently gave him great pain. But no bodily suffering could repress his mental ardour. Two French frigates, under the revolutionary flag, the glorious tri-color, were lying in Table Bay; and lame as he was, he would insist upon visiting them; the sight of those colours, indeed, seemed to kindle the flame of his enthusiasm and to render him insensible to pain. He would listen to no remonstrance, and accordingly went. His reception of course was worthy of the French character and of him, though he gave no time for any preparation. He was conducted over the vessels and endeavoured to convey, by the aid of interpreters, how much he was delighted to be under the banner that waved over their decks, —an evidence of the glorious triumph of right over might: and as he left the vessels he repeated emphatically "Glory, glory, glory to France!"

Some of the most distinguished people at the Cape left their cards for him at the hotel, and some called on board but not the Governor. Perhaps it was contrary to etiquette; but yet how insignificant in point of rank and influence was this Colonial Governor, compared with some of the great men of England and France, who afterwards crowded to pay homage to Rammohun Roy, and thought the honour all on their side.

As we approached England, his anxiety to know what was passing there became most urgent, and he implored the captain to lose no opportunity of speaking to any vessel outward-bound. At length, near the Equator, about a fortnight after he had passed St. Helena (where we did not touch) we fell in with a vessel which supplied us with papers, announcing the change of ministry, and his exultation at that

intelligence may be easily conceived. We talked of nothing else for days: but his was not the triumph of party or of a sectarian spirit—it was in its probably beneficial effects on the fate of India, that he regarded the event as a subject of triumph. When we got within a few days' sail of the Channel, we fell in with a vessel only four days out, that brought us intelligence of the extraordinary circumstance of the second reading of the Reform Bill being carried in the House in which the Tories had so long commanded majorities, by a single vote! It was evident, that the cause of Reform was progressing, and that a dissolution would insure the ultimate success of a measure which from its unexpected comprehensiveness seemed to have united the suffrages of the whole country in favour of the Whig administration. Rammohun Roy was again elated with the prospects of the success of the great objects of his mission to England, and indeed of the general advance of the cause of liberty, which these events promised. A few days afterwards, at that eventful crisis of our history when the whole nation was in a state of excitement, the topic of conversation in every drawing-room, in every club, and at every tea-table—the all-absorbing topic, was *Reform*: and the great question was fixed for a second reading—at that important and deeply interesting crisis, Rammohun Roy first landed in Great Britain. The effect of this contagious enthusiasm of a whole people in favour of a great political change, upon such a mind, was of course electrifying, and he caught up the tone of the new society in which he found himself with so much ardour, that at one time I had fears that this fever of excitement, which led him to neglect all precautions, would prove too much for him, and that he would fall a victim to his zeal in a noble cause, ere he could strike a blow for it, in the very field in which the great battle was to be fought and won.

His arrival was no sooner known in Liverpool, than every man of any distinction in the place hastened to call upon him; and he got into inextricable confusion with all his engagements, making half a dozen sometimes for the same evening, in spite of every attempt to keep him right by entering them in tablets presented to him for the purpose, until at last people understood him so well that they never invited him until they had consulted his visiting list, and of course no one took offence at breaches of etiquette which were occasioned not so much by his ignorance of its laws, to which they were ascribed, as to the kindness of his nature, which made it painful to him to refuse any one. He was out morning, noon and night, though the change of climate (we reached Liverpool in April in a rather backward spring) had brought on a slight cough, and he suffered much from his lameness, owing to the accident at the Cape, in ascending and descending the stairs. Of course on all occasions, whether at breakfast or dinner, a number of persons was assembled to meet him, and he was constantly involved in animated discussions on politics or theology, which made him forgetful of time or fatigue.

The first public place we attended was Dr. Grundy's Unitarian Chapel. I endeavoured, as the day was raw and chilly, to dissuade him from going, knowing that in a large lofty building, sitting for several hours, he would aggravate his cold, and perhaps suffer severely; but all remonstrance was vain, and accordingly we went to this place of worship with an amiable family of the name of Yates, who brought their carriage for us. The chapel was crowded. The sermon was judiciously adapted to the occasion, in exposition of the duty of unlimited charity in our judgments of the creeds of other men and of the principles of belief. I think, if I have not forgotten it, it seemed to me, on the whole, rather too metaphysical, but not the less approved apparently by Rammohun Roy, who listened to it with

the most profound attention, and afterwards expressed himself very much pleased with it. When the sermon was over, the scene that ensued was curious; instead of dispersing as usual, the congregation thronged up every avenue in crowding to get a near view of him as he passed out; indeed, his own attention was arrested by an object which deeply affected him; a mural tablet to the memory of Mr. Tait, an amiable member of this community, who died here some years ago, was pointed out to him, and he was unable for some moments to recover the shock which it occasioned him by vividly recalling the loss of a dear and intimate friend. When he did, he attempted to express his feelings, and as he did so with propriety, though with hesitation, the surprise and excitement of the crowd at hearing a native of India address them in their native tongue, was extreme, and it was near an hour after the service terminated ere we could make our way out of church, through this dense throng: indeed, we should have been detained longer if one of the Mr. Yates's had not got upon a seat and addressed the people, explaining that their distinguished visitor was in delicate health and lame from an accident. All this time he was standing and suffering much pain; and at length, as we made our way out of the chapel, he had to shake hands with many who had waited for that purpose. To some his adopted son was scarcely less an object of curiosity, and to him it was fine fun; he seemed to enjoy being stared at, amazingly.

In the evening he went to hear the Reverend Mr. Scoresby, the son of the celebrated arctic navigator, who was also a sailor himself at one time, and is a man of great scientific reputation, though now of the established Church and of the evangelical sect. As a preacher, I believe this gentleman is chiefly remarkable for his earnestness, though the experience of his early life in some of the sublimest scenes of nature, and his adventures in the frozen seas in whaling, as well as his scientific researches, supply him with varied and striking illustrations, in the application of which I am told he exhibits much skill and judgment. Rammohun Roy spoke in terms of admiration of his preaching.

Among the first to pay their respects to my lamented friend were three of the sons of the celebrated William Roscoe, the elegant historian of the Medici, of whom Washington Irving says in his brief but beautiful sketch of him, that "wherever you go in Liverpool, you perceive traces of his footsteps in all that is elegant and liberal." They came not merely on their own account, but charged with an affectionate greeting from their eminent and amiable parent, who had already, on the very day of our arrival, sent a note to Rammohun Roy at the hotel, acquainting him of the interesting fact that he (Mr. R.) had some time previously written him a letter, addressed to Calcutta (which had crossed him in the voyage) accompanied by a copy of all his works, in token of his admiration of the zeal, and worth, and talent of his Hindoo collaborateur, in the great cause of reform and philanthropy. The note was a very touching and characteristic communication, and was immediately acknowledged by the warmest expressions of admiration and regard for its gifted and amiable author. Mr. Roscoe had not, I think, for years quitted his apartment, being troubled with a paralytic affection, which confined him to the recumbent posture; and latterly he had not been in the habit of seeing any but his most intimate friends.

The interview, I learned, at which none but the two distinguished individuals and one of Mr. Roscoe's sons were present, was deeply affecting; and indeed Rammohun Roy felt it so much, that he could not speak about it. I believe they both wept with mingled emotions of joy and sorrow, which will be appreciated only by those who can understand how much

there was in the circumstances of the case to touch the hearts of two men of such ardent and enthusiastic minds. Mr. Roscoe had looked forward to this event as one of those contingencies which was scarcely within the range of probability, and when it came to pass, he was scarcely prepared for it. He had long been acquainted with Rammohun Roy's reputation, with his writings, and his patriotic and philanthropic views, which found an echo in his own enlightened mind and generous heart, and perhaps even magnifying all the obstacles which a Hindoo has to surmount ere he can present such claims to our admiration, the great Roscoe considered his native friend a being to whom even he should look up with the sort of reverence which extraordinary talent, worth, and devotedness ever command. Then again the reflection could not escape them both that this delightful interchange of ennobling sentiment must soon be terminated by the relentless decree of the grim tyrant who seemed already to have visibly asserted his power over one of them. In short, they felt that in all probability this was their first and last interview on this side of eternity, and so it proved; for Rammohun Roy remained only a few days in Liverpool, leaving it with the avowed intention of speedily returning to it. He heard of Mr. Roscoe's death while residing in London.

His introduction to the celebrated Roscoe took place, as I have mentioned, upstairs (at the well-known house in Lodge Lane), but the room below was crowded with all the most distinguished persons in Liverpool, of almost every creed and profession. A great many ladies were present, and among these was Miss Roscoe, who appeared to inherit much of her father's enthusiasm and elevation of mind. All were eager in their inquiries, about his title, his opinions, his habits, his objects in visiting England, &c., until he returned into the lower room, when, after recovering from the effects of his interview with the great and good man above, he immediately got into a very animated discussion with Miss Roscoe and some other ladies. In general, these friendly colloquies took a political or religious turn. To hear a Brahmin zealously advocating Reform, and with an earnestness and emphasis that bespoke his sincerity, expatiating on the blessings of civil and religious liberty, of course, amazed our countrymen, and perhaps they were not less surprised if the discussion took a religious direction, to find him quoting text upon text, with the utmost facility, and proving himself more familiar with their sacred books than themselves: while the suavity of his manners delighted as much as his acuteness and acquirements surprised his auditors.

The wealthy and esteemed Quakers, the Croppers and Bensons, paid him a great deal of attention, and at their hospitable mansions, where there was a display of eloquence and a luxury of living, that seemed scarcely accordant with the simplicity of their peculiar sect, he met with persons of all faiths. Indeed, it is a fact honorable to the inhabitants of Liverpool that there is a greater absence of the sectarian spirit, than I have witnessed in any other town in England.

At one of these Quaker's parties there were present high Churchmen, Baptists, Unitarians, and Deists, all mingling in perfect harmony and Christian charity. On one of these occasions, Rammohun Roy, with a *naïveté*, which particularly amused the Reverend Mr. Scoresby, I recollect, attacked the Quaker practice of not paying their ministers. "The labourer," said he, "is worthy of his hire; if your preachers do their duty, why not remunerate them?" "Because," he was answered, "they are sufficiently rewarded in discharging it, seeing that none enter on that holy vocation without they have a call to this labour of love to bring souls to Christ. If they are in want, we relieve them as we do all worthy brethren

in the faith; but we hold it to be inconsistent with the gospel to hold out the temptation of lucre to the ministers of religion." It seemed to me that my friend had rather the worst of the argument; though he still continued it. Mr. Scoresby, on the contrary, fancied him triumphant, I believe; as least as soon as he heard him quote "the labourer is worthy of his hire," he exclaimed, "Good, very true," and abruptly terminating an interesting conversation in which I had been engaged with him, he rose and approached the disputants at the other end of the room, so eagerly, that I thought he was going to take part in the discussion; but he had the good taste to remain merely an attentive auditor.

On questions of religious faith Rammohun Roy was in general too pliant, perhaps from the excessive fear of giving offence or wounding the feelings of any body, which accounts for the controversy which has arisen about his religious opinions. In fact, no matter what the creed of the parties with whom he conversed on such subjects, he was sure to impress them with an idea either that he was of their peculiar faith, or that they had converted him to it. A lady once observed to me, that she was rejoiced to find that he was a sincere Trinitarian, and that he had merely gone to Unitarian places of worship from curiosity as he had attended Quaker's meetings, the Jewish synagogue, &c.

On one occasion, a gentleman in Liverpool, Mr. William Rathbone, (there is no reason I think for concealing his name) expressed a very great anxiety to hear his real opinions on religion, and invited him for that purpose to a quiet family tea-party. Mr. Rathbone is a Unitarian Christian, and very sincere in his own creed; but at the same time, very tolerant of all other creeds, and of this he emphatically assured Rammohun Roy, that none in his house would take offence at any opinions he might avow. On going to Mr. Rathbone's, we found that there was, as he had promised, no one present but his family, save Spurzheim, the celebrated phrenologist, who was living in the house; and there seemed no reason for any disguise of my friend's views, nor did he I believe intend any. He entered freely into conversation with Spurzheim, until all of a sudden he seemed to fancy that Mr. R's mother, a very elderly lady, might perhaps, be of a different persuasion from the rest of the family, and less tolerant, and he drew in, and expressed some opinion at variance with the view he was supposed to entertain; when Spurzheim, with that quickness and good humour for which he is remarkable, immediately replied, "I shall not ask you, my friend, to yield to my arguments, but to an authority for which in this house we have a very high respect," and rising, he brought from another table Rammohun Roy's "Precepts of Jesus" and read a passage that directly contradicted the opinions the author of the book had the moment before expressed! The conversation afterwards took a general turn, and Mr. R's curiosity was disappointed.

Spurzheim and Rammohun Roy met very often, and as another example of the frankness with which he expressed his opinions on all subjects except religion, I may mention, that he never hesitated to laugh at the science of the great phrenologist, who parried his thrusts with infinite skill and good nature, always assuring him that if he would only study the facts on which it rested, he would change his opinion. He was very anxious to get a cast of the head of Rammohun Roy, but felt delicate in asking him to bare his cranium for the purpose, having been informed of the strong prejudice natives of India had to uncover their heads in the presence of strangers: he was at least promised, however, that he should be permitted to take one; but the promise was not fulfilled.

While he was at Liverpool he received a call from a gentleman with whom he was much amused ; his visitor, a retired Indian Officer, of the old school, with a squat figure, a jolly face, and a conscious smile of self-satisfaction playing on his features, was much more gifted with good nature than good sense or good taste. As soon as he saw the Hindoo philosopher, he began addressing him in that elegant dialect in which Europeans in this country make their *coup d'essai* in Eastern languages. "*Utcha, toom Bengali, hum Bengali toom Bengali*—well, *Kysa hy, Sahib?*" Then turning to the young Raja, who was present, "*Ah chuckera (chockera), well, kitna burras?*" (or rather *brass*, as he made it) *kysa mulk (moolug). Utcha hy?* and so on; to all which Rammohun gracefully bowed. At length the gallant officer was informed, that the gentleman he was addressing, spoke English as well as he did (in truth he spoke it much more correctly). It appeared that he came as a delegate from no less a potentate than the mayor, who fearful of compromising his dignity by calling himself, had deputed a friend to suggest the propriety of the distinguished stranger's calling upon his high civil functionary, and to him that if he did, the honour would be acknowledged by an *invite* to a Lord Mayor's dinner ; and the intimation was delivered, with an air of importance, which seemed to imply, "Think of that, Master Brooke!" It happened, however, that the party he addressed had not formed exactly the same lofty estimate of its importance as his visitor, and therefore declined the intimation with cold ingratitude, and when the Major was gone he vowed, using an emphatic English expression, that if the mayor wanted to see him, he might call upon him, as his superiors had done, and as it seemed to me, that hospitality, propriety, and good feeling demanded; but mayors are not always, it must be confessed, possessed of taste.

— "Unless it be
For calirash or calipee."

And so our friend lost the opportunity of making his bow to the mayor of Liverpool!

Rammohun Roy's stay in Liverpool was purposely shortened, in order that he might be present in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Reform Bill, about which he was deeply anxious. His enthusiasm on that subject, however, did not prevent him from observing the evidences of wealth and high civilization which the country presented, as he travelled up to London, and especially the contrast to India it exhibited, in the enclosure of every meadow and every field of cultivated land. The country seats, the beautiful prospects, the roads, the bridges, the canals, the innumerable public vehicles, we passed, all attracted his attention and admiration and were eagerly pointed out by him to his adopted son, as the fruits of knowledge, industry, and public spirit, to which England owed her proud pre eminence amongst the nations of the earth, and as objects which ought to excite in him a noble emulation. His journey by the steam trains from Liverpool has been described in a letter published here two years ago, and need not be repeated.

The scene at Manchester, when he visited the great manufactures, was very amusing. All the workmen, I believe, struck work, and men, women, and children rushed in crowds to see the *King of Ingeel*. Many of the "great unwashed" insisted upon shaking hands with him; some of the *ladies*, who had not stayed to make their toilets very carefully, wished to embrace him, and he with difficulty escaped an honor which he by no means desiderated. The aid of the police was required to make way for him to the

factories, and when he had entered, it was necessary to close and bolt the gate to keep out the mob. On one occasion, they had nearly succeeded in following in. After shaking hands with hundreds of them, he turned round and addressed them, hoping they would all support the King and his Ministers in obtaining Reform; so happily had he caught the spirit of the people. He was answered with loud shouts, "The King and Reform for ever."

On the road to London, wherever he stopped, the inn was surrounded; and at one place, the John Bull landlord, who had picked up a few words of French which he pronounced vilely of course, would persist in attempting to speak to him in that language, though he soon found there was no necessity for it. "*Mounseur je parli Fraunchay, common voo portee voo?*" The landlord being such a linguist was the oracle of the place, I suppose, and he explained to the gaping auditors that "*Tippoo Sabe* had come to England for to visit King William."

He arrived in London at night, and was set down at some filthy inn near Newgate Street, where he intended to remain till morning; but going up to his allotted bedroom, the closeness and abominable odours that saluted his sense of smelling, induced him instantly to order a coach and set off to the Adelphi Hotel, where he arrived at 10 o'clock at night. He could not be prevailed on to write to his friends in London to apprise them of the day in which he should reach it, but some gentleman of the East India Committee had done that for him; still no one knew where to meet him, and Mr. Crawford had prepared rooms for him at Long's Hotel in Bond-street: yet, strange to say, long after he had retired to rest, the venerable Bentham, who had not for many years called on any one, or left his house, I believe, except to take his habitual walk in his garden, found his way to the hotel, and left a characteristic note for him, "Jeremy Bentham to his friend Rammohun Roy." Alas! he also is now gone to that bourne whence no traveller returns. Bentham, Roscoe, Rammohun Roy—these are names that will go down to posterity as those of the benefactors of the human race, and the most extraordinary men of their age.

As soon as it was known in London that the great Brahmin philosopher had arrived, the most distinguished men in the country crowded to pay their respect to him: and he had scarcely got into his lodgings in Regent Street when his door was besieged with carriages from 11 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon, until this constant state of excitement (for he caught the tone of the day, and vehemently discussed politics with every one), actually made him ill, and confined him to his room, indeed to his bed almost, when his physicians gave positive orders to his footman not to admit visitors; of course not a few of these appreciated his character and attainments: but there were too many who sought only to lionize him, and turn him to account as an attraction to fill their rooms at their routs (*sic.* routs) or *soirées*. The old Dowager Countess of Cork, who assembles the literary, the scientific, the religious, and all sorts of characters of distinction, by turns, was among the earliest of his pressing inviters.

The Directors, the Kings of the East, who had countenanced the persecution of a near relative of his by their servants, eagerly paid their court to him, and laboured very anxiously to convince him how earnest they were to promote the good of the people of India. It was curious to witness also the sycophant adulation he received from some of those retired Indians, who, when here, had spoken of him with contempt, and who would have felt their dignity offended if he had ventured to ascend their stairs without taking off his shoes. Ex-councillors and judges, even ex-governors were all forward to claim to the honour of his acquaintance!

In fact, the scene was strange and ludicrous, like some of those changes which the Harlequin in the Pantomime effects by a touch of his wand.

Among the distinguished visitors who really sought his acquaintance with a view to acquire information for an important purpose was Sir Wilmot Horton, then appointed to the situation of Governor of Ceylon, on which he has since conferred so much advantage and done so much honor to himself. Sir Wilmot was introduced to him I think by Sir Henry Strachey, a name that now belongs to Indian history.

It is a curious fact that my lamented friend was for a considerable time much more in Tory than in Whig circles; because, I suppose, that party with its usual alertness and activity, had been the first to pay court to him; but I confess I could scarcely forgive his being introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Cumberland. In politics, however, he never disguised his opinions, but attacked his Tory friends with great vehemence, without any hesitation. I was present one day when he had a long controversy with the Honorable Stuart Wortley on the Reform Bill, in which his opponent, a handsome and most gentlemanly young man, by the way, and of most pleasing manners, insisted upon it, that no man could be a judge of the question who had not studied the *practical working* of our glorious theory, and made himself master not only of the principles of the Bill, but of every item of it from the preamble to the last borough in schedule F.

The next amusing instance I remember of his extraordinary bluntness with his Tory friends occurred at an interview with Sir Edward Hyde East, whose name appeared on one of the minorities on the great question. "Indeed, I am very much shocked," said he, "to see your name on the list of those—vagabonds." (I think he said; but he used a coarse word, which he of course immediately recalled), who voted against the Bill last night. Woolrich Whitmore, who was present, enjoyed the Honorable Baronet's confusion, but his courtier habit soon enabled him to recover from it, and parry the thrust with a card of invitation.

The influence which Rammohun Roy obtained over the first men in the kingdom, of all parties, was extraordinary. An urgent letter of his prevented the Tory Peers from opposing the Indian Jury Bill, and indeed on all questions of Indian policy he was regarded as quite an authority: though the Company's influence or the weakness of the Ministry must finally have prevailed against him. With Lord Brougham he was on terms of the closest and most confidential intimacy; and, in short, he was honored and esteemed by men of the most opposite opinions.

It is stated in a London paper, in an article published since his death, that he was a republican in politics. I believe this to be a mistake, if it respected England. He admired republicanism in the abstract, and thought that in America it worked well. He had a great partiality for that country, where he had many friends, and which he certainly intended to visit; and I have been informed, that it was resolved to receive him throughout the Union as a national visitor.

Of his religious opinions all I can say with confidence is that he certainly was not an "Atheistical Brahmin," but a devout believer in Divine Providence, and assuredly a most devoted advocate of Christian morality. He was a member of a Unitarian Society here, and appears from the last accounts to have died in that faith.

His style of living in general was perfectly unostentatious; except for a short time, about three months, when he had yielded to advice, that was any thing but di-interested, and taken up his residence in a most magnificent abode in Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, where he lived extra-

vagantly ; but his good sense soon prevailed over this folly ; he reflected that men whose good opinions were worth having, who could appreciate his higher claims to esteem, would not respect him the more for this display and lavish expenditure, which, indeed his means were not adequate to maintain for a long period ; and he abandoned this splendid mansion, and went to live with Mr. Hare, the brother of Mr. David Hare of Calcutta, in Bedford Square, where he continued while he was in London. He kept a plain chariot with a coachman and footman in neat liveries ; in fact, adopted and adhered to the style of a private gentleman, of moderate fortune ; though still courted by the first men in the kingdom. It has been said that he had never enjoyed health in this country. This is a mistake : he had suffered occasionally from illness, but I often heard him declare that he was surprised to find the climate agree with him so well, and that he felt better and stronger than when in India.

Rammohun Roy surpassed the generality of his countrymen in his personal appearance, almost as much as in his mental powers. In his prime of manhood his figure was beyond the common height, and was stout and muscular in proportion. His countenance was an expression of blended dignity and benevolence, that charmed at first sight, and put his visitors at their ease while it checked an irreverent familiarity. In the latter part of his life, which closed in his sixtieth year, his manly figure began to droop, perhaps not so much from age as the weight of thought and the toil of study. But his fine dark eye, though it lost something of its fire, retained its intelligence and amenity to the last.

It is time to close this communication, for I have already occupied too large a space with these imperfect reminiscences and hasty remarks, and I will only add, therefore, that whatever may have been his errors, he displayed high moral qualities, extraordinary intellectual attainments, and a zeal and enthusiasm in a noble cause that has never been surpassed—in short, that his death has been justly described as a *Public Calamity*,—*An Irreparable Loss to the People of India*.

J. S.*

P. S—The writer of this article feels it necessary to remind the reader, that there is not any pretension in it to any thing like a regular sketch of Rammohun Roy, and that in recording these reminiscences hastily thrown together, he has had neither note-book nor journal to refer to, having kept none. It was thought desirable that they should appear in this week, and therefore the writer has been unable to devote to them the time which he would otherwise have been disposed to bestow on such a subject.

Arts, Letters and Sciences

The Romance of Painting.

Modern art is greatly indebted to France, particularly to such painters of outstanding genius as Millet and Corot. Tillers of the soil were Millet's favourite models, and he raised these simple folk to epic grandeur, for he revealed the souls of his subjects and recorded the remarkable dignity and solemnity which labour engraves upon the peasant's face. Walking one evening through the fields of Barbizon, he saw a church spire in the distance and two peasants reverently bending their heads at the first notes of the Angelus and thus was inspired the famous picture known as "The Angelus."

But Millet was not entirely satisfied with the work. He had higher aspirations than making money. He found his greatest joy in creating, and in creating he passed his remarkably interesting life.

In 1849 Millet went to Barbizon, a village near Fontainebleau, and there gave expression to his genius in works which have earned for him the title, "The Epic Painter of Rusticity." The previous year he had contributed two pictures to the Salon which had been greatly admired. One of the works, "The Winnowers," was purchased by M. Ledru-Rollin who was then at the head of the Administration of Fine Arts. But while all Paris was talking of his picture the painter and his wife were actually without food or firewood. A neighbour discovered their pitiable plight, and sent word to their friends. A fellow artist hastened to the office of the Administration of Fine Arts and obtained a grant of 100 francs, which he took at once to Millet's lodgings. It was a cold evening toward the end of March. The painter was sitting on a box in his studio, shivering with cold. There was no fire in the room and nothing to eat. When the money was handed to the artist he said, "Thank you. It has come in time. We have not eaten anything for two days."

But Millet, as we have seen, had the consolation of one who creates and as time went on he was more than satisfied with his lot. Shortly before his death in 1875 he said; "It is such a pity. I should like to go on working a little longer."

Père Corot

Next to Millet, the most famous painter of the Barbizon school is Jean Baptiste Corot, known affectionately among his fellow painters as "Père Corot." His nature was pure and simple and remarkably lovable. He lived for his art and was never happier than when painting. After working on one of his beautiful landscapes until evening, he would say: "Well, I must stop. My heavenly Father has put out my lamp."

His genius was not revealed very early in life. But the power to paint was, he found, strong within him for his first picture was a success. In after years he showed the work to his friend, exclaiming: "It is as young as ever: it marks the time and the hour when I did it." As the years advanced he grew deeper and deeper in love with his art, and often exclaimed: "I hope with all my heart there will be painting in heaven."

Rosa Bonheur

Another French artist whose work has exercised a strong influence upon modern painting is the famous Rosa Bonheur. She was born in 1822, the child of a teacher of drawing, who gave her instruction very early in life. But Rosa had her own methods of study, and once related how with long strips of paper and scissors she cut out shepherds, dogs, cows and sheep, and how from her earliest years she drew outlines of all kinds of animals on the walls of her father's studio. Every Sunday she went a walk with her father to the outskirts of Paris, noting every form and feature of the countryside—sky and clouds, grass and flowers and trees, and the cattle in the fields.

Out of her close application to her work grew in course of time such splendid pictures as "Ploughing in the Nivernais" and "The Horse Fair."

Famous English Painters

But we must now turn to England and such artists of genius as Turner in landscape painting and Reynolds in portraiture. Turner was born in 1775, in the house of a humble barber near the Strand. His father had a number of artists among his customers, and the boy was led to try his hand at drawing. His earliest known drawing dates from his ninth year—a sketch rich in promise. He continued to make wonderful progress, and in 1789 he entered the Academy schools and was admitted into the studio of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Two years later he exhibited at the Academy, and when only seventeen set up a studio where he gave lessons in drawing.

Sir Joshua Reynolds gave instruction, as we have seen, to Turner. But Sir Joshua was very different both as a man and an artist from the eccentric genius who painted "Crossing the Brook" and many other pictures of surpassing brilliance. Turner often "painted like a man in a trance." Reynolds was a clearheaded methodical painter. He had, however, a wonderful sense of beauty and acquired great skill with his brushes. Under his guidance portrait painting in England rose to its highest point of excellence, and to the credit of English art is placed a long line of such painters of outstanding skill as Gainsborough, Raeburn, Opie, Romney, and Lawrence.

In the same splendid line of portrait painters follow Sir William Orpen, Sir John Lavery and Augustus John. Of the last-named artist it has been said that he looks like Velasquez and paints like Rubens. Certainly there is great force and life in John's painting, and he delights in the luminous lights and rich shadows associated with the Flemish master.

Brilliant Brushwork

Sargent also ranks high among modern portrait painters. Indeed, it is claimed that, "for years as a portrait painter he towered above all moderns," and he certainly had great dexterity and power. His work, however, was not limited to portraits. Toward the end of his life he devoted most of his time to painting just what he fancied—"olive orchards, mountains, lakes lurking in hills glorious in colour, radiant with movement and atmosphere." In these later works we see the kind of free and vigorous handling that also makes the works of Munnings so intensely alive.

But Munnings is pre-eminently a painter of horses, and of such pictures as "Epsom Downs," which is in the National Gallery at Millbank known as the "Tate Gallery." In the picture named the spirited horse is the principal feature, but every part of the romantic subject is full of life and movement. For instance, the gipsy woman who stands with her arms resting on her hips appears to "throb with life." And how vigorously the sky and fleeting clouds and moving shadows are rendered!

(E. WALTERS—*Great Thoughts*.)

Fiction taken from Fact.

In creative fiction the author generally relies for his characters on one of three sources—imagination, reality, or a mingling of these two.

That stark reality seldom provides a character which can be transferred untouched to the written page, is well known, but there are endless cases where only the slightest adaptation has been necessary.

Co an Doyle

We are all familiar with the famous original of "Alice in Wonderland," and perhaps with Sherlock Holmes's relation to Dr. Bell. But this example of Dr. Bell's powers of deduction is not, I think, so well known.

One day, examining a patient whom he had never before met, he asked:

"Well, my man, you've served in the Army?"

"Aye, sir."

"Not very long discharged?"

"No, sir."

"It was a Highland regiment?"

"Aye, sir."

"A non-commissioned officer?"

"Aye, sir."

"Stationed at Barbados?"

"Aye, sir."

Turning to his students, Dr. Bell explained: "You see, the man is respectful but does not remove his hat. They do not in the Army, but he would have learned civilian ways had he been long discharged."

"He has an air of authority and he is obviously Scottish. As to Barbados, his complaint is elephantiasis, which is West Indian and not British."

In his book, "Memories and Adventures," Conan Doyle comments: "It is no wonder that after the study of such a character I used and amplified his methods when, in later life, I tried to build up a scientific detective who solved cases on his own merits, and not through the folly of the criminal."

Arnold Bennett

found characters for his books in every street and house he visited. Coupled with astute observation went a chastening imagination which smoothed the corners of his rough-hewn blocks and made them perfectly fit the whole.

"The Card," "The Old Wives' Tale," "The Regent" and "Anna of the Five Towns," all contain such characters. They are quite easy to detect. Bennett never tampered overmuch with his originals.

Then there is Mr. Harold K. Hales, more familiar as Henry Machin in the racy pages of "The Card."

Hales and Bennett knew one another years before Bennett became famous as a novelist. They went to school together. When he left, Hales bought a cycle shop.

Then, with the advent of motor-cars, his shop became a garage. Following which he led a most exciting life.

In the early days of flying, Mr. Hales bought a fifty horse-power monoplane. His first flight was disastrous. He climbed some eighty feet into the air and then the machine got out of control and he crashed. After aeroplanes he tried balloons, followed those with airships, then went on to acting, joined up during the War, had a thousand incredible adventures abroad, and now sits in the House of Commons as M. P. for Hanley.

Rudyard Kipling

Kipling's "Stalky & Co." contains a wealth of "real-life" characters. Set at the United Services College, Westward Ho! it is not difficult to find originals for people like the Rev. John Gillett, Mr. King and Heffy. Apart from these minor characters, however, there were the famous three—McTurk, Beetle and Stalky. G. C. Beresford, now a London photographer, was McTurk. Beetle, Kipling himself. Stalky is generally accredited to Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, although he himself doubts the relation.

"I shared study No. 5" at Westward Ho! with Beresford and Kipling," he remarks, "but I am far from claiming to be Stalky, who is the most fictitious of the three characters. I would much prefer to believe that the characters Beetle and McTurk are fairly close to the originals, whereas there never was a Stalky."

Nevertheless, the likeness is unmistakable, and, whatever Major-General Dunsterville may say to the contrary, I, at least, shall always believe that he was the original Stalky.

J. M. Barrie

The story of Peter Pan's origin Sir James Barrie has himself told in the dedication of the play to the Davies boys. Peter Davies, the publisher, is of course the original Peter Pan.

Barrie used to take the boys down to his country home, Black Lake Cottage, in Surrey. From their adventures, grave and gay, roistering round the grounds and pirating on the lake, came some of the wonderful stories of Peter Pan. Not so very long ago a small book of Barrie's, called "The Boy Castaways of Black Lake Island," was still preserved. Where is it now? No one seems to know. A sub-title further explained the book as "a record of the terrible adventures of three brothers in the summer of 1901, faithfully set forth by No. 3."

Peter Davies is of course still alive, and rather paradoxically, remembering that he was Peter Pan, a son was recently born to him.

At some time in their writings, Dickens, Tolstoy, Meredith, De'oe, and a whole host of others borrowed raw material from life.

More recently Galsworthy, George Moore, Priestley, Golding, Sir Philip Gibbs, the Countess Barynska—and endless others—have used the same method.

In one of her latest books the Countess Barynska has a character closely resembling Sir Nicol, the famous Welsh bard.

From the artistic viewpoint it is difficult to determine whether it is best to draw completely from imagination, completely from life or from a mingling of the twain, but it is undeniable that the character taken from life and rounded by imagination generally becomes far more real and convincing than those otherwise conceived.

Again, with the real life protagonists, character is given precedence to plot because, inevitably, what they are conditions what they do. Thus the higher standards of creative writing are better satisfied by characters drawn from life.

(H. V. BROME—*Great Thoughts*.)

Some Literary Treasure Trove

"The Life of Johnson"

A game of croquet played at Malahide Castle, County Dublin, Ireland, led to the discovery of a priceless collection of Boswell manuscripts, including one hundred and seven pages of "The Life of Johnson." Lord Talbot de Malahide is Boswell's great-great-grandson, and when he parted some years ago with what was known as the "ebony cabinet" collection of Boswell manuscripts, it was thought that every existing paper of Johnson's biographer had been located.

One day, however, guests at the Castle decided they would like to play croquet, and Lady Talbot sent servants to hunt for long-unused mallets in a dark dungeon. They turned out two boxes, one containing a croquet set, the other a pile of yellow papers, which included the entire manuscript of his "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides." Until this discovery was made it was thought that only sixteen pages of the original script of the "Life" had survived the neglect of Boswell's children, and the discovery of over a hundred more was a great event. As £16,000 has been offered for the sixteen-page fragment, some idea may be formed of the value of this literary treasure-trove found in a dungeon.

"The Pilgrim's Progress"

Mr. Rosenbach, the famous American book buyer, tells in his "Books and Bidders" the story of a first edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress" he possesses. It belonged originally to a barber who plied his trade in Durby, and had been bequeathed to him, along with the shop, business and the furniture, when his father died. As most of the books he possessed were old and quaint-looking, customers had often suggested that they might be valuable, but the barber shrugged his shoulders and said he had plenty to do without chasing about trying to sell old worn-out books.

Then came a day when the barber's wife fell sick, and the barber not only sent for the doctor, but ransacked his old bookshelf for something for his wife to read in bed. When the doctor arrived, he found her bed strewn with shabby-looking books and his patient reading "The Pilgrim's Progress." The doctor without being an expert, was interested in old books and he felt that there was something unusual about this copy, and insisted upon its being sent to Sotheby's.

Presently there arrived at Sotheby's a package and a letter written and addressed in an illiterate hand. It was from the barber, who was apologetic about bothering London folk with a book which was probably worth nothing; but there is nothing to show what his emotional reaction was when the reply came saying that his old book was worth at least £900, and would be included in the next sale. Probably the barber had got past the stage of surprise when he got the news that his old copy of "The Pilgrim's Progress" had fetched £2,500, for that was the price Mr. Rosenbach paid for it.

Even well-instructed people think Bunyan wrote but three books, whilst the truth is "that he wrote some sixty books and tracts. One of these, published in the year 1686, was a Book for Boys and Girls," of which, until recently, the copy in the British Museum was supposed to be a unique specimen, the only one extant! Think then what the finding of another would mean! The very idea of such luck makes every bibliophile dizzy. Yet that piece of unbelievable luck came to a Hemel Hempstead girl who worked in the local post office.

Mrs. Miller, her mother, twenty-five years before, had bought some old books at a sale, in a job-lot, for half a crown. Most of them were dear at a price, but one of them was real treasure-trove, hidden away on the little bookshelf for a quarter of a century. Fortunately

a neighbour of Miss Miller's was a retired bookseller, and it was he who espied something precious, and who suggested that she should have the book valued. Naturally a book rarer than the first edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress" made a sensation in the book-world, and the Hemel Hempstead girl found herself by the sale of Bunyan's "Book for Boys and Girls" in possession of £2,100—less commission!

A First Folio Shakespeare

A youth of sixteen was exploring the library of the Earl of Dudley a short time ago, at Witley Court, when he stumbled across a volume which he took to be an early edition of Shakespeare's Plays. It had been rebound, and one or two pages were missing. At first the boy's discovery was not regarded as of importance, but having seen a First Folio in the British Museum, the young expert insisted on the importance of his find, and it only had to be shown to the representative of a leading firm of book-dealers to be at once declared a genuine First Folio.

But a much more remarkable discovery was made at Chobaham, where a very old house which had been turned into a baker's shop, was under repair. Behind the old wainscot, which was centuries old and had never hitherto been disturbed, was found the only perfect copy outside the Bodleian Library at Oxford—and there is only one there: a copy which was regarded as unique—of the 1587 "Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey."

A good many people still living can recall the paper-backed parts of novels by Dickens and Thackeray lying about the house in their childhood. They will doubtless that some had the good sense to preserve them, instead of taking out a Life Insurance Policy! A short time ago a Croydon bookseller was called to a house, where the tenant was thinning out his books, but found them not worth removing except as waste paper.

As he was leaving, however he noticed one of the early Thackeray numbers on the floor among the rubbish. "Any more of these?" he asked. "No" was the easy answer; my son made a bonfire and we cleared out the lot." For five shillings the bookseller bought the odd number, and left the owner calculating that that bonfire had cost him something like £200.

It is not very long since "The Sayings of Jesus" written on papyrus, were discovered in an Egyptian tomb, and in these days of extensive excavations in Palestine, Egypt, Syria and even Britain, it is not beyond the range of possibility that a first century Gospel, or a copy of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, may turn up.

In his "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," Dean Stanley tells how Edmund Spenser died in King Street, Westminster, and was interred in Poet's Corner. "His hearse," he says, "was attended by poets; and mournful elegies, together with the pens that wrote them, were thrown into his tomb. What a funeral was that which Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson and, in all probability, Shakespeare attended. What a grave in which the pen of Shakespeare may be mouldering away!"

But if one line of that "mournful elegy," written by the Immortal Bard, could be recovered, what a gathering of the clans there would be at the sale, and who could say at what figure the bidding would stop?

(A. B. COOPER—*Great Thoughts*.)

Anaesthetic Effects of Alcohol

Medical science considers alcohol a staple. In hospital ward and laboratory it serves as an antiseptic. In the Alps it revives fainting climbers; in the Alleghanies, cures snake-bite.

No country doctor would go his rounds without a flask of whisky to deaden the pain of boils, lurns, and broken bones. Dr. Allan Dafoe snapped the Dionne quintuplets into life with ten drops of rum.

The Medical Record, authoritative New York semi-monthly, told of a new medical use for alcohol. Dr. Angelo Luigi Soresi, Italian-born Manhattan surgeon, wrote of wine enemas.

To 200 odd patients Dr. Soresi administered white or red wine irrigations as a routine pre-operative treatment. He found them particularly valuable in appendicitis, gall-bladder operations—in fact in all abdominal surgery. The treatment lessened pre-operative shock—the sometimes dangerous fear that grips patients on their way to the operating room. Also it dulled the physically slight but mentally acute prick of a spinal anaesthesia needle.

In special cases Dr. Soresi started giving enemata five days before the operation to calm the patients' nerves and induce sleep.

After the operation, the wine generally alleviated gas pains caused by fermentation in the semi-paralysed intestines, and considerably lessened the use of opiates.

Injections consisted of from 100-300 cubic centimeters of wine. Children, women, and men unused to alcohol got the minimum dose, toppers the maximum.

In Dr. Soresi's Fifth Avenue office stand California Fruit Industries' gallon jugs containing two types of wine. For patients with a diabetic condition, hence low sugar tolerance, he uses dry, white Angelica. Others get sweet red Port—preferable because it seeps more slowly into the blood-stream through the intestines' delicate membranes.

Last *Medical Record* readers mistake his objective Dr. Soresi warned: "The aim of the wine enema is to dull sensitivity of the patient, not to render him or her intoxicated."

(*News Week*.)

Snake Venom

The poisonous snakes have been divided into two great families, the colubridae and the viperidae. Without entering into further details of classification, it may be stated that the cobra and Russell's viper (Daboa) may be considered as typical representatives of the colubridae and the viperidae families, respectively. In India, the largest number of deaths by snake-bites is caused by the cobra and next to it by Russell's viper. The poisonous snakes contain two powerful fangs, one on each side of the upper jaw. Each fang is traversed by a canal, one end of which communicates with the poison glands, and the other end opens near the tip of the tooth (on the convex side). The venom is secreted by these glands and the fangs are used by the snake as inoculating apparatus. Venom can be extracted from the poison glands of either freshly killed or living snakes. The living snake is held tightly by the neck so that it cannot turn its head. The edge of a small dish covered with thin gutta-percha membrane is then introduced between its jaws and the poison glands are pressed gently. The venom collects in the dish. It is needless to add that it requires good technical skill and coolness to extract venom from big and powerful snakes. Freshly collected venom is a syrupy liquid with yellowish tinge, and shows a weak acidic reaction with litmus. When dried, it becomes translucent and cracks into small lamellae like dried egg albumen. Venom, whether fresh or dried, is soluble in water.

The effects produced by venom depend on the species of the animal bitten, on the species of the snake inflicting the bite, and also on the site and the severity of the bite. Thus the bite of a colubridae produces practically no effect (local), while that of a viperidae produces severe local effects. On the other hand, the general intoxication is much more pronounced with the venom of colubridae than with that of viperidae.

The effects produced in cases of fatal bites inflicted by a colubridae or a viperidae may be described as follows:—When a person is bitten by a snake of the colubridae family, say cobra, the victim does not feel much pain in the region of bite, although a numbness supervenes in that part and spreads rapidly throughout the system. The patient soon experiences a kind of lassitude and an almost irresistible desire for sleep. He can scarcely support himself on his legs, and feels difficulty in breathing. A drowsiness gradually overcomes the patient. The difficulty of breathing becomes greater and the pulse becomes slower and weaker. The eyelids droop, the tongue is swollen, and there is profuse secretion of saliva. After a few hiccups the patient falls into the most profound coma and dies. In some cases, even after respiration has ceased, the heart continues to beat for nearly two hours. All this happens in the course of two to seven hours, rarely more.

At the autopsy, the blood is found to remain fluid. Small haemorrhagic patches are noticed on the surface of the liver, spleen, and other tissues. Small infarcts scattered all over the lungs are also noticeable.

If the bite is inflicted by a snake of the viperidae family, the victim feels acute pain in the seat of bite which soon appears red and, then, purple. Sharp pain accompanied by cramps extends towards the base of the limb. The patient feels extreme dryness of the mouth and throat and intense thirst. In a few hours he becomes insensible and exhibits difficulty in breathing. Asphyxia then ensues, and the respiratory movement ceases. The heart, however, continues to beat for about a quarter of an hour after respiratory movement has ceased completely.

At the autopsy, the blood, instead of remaining fluid, is found to clot into a mass in almost all the vessels. Six to eight hours after death, the clots begin to redissolve, and then become fluid as in poisoning by cobra venom. Enormous dilatation of the capillaries in the abdominal organs and extensive haemorrhage in the serous cavities are also noticed.

At Home and Abroad

Protection for Indian Textile Industry

In pursuance of the Mody-Lees Pact and Sir Joseph Bore's promise in the Assembly, the Government of India have decided that an enquiry should be entrusted with a Special Tariff Board, with a view to find out the extent of protection required by the Indian Textile Industry against British manufacturers, constituted as follows: Sir Alexander Murray (President), Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtullah and Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Members). The terms of reference requires the Special Tariff Board to recommend, on a review of the present conditions and in the light of experience of the effectiveness of the existing duties, the level of duties necessary to afford adequate protection to the Indian Cotton and Textile Industry against the imports from the United Kingdom of cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, fabrics of artificial silk and mixture fabrics of cotton and artificial silk.

Indo-Ceylon Trade Problems

Mr. C. H. Collins, Acting Financial Secretary, Ceylon, stated in the State Council that the Government was in communication with the Government of India and had invited a deputation to discuss the possibility of settlement of the trade problems between the two countries. Opinion is gaining ground with the threat of retaliation from India that only a heart-to-heart exchange of views will settle the conflicting trade issues between Ceylon and India. This is also the view of Mr. R. H. Bassett, Ceylon's Marketing Commissioner, who recently toured India and has issued a report of the tour. He recommends reciprocal tariff and trade agreement between the two countries for a period of three years in the first instance.

Grants for Agricultural Research

The Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research at a meeting presided over by Kumar Sir Jagadish Prasad, Education Member, sanctioned more than Rs. 18 lakhs to be spent during the next five years at various centres in India for research work into and for improving the quality of agricultural products. Commodities such as sugar, oil seeds wheat and dairy products are to be benefited and the industries favoured are poultry and goat and sheep breeding.

The Italo-Abyssinian Dispute

The Abyssinian dispute was referred to the Committee of Five, appointed by the League Council. Senor Madariga was elected the Chairman. Other members are Mr. Eden, M. Laval, Col Beck and Tewfik Aras. The Emperor of Abyssinia has placed himself entirely in the hands of the League and it is presumed he will accept whatever is decided, provided his territorial integrity and political independence are not affected. Britain has also declared her insistence that Abyssinia should be allowed freedom as regards the acceptance of the proposals. But deadlock has resulted from the unyielding attitude of Baron Aloisi, on behalf of Italy. The Committee has decided that it is not worth while to pursue exploration.

Italy's Bid for German Friendship

A new Italian bid for German friendship—is how diplomatic circles regard the unexpectedly early presentation of his credentials by the new Italian Ambassador, Signor Attolice, to Herr Hitler on 8th September. Signor Attolice was to have presented his credentials three weeks hence, but the date was advanced at Italian request. He was received by Herr Hitler and Baron von Neurath with the usual military formalities. He is the first ambassador for many years to present his credentials to the German Chancellor. Signor Attolice, in a warm speech, stressed the advantages of good friendship and voluntary co-operation between the two countries and the extraordinary significance for peace and balance of strength among nations which they now have and may acquire to a still higher degree. Herr Hitler, replying, referred to the common ideals of Fascists and National Socialists.

Canada's Premier on International Situation

"If trouble comes it will be somebody else's fault, not ours, and I conceive it to be the solemn duty of the Government by all just and honourable means to see that Canada is kept out of trouble," declared the Premier, Mr. Bennett, in a broadcast when launching a federal election campaign. He said that Canada was conscious of the dangerous international situation. In world politics, Canada should be secure for she has no ambitions which peace cannot gratify. "Canada has bought and paid for security and peace and we mean to have them," added Mr. Bennett. "We won't be embroiled in any foreign quarrel where the rights of Canadians are not involved."

Monarchist-Republican Clash in Greece

A fierce clash occurred between Republican officers led by General Panaytakos and Monarchist guards on the threshold of the building where the Cabinet was meeting to consider the plebiscite on the question of the restoration of the monarchy in Greece. The trouble began when General Panaytakos called up a garrison from all parts of Greece in an attempt to prevent General Kondylis, the Minister for War, from bringing pressure on the Premier, M. Tsaldaris, to force him to declare himself in favour of monarchy. General Kondylis ordered the arrest of General Panaytakos but the latter was supported by the Premier and refused to surrender. Fighting then broke out, scores of persons were arrested and the Cabinet meeting broke up. The Minister of the Interior has resigned. Premier Tsaldaris has issued a proclamation for ordering a referendum on the restoration of monarchy.

The Hitler Regime

The recent riot in New York on the occasion of the sailing of "Bremen" had a remarkable sequel in the Court last week. The magistrate, Mr. Louis Brodsky, dismissing the charges against five of those arrested denounced the Hitler regime from the bench and described "Bremen" as a "pirate ship with a black flag of piracy proudly flying aloft." The Magistrate declared that flying the swastika flag in the New York Harbour may have been regarded by the defendants and other citizens as "gratuitous, brazen flaunting of the emblem symbolising anti-Godism in the face of American ideals and representing an atavistic throwback to pre-mediaeval, if not barbaric, conditions." The German Ambassador protested against the Magistrate's remarks, and the Chief Magistrate of the New York Court has been asked to submit a report on Mr. Louis Brodsky's statements.

Japanese Cabinet Changes.

The resignation of the War Minister in Japan, General Hayashi, has been accepted by the Premier. General Kawashima, member of the Supreme War Council, succeeds. General Hayashi's resignation follows the assassination of General Nagata. It will be recalled that Major-General Nagata, Director-General of Military Affairs, was killed by a subordinate Colonel on August 12. It was then stated that General Nagata was a strong supporter of General Hayashi's policy of checking extremist elements in the army and that this was the root cause of the murder.

The Zionist Congress.

A strongly-worded resolution condemning Germany for the persecution of Jews was passed by the Zionist Congress held at Lucerne, Switzerland, recently. The German delegation voted against the resolution. The Congress adopted a resolution approving the convocation of a world Jewish Congress to protect Jewish rights in different countries.

The Refugee Problem.

Let the League of Nations take full responsibility for all refugees and finance them entirely wherever they may be sent. This is the proposal urged by the Society of Friends, the Quaker Society which has done so much good work for humanity in general and refugees in particular, in a circular they have sent to all the Foreign Offices of the world. A copy of the circular is also being given to every representative attending the Assembly of the League at Geneva. At present the League has several bodies who deal with the refugee problem.

Jewish Dealers in Germany

Jewish dealers in fine arts and antiques in Berlin have been given notice to liquidate their business within a month when their names will be removed from the Reich Kultur Chamber. The Propaganda Minister considers that trading in cultural goods is not a purely economic occupation, and therefore it is not protected by the general order that business life must not be interfered with. Non-Aryans own about four-fifths of the fine arts and antiques business and their enforced liquidation is expected to overstock the market and cause a great drop in prices. Foreign dealers who are internationally known, have protested through their Consul against the order to liquidate.

Empire Journalist Conference

In the presence of a number of representatives of the Overseas Empire, and 600 delegates from all parts of the British Isles, the Annual Conference of the Institute of Journalists was opened in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, London, last week, by the Lord Mayor, Sir Stephen Killick. This is the first time for 25 years that the conference has met in London. Since the war, under the vigorous lead of the Overseas and International Committee, the Institute of Journalists has spread its net over many Empire and foreign countries, and India, South Africa, Canada, the West Indies, and British possessions in Africa and the Far East, are represented in its membership.

Plot against Government in Siam

Sentences ranging from death to long terms of imprisonment have been passed on thirteen out of fifteen non-commissioned officers who were tried by a special court in Bangkok on the charge of planning an insurrection recently. It is alleged that they plotted *inter alia* to kill Mr. Luang Pradit, Siam's "mystery man," now *en route* to Europe, and other prominent persons, including the Chairman of the Council of Regency.

The New Polish Chamber

The new Chamber in Poland will consist of 184 Poles, including 2 women, 4 Jews, 19 Ukrainians, and one Russian. With the exception of the national minorities the opposition parties refused to participate. The voting was only 46 per cent. of the polling at the last elections in 1930. This is accounted for by the newly instituted electoral system, under which as part of the big constitutional changes aimed at concentrating the power in the President's hands, election campaigns and party programmes were prohibited. The apathy of the electors was increased by a boycott called by the Socialist and National Democratic oppositions as a protest against the system.

Canada's Protest to Japan

The Canadian Government has informed the Japanese Minister that if the discriminatory surtax of 50 per cent. *ad valorem* on certain products exported to Japan is not discontinued, the Dominion will be obliged to give notice that the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty will no longer be applicable to Canada.

Nature's Fury in Florida

It is estimated that about three hundred have been killed by a hurricane in Florida. The hurricane is the severest visitation in memory. Most of the damage was in the Key West Islands. Survivors report walls submerged in water fifteen feet deep and buildings crushed like match-boxes by a raging wind which ripped people's clothing to shreds.

New Arctic Island

Further studies of the waters surrounding the recently discovered Arctic Island have revealed additional microscopic organisms of Atlantic origin, lending support to the theory of the probable existence of a branch of the Gulf Stream in the north-west Spitzbergen area according to the Soviet icebreaker, "Sadko," which is now searching for a warm-water passage through the Arctic. The new island is about 15 miles wide, 10 miles long, rising to thirty metres above the sea level. Only traces of bears and logs drifted from the Yenisei river have been found on the island. Arctic experts believe that the hitherto undiscovered Archipelago lies between the North Pole and Francis Joseph Land which would provide valuable ports of call for the projected great northern sea route between Murmansk and Vladivostok.

The World Around

"Men only will be permitted to attend the funeral service," announced Dr. Goebbels in Germany on the death of President von Hindenberg. Privately he told the newspaper men that it would be inappropriate for the obsequies of the German hero to be marred by wailing women.

The permanent home of the League of Nations, comprising several impressive-looking buildings, is now nearing completion. It is set in the midst of a tree-shaded park in Geneva and covers an area of nearly four acres. The annual budget for the League is already £2,000,000. Last year there were 32 defaulters—nations who did not pay their apportionment. Great Britain's share is £200,000.

"Take the world as a whole, the expenditure (on armaments) is between £900,000,000 and £1,000,000,000 a year, or more than £2,500,000 every day," said Sir Herbert Samuel, M.P., in the House of Commons. This is the policy characterized in the Bible as "beating plough-shares into swords." How wonderful it would be if the nations of the world could only spend £2,500,000 every day on agriculture and the development of the natural resources of their territory.

China, the world's most pacific nation, has been compelled to come into line with "modern" conditions. Fifty per cent. of her latest budget is for military expenditure.

The "Ballila," Italy's official organization for boys between the ages of seven and eighteen, had enrolled approximately 1,500,000 boys. The instructors in this organization were ordered to instil the "fighting spirit" into their charges, and concentrate on developing in them a "love for risks and combat." Preparing them for sacrifice in the arms of the moloch of war.

"Communism and Fascism came in because of the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of the classes and types in charge of affairs in Russia, Germany and Italy, and their characters were determined by local conditions," says H. G. Wells, in his new book "The New America," published by Macmillans.

One of the most interesting shipments ever sent over the Indian Railways was that of thirty sacks of the ashes of Hindus who perished in the Quetta earthquake, and who were cremated according to religious custom. These ashes were shipped to the River Ganges to be scattered over the waters of the world's "holiest" river.

When Rudyard Kipling was a resident of Vermont, U. S. A., many years ago, it is said that he was never able to make his bank statement balance with his cheque book. Many tradesmen to whom he gave cheques received more cash from autograph hunters for cheques bearing the signature of the famous writer than they could by presenting them to the bank for payment.

The longest railway bridge in the world has recently been opened for traffic, it is the 33-span viaduct measuring more than two miles in length, crossing the Zambesi River in Africa. The work of building required more than two and one-half years, and the total cost was about £3,600,000. The new bridge opens uninterrupted railway communication between Beira, a port city in Portuguese East Africa, and Lake Nyasa, an important link in the water route to the interior of the continent.

"Blessed is the man who, having nothing to say, abstains from giving us worldly evidence of the fact," said George Eliot.

It is said to be the first time in Parliamentary history that father and son have both been members of the same British Cabinet; Ramsay MacDonald is Lord President of the Council, and his son Malcolm MacDonald is Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the present British Cabinet.

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Encouraged by Signor Mussolini's rather caustic references to Britain in the present Italy-Abyssinia imbroglio, the *Ottobre*, a minor Fascist paper, blazed: "If England wants war she can have it!...Our enemy in Africa is not so much Ethiopia as England...It might be a good idea to bombard Malta and bring the English to their senses!"

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Ethiopia has recently introduced obligatory military service, including both men and women. No time limit has been specified. In drafting women as well as men, the government has made it plain that female military service will for the present be confined to nursing and similar tasks, with but slight possibility that the women will be trained for actual fighting.

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Ibn Sand would best remember "There were three queens in Yemen"—to wit, Great Britain, France and Italy.

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Says Japan politely: "Asia is my business." "But you can't change Sacred Treaties," chorus Great Britain, France and the United States. "But you can interpret them," answers Japan suavely, "and this is my interpretation: Asia is my business."

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Japan is selling cheap goods, the West is raising cheap food; the South is raising cheap cotton, and America, Asia and Europe are chockful of cheap labour. God! What a cheap world!

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Up go the French, Russian and German armies: up go the English, Italian, Japanese and American navies, and down go Sanity, Sense and Security.

(*The Oriental Watchman.*)

Abstract

CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE LITERATURE

Students of Oriental languages will be greatly benefited by a perusal of Mr. G. W. Shaw's survey of the present-day Japanese Literature in the pages of the *Pacific Affairs*. He observes:—

Japanese prose literature to-day falls into four groups, called by the Japanese *jun bungei* (pure literature), *puro bungei* (proletarian literature), *taishu bungei* (mass literature) and *tsuzoku bungei* (popular literature). Of these, "popular literature" is the name applied to the long stories of contemporary life that discuss social problems without any particular literary pretensions. They run serially in the newspapers and women's magazines. Much of their material derives directly from the daily news columns. "Mass literature" is the direct offspring of the *kodan*, the historical romance of the old story-tellers' halls. It is full of armor, castles, feudal vendettas and swords, especially swords. The colorful old *kabuki* drama on the legitimate stage and the sword-play school of talkies on the screen use the same material. The so-called masses (which means almost everybody) delight in it. Old spy and new detective stories are naturally grouped with this class. It is modern Japan's "literature of escape." Through it, tired moderns can go back for a time to the idealized romance of old Japan. It is the life-blood of several popular magazines.

"Proletarian literature" is written by working people and their intellectual sympathizers and deals with factories, tenements, strikes, laborers, farmers, policemen and prisons. It has been largely an exposé literature motivated by a definite Marxist purpose. Government suppression has all but killed its special magazines. "Pure literature" is all the rest. Just before it got its last name, it was the "new literature," taking much of its material from the cafés, dance halls and ultra-modern life of the young bobbed and waved class. It is strictly up-to-date, pseudo-scientific and sexy, and strives to be literary and psychological. Most of it comes out in the literary pages of national reviews, which still print some proletarian literature.

This brief characterization of the four schools of literature covers roughly fiction, drama and criticism. There remains the poetry, which naturally has to do with miscanthus plumes in the moonlight, gnarled pines on rocky shores, and laughing and longing hearts. But into it, too, have penetrated railway trains, ice houses, factory smoke and everything that the prose literature is compounded of. The poetry is written mainly in three forms, the traditional old thirty-one syllable verses that were of Japan's first literature, the seventeen syllable bits that grew out of them and reached distinction in the work of Basho at the end of the seventeenth century, and a modern imitation of Western verse in which the syllabification runs usually to the fives and sevens that have always made poetry in Japan. The new poetry never has come to seem really Japanese, whereas the two old forms are so much a part of the nation that they are attempted by nearly everybody, and there are hundreds of small magazines printing them monthly.

THE SOUL OF ASIA

The following criticism of Hatvany's remarkable work on Asia by Professor Bernhard Heller which originally appeared in a Budapest German-language daily, is reproduced below from *The Living Age*:—

Berthold Hatvany has given us a very remarkable book entitled *Azsia lelke*, published in 1934 by the Franklin Press of Budapest. It is a work penetrated with spiritual qualities. It lives and breathes. It is a controversial document, an historical masterpiece, a self-portrait and a testament.

It is a Philippic against limited historical conceptions and half-baked historical learning. It is a history of the inner life of the Orient, of the Egyptians, Chinese, Indians, Iranians, Babylonians, Jews, Arabs, Scythians, Huns, Tatars, Mongols, Turks, Tibetans and Japanese. The author explains to us how these nations were constructed and presents their customs and creative art from prehistoric times until the present or at least until yesterday—until conflicts occurred between Turks and Arabs, Greeks and Turks, Persians and Russians, Afghans and British, Japanese and Chinese.

He correctly states that to-day's history is politics, and that the politics of yesterday is history. He cannot help drawing from his own journeys to the four corners of the earth. Finally, he delivers to us a testament. Nothing leaves him unmoved. He cannot encounter anything crass without flying into a rage, but anything powerful or noble arouses his amazement and often his admiration. He does not hesitate to pass final judgments with the eager courage of a discoverer. He enters the lists in behalf of free conscience, liberalism, Hungary, faith, belief in God, belief in the Bible, and pure humanity.

Hatvany devotes his book to the service of one idea. He attacks an attitude of indifference toward Asia. He wants to extend our field of historic interest, to deepen our perceptions, and to display to us certain inter-relationships and changes that are under way. He assumes the task that Voltaire set himself in his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* and has written, first, a history of the human spirit, 'the soul' as he calls it; second a history of customs and arts, not merely of wars; third, a history that is not confined to Europe.

Essentially, Hatvany's book presents an inner history of the East. He maintains that the history of human culture dates from the discovery of the art of writing, although some historians might prefer to begin with the discovery of the wheel or of pottery. We learn that the art of writing had developed four thousand years before Christ in Elam, from which Persia originated, in Mesopotamia among the Sumerians, and in the Nile Valley. Elam is regarded as the cradle of the oldest human culture.

The foundations of our present twentieth century reach back to the twenty-first and twentieth pre-Christian century. In Mesopotamia Hammurabi laid down the old Sumerian laws, and he is considered a contemporary of Abraham. He thus created a system from which the historical families of Aryans and Semites emerged from Asia Minor into the light of history.

Hatvany places the high point of human development in the fifth and sixth century before Christ because at that time Greek thought was developing in Hellas and the Hebrew prophets were filled with the prophetic spirit. It was then that Jainism and Buddhism developed, it was then that Confucius flourished, it was then that the doctrines of Zoroaster originated and spread.

"FORGIVE ME MY PEERLESS ONE"

The following poem, a translation from the original Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore himself appears in the *Visva-Bharati News*:—

Forgive me, my peerless one,
 if I forget myself,
for with the first rush of the rains
 the forest trees are darkly agitated,
the garden lane is reckless in its flowering excess,
 prodigal with its perfume.

Forgive me, my peerless one,
 if my eyes are guilty of trespass.
See from all corners of the sky
 the lightning repeatedly flashes through your window,
and the wind is rudely rampant with your veil.

Forgive me my peerless one
 if I am slack in my manners.
The daylight is dim today,
 the idle hours seem absent-minded,
the lonely meadows are without cattle,
 the sky blinded with showers.

Forgive me, my peerless one,
 if I forget myself
when the shadow of the dark dense clouds
 has deepened in your eyes,
your black hair circled by a jasmine chain,
your forehead kissed by the clamorous day of July.

News and Views

[A Monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and outside.]

Vice-Chancellorship of Nagpur University

The Executive Council of the Nagpur University have recommended the names of Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour, Rao Bahadur K. V. Brahma and Mr. N. M. Deshmukh, for the office of the Vice-Chancellor. The election will take place in November next.

Reform of Law Education

The question of reform of law education in the Bombay Presidency has been engaging the attention of the Judicial authorities there. A committee has recently been appointed by the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court to go through the question.

Maynard Ganga Ram Prize

A Punjab Government 'communique' states:—In 1925 the late Sir Ganga Ram, Kt., of Lahore, with that generosity for which he was so well known, handed to the Punjab Government a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the endowment of a prize of the value of Rs. 3,000 to be called the Maynard Ganga Ram Prize and to be awarded every three years, for a discovery, or an invention, or a new practical method which will tend to increase agricultural production in the Punjab on a paying basis. The competition is open to all throughout the world. Government servants are also eligible to compete for it.

Entries for the next award were invited by the 31st December, 1933. None of the entries was considered to be of sufficient merit and it has been decided by the Managing Committee of the Prize that the award should be postponed for another year and that further entries should reach the Director of Agriculture, Punjab, Lahore, on or before the 31st December, 1935.

Success of Indian Student

Mr. Kalyan Kumar Dutta, B.Sc., passed the Incorporated Accountancy Examination of London in last July. He is the only son of Mr. P. N. Dutta, B.Sc. (Lond.), the late Superintendent, Survey of India.

Mr. Dutta passed two examinations in one year. After an extensive tour on the Continent he has reached Bombay.

Calcutta Student's Success

In the Fellowship Examination of the Institute of Book-keepers, London, held at Calcutta, on the 4th June, 1935, Mr. T. N. Mohan passed with Distinction and secured First Place in the whole examination. This is a very creditable achievement by a Calcutta student who had to compete with candidates all over Great Britain and Overseas. Mr. Mohan has been recommended for the "Institute Prize" and the "American First Place Prize."

Another candidate Mr. S. A. Khan of Balasore obtained 8th Place in the whole examination and such a remarkable result is unique as far as Calcutta is concerned.

International Congress of Sociology

The International Congress of Sociology which is going to hold its session at Brussels in Belgium has invited Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar of the Calcutta University, who is a prominent member of the Societe d'Economie Politique of Paris, to take part in the deliberations and read a paper. His paper which is written in French deals with the doctrine of progress with reference to the races and classes. He has also been appointed one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Congress of Population which is meeting at Berlin at which he has a paper in German on "The Doctrine of Optimum."

New University City of Rome

Invitation has been extended to the University of Calcutta by the Rector, R. Univerrita Di Roma, stating that the solemn inauguration ceremony of the new Citta Universitaria achieved with Fascist speed, by the desire of the Head of the Government, His Excellency Benito Mussolini, would take place on the 28th October next in the presence of the highest authorities of the Government and the representatives of the Italian and foreign universities and that it would be a signal honour for him personally and for the Academic body of the University to welcome a representative from the Calcutta University among the leading personalities of Science, Arts and Letters of the world.

The authorities of the University of Calcutta have conveyed to the Rector their good wishes.

Indian's Success

A private cable from London states that Mr. Khubchand of Hindu College, Delhi, who stood first in the I.C.S. Examination has topped the list of the final examination for probationers including Europeans and Indians and has secured 322 marks more than the second man.

University in Assam

It is understood that Mr. Cunningham, formerly D. P. I., Assam, has been appointed Special Officer to prepare schemes for the University of Assam and a demand for Rs. 7,400 is being made for the purpose. The scheme will be completed in 3 months.

Vice-Chancellor's Post at Allahabad

The annual meeting of the Allahabad University Court will be held on December 4 when the Vice-Chancellor for the term 1935-38 will be elected.

So far as known at present the names likely to be put up for nomination for the office are Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, the present Vice-Chancellor, Sir J. C. Weir, and Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal.

Study of Languages

A well attended meeting inaugurating a school of languages organised by the International Buddhist University Association was held at the Buddhist hall, 4-A College Square, on Monday, the 2nd September at 6 p.m. Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee was elected to the chair. Anagarika B. Govinda, General Secretary, T. B. U. A., opened the

meeting by explaining the ideals of the University Association and the importance of the study of the languages as a part of the general programme. Mr. Devapriya Valisinha, General Secretary of the Maha Bodhi Society, gave an outline of the intended school of languages, which will comprise four important Asiatic languages, Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, and Sinhalese.

Allahabad University Convocation

It is reliably understood that His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal has accepted the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor to address the convocation of the Allahabad University this year.

His Highness is a graduate of the Allahabad University and his interest in his *alma mater* is evident from the fact that he got himself enrolled as a 'registered graduate' of the University, last year. This will be the first occasion, it is believed, in the history of the University of Allahabad, that a ruling chief will address the convocation.

His Excellency Sir Harry Haig, the Chancellor, will preside over the convocation and December 5 has been fixed for the function to suit the convenience of both his Highness the Nawab of Bhopal and His Excellency the Chancellor.

Mysore University Convocation

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Editor, 'Leader,' will deliver the Convocation address of the Mysore University, which will be held about the third week of October next. Mr. Chintamani will also deliver the Sri Krishna-rajendra Silver Jubilee Lecture.

Congress of Universities of the Empire

Sir Hari Singh Gour and Mr. M. A. Moghe will represent the Nagpur University at the next quinquennial congress of Universities of the Empire to be held at Cambridge in 1936.

Congress of Orientalists

Prof. Amiyacharan Banerjee, Head of the department of Mathematics, Allahabad University, has been invited to attend the nineteenth session of the International Congress of Orientalists, which will be held in Rome from September 23 to 29.

World Soils Science Congress

Prof. J. N. Mukherji of the Chemistry Department of the Calcutta University, who has done considerable amount of research work on Colloidal Chemistry, it is understood, is being sent by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to represent India at the World Soils Science Congress at London.

Carnegie Scholarship

Dr. Itrat Husain Zuberi has been awarded a Carnegie scholarship of 250 pounds for two years by Edinburgh University for higher research on 17th century English Poetry. He is the first Indian to be awarded this scholarship.

Time-Table for Physical Education

On the much-talked of question of Physical Education Mr. H. C. Buck, M.A., says:—

Every modern Headmaster or Principal of an educational institution knows that any scheme of education worthy of the name aims at education of the whole child, or education of the whole man. No longer is the emphasis placed on providing experiences for the development of one phase of life at the expense of others. Programmes which are educationally sound lead to harmonious development of the whole child, physically, intellectually and ethically. The question may therefore be asked, how many of our educational institutions have programmes that are educationally sound? How many schools and colleges pay as much attention to developing for the physical life of their students as adequate a time-table as they do for the academic or examination subjects? Perhaps if physical education and health education were to be made examination subjects we might find for these actual working time-tables of which we could all be proud. But this should not be necessary, for the physical life is basic, and physical activities have educational values as well as mere biological values. In order to develop normally, the growing child requires daily several hours of big muscle activity and in order to learn all those valuable lessons which are best learned through play he must have an opportunity to participate regularly in well organized and well supervised play. It is quite clear that the present unorganized "herd" system and the provision of two periods of physical education per week is neither educationally nor biologically sound. We must give the children a chance to develop normally, to grow up with bodies and physical skills of which they may be proud, and with commendable attitudes and habits of play and sportsmanship.

Every school should aim to develop for physical education a time-table that will permit every child to participate for at least one hour daily in organized supervised activities well suited to his nature and needs. Such a programme should not be formal and artificial, but natural and full of meaning. It should make school-life happy and enjoyable and should lead to the development of life-long play and health habits.

Obviously the usual faulty practice of postponing all physical activities until 5 p.m. and attempting to provide a play programme for the whole student population in this one evening hour cannot be accepted as physical education at all. A way must be found to divide the school population into desirably small groups to make the teaching of physical activities possible and there must be sufficient periods of physical activities to permit such small groups to report daily.

The Present System of Education

Prof. A. R. Wadia presiding over a public meeting held under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship, Mysore, referred to some outstanding features of Indian Education.

Referring to the enormous wastage in Primary Education he suggested that more money be spent on the education of girls so that the mothers of the community might help to arrest the lapse of children into illiteracy.

As regards secondary education, he said that it lacked the completeness of the secondary schools of England and that it was unduly dominated by the University. He also advocated polytechnic schools and central schools of the type existing in England.

Continuing he said that, of late the Universities had come in for a great deal of undeserved criticism, in view of the unemployment of educated people. He admitted that Indian Universities were not all that they ought to be, but denied that it was one of their legitimate functions to provide employment for every graduate. It was the look-out of the community. He condemned the rush for higher education on the part of those who were clearly unfit for it and suggested the tightening up of examination standards. He did not believe that mere vocational bias would solve the problem of the educated unemployed.

Students and Rural Uplift

Mr. C. R. Reddi recently addressed the members of the Madras University Students' Union on the need for rural uplift work.

He said, he was interested in getting them to do some rural work particularly in the matter of education during their vacations. If each one of them would give, say, a fortnight during the long vacation and a week during the short vacation of winter for some educative work among the villages, a great deal of uplift work could be achieved in a short time. He said that while he was in Mysore he had organised batches of students to do such work and to give, through interesting talks and lectures on the lines of 'Kalakshepama,' useful instruction relating to geography, modern history and political developments of a very general and elementary nature relating to India and other countries. After all they should remember that no educational system was self-sufficient. It was maintained largely at the expense of the tax-payer and it was their duty to pay back to him what little they could. They could also do a great deal to promote the sanitary and public health conscience among rural folk.

Merely reading and debating, or intellectual or physical games were no doubt good; but they could not be ends in themselves. They were good only as a preparation. The students should therefore act in the faith that the services they rendered would ultimately bear abundant fruit and that the regulative principle of their conduct should be the development of habits of racial and national service and in the realisation that they owed a duty to the poor villagers on whose sweat such clubs had been established.

Military Training in Universities

Mr. Satyāmurti, M.L.A., recently delivered a lecture at Madras on 'Should Universities introduce Compulsory Military training?'

He said he was looking forward to the time when the University Training Corps would supply a definite proportion of officers of the Indian army. This would supply the required element of educated young Indians and would quicken the process of Indianising officers of the Indian army. But to-day, there was not as much encouragement given as there ought to be. They wanted more facilities.

Further, there was a distinctive educational value in military training. It developed the quality of discipline and team spirit, and a capacity for regular habits. It helped to overcome caste barriers. The officers recruited from the University Training Corps would be a connecting link between the people and the army. Further, such of those who had military training, but who had not become 'professional' soldiers, would form a second line of defence. In conclusion, the speaker observed that except those who had been pronounced medically unfit or who were conscientious objectors to violence in any form, military training must be made compulsory by the Universities.

Educational Films in India

At the annual General meeting of the Motion Picture Society of India held at Bombay Mr. B. V. Jadhav referred to the place of screen in the domain of education.

He said that motion pictures were in the beginning intended to provide entertainment only. 'But in recent years, the potentiality of the screen as an instrument of instruction has been fully realised and the various governments of free countries and the Dominions are vying with each other in popularising educational films by various means. It is a matter of regret that the Government of India and the Provincial Government are sitting tight and not making any move in the matter. Now when the Governments are devoting their attention and money for rural uplift, I would urge that part of it should be spent on propaganda through the films.'

Then he goes on to complain about the omission on the part of the central and provincial Governments, to define what an 'educational film' is. "In its absence at present," he says, "almost any film may come to be regarded as non-educational. For instance, three films produced and passed as educational in Australia a British Dominion, were presented to our Society. But both the Inspector and the Board in Bombay refused to recognise them as educational films with the result that the Society had to pay a heavy import duty for films which the Society had received gratis for use in educational propaganda. We expect Government to take measures for stimulating the production and exhibition of educational films."

Education for Living

Mr. W. F. Sand, formerly Envoy Extra-ordinary and Professor of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, has given us his ideas of secondary education. He says:

I was invited to be Principal Adviser to the Emperor of Korea. Among my varied functions as an oriental quasi-dictator, the development of a system of education seemed one of the most important.

There was, however, one thing I had carried through from my own school life: a firm conviction that University studies without deep and full "secondary" preparation are an evil, not a good; and corollary to it, that the form (nor the matter) of secondary education should be molded to the object of one's general life in society.

That would be the first point I would make, here. I bent all my influence and power to shaping a secondary system (leaving university out of it for the moment) which would draw in those western parts of knowledge immediately applicable to oriental needs, without destroying the oriental fabric. I foresaw danger in an ill-digested western system being permitted to uproot the classical oriental system, even though the latter be inadequate to the needs of a new world. Later revolutionary conditions in China would seem to justify my apprehension.

My conviction that secondary education should prepare for life, has sunk deeper with the passing of years.

Too many students coming in from secondary schools, even (for graduate courses) from the best of our American universities, have no cultural or factual roots. That is not an isolated observation. It is supported fairly generally by professors at colleges and by deans of admission and others with wider experience and opportunity than mine for the observation of students.

Rootlessness is an evident consequence of such a system. There is no foundation upon which a college may build. A student without roots in his own language will necessarily be without roots in the history of his own country. To go no further, it is difficult to see how he can understand even current events about him—still less can he understand the problem of government and of economic life which press upon him from every direction. It would be difficult to see how any true patriotism is possible where there are no roots.

There is no adequate training, for far too many students, toward the object of general life in society; not in traditional culture, nor in ethics, nor history.

True democracy is not a levelling down, but a levelling upward. Catholicism has nothing to do with the one-class society. Catholicism recognizes all social classes that may now or may in future exist. Catholicism gives its rightful place to earth. It has nothing to do with political and social forms, but with the leavening of politics and society in whatever political and social forms exists with a solid preparation for life in any form. That is partly true also of Americanism.

The problem of secondary education is not simply and primarily to prepare for college. It is to prepare for right and truly successful living, whether college follows or not. Part of the problem of secondary education is to foster family life. However far it may be able to go in that direction, it is certain that the school must avoid anything disruptive of the family life, while preparing for the adult, individual life. The curriculum must be molded to the object for which students are to be prepared. If that be strictly and positively for higher studies, it is not enough to prepare for the minimum requirement for entrance to college. The college must be given a broad, deep and solid foundation upon which to build. If for any reason, a student who has passed through this preparation does not go to college, he must not be classed as a failure, or else the school, too, is a failure. He must come out of the school well fitted for life, if not for college studies. That is not merely a matter of class room work, or factual knowledge. Factual knowledge does not make education. Education in its true sense comes also in the space between organized class work and organized physical training. It is then that a boy learns (or does not learn) how to live, and how to apply his facts or his "discipline" to the business of living.

That part of his development comes from his unofficial life with the right kind of master. That is the third point I would make.

Masters are the very essence of secondary education. They cannot be too big for their task. Boys brought up by little men, will tend to be little men. Masters in secondary schools must be men alive to the world around them—not merely class masters or coaches. They must be "doer" not theorists. Their relations to the boys under their charge, outside the classroom, outside of "discipline," is at least as important as the technical drilling they give. And such men can be had if their position in the school is made one of security and dignity. Adequate men cannot be had otherwise. If masters are not adequate, education will certainly not be adequate, nor even exist.

In every theory of organized society today the old division of "cultured leisure" and "making a living" has been discarded. In all theories, the right use of leisure time has become a major objective. To fit boys for both leisure and work is the task of secondary schools, not the task of colleges. (*Commonweal*.)

Miscellany

FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN GERMANY.

The statistics of German public finance as well as of the "D" Banks, indicate that as in other regions of the world-economy, in Germany also the depression is fairly over and that the curve of "prosperity" is already a prominent feature of the social life.

The campaign against unemployment has served to decrease the number of unemployed as well as to increase of national revenue. The recently published revenue accounts for the fiscal year April, 1934, to March, 1935, show that there has been an effective increase in revenue amounting to 1,157,100,000 RM. compared with 1933. The figures are as follows:

	1934 fiscal year.	1933 fiscal year.
I. Direct taxes	4,969,100,000 RM.	4,062,500,000 RM.
II. Customs and other indirect taxes	3,218,000,000 RM.	2,781,900,000 RM.

The increase amounted to 906,600,000 RM. in the first, and to 466,100,000 RM. in the second group. To make a fair comparison with 1933, the latter figure will, however, have to be reduced by 215,500,000 RM. in respect of new taxes not introduced until 1934. The 1934 estimate had provided for total receipts amounting to 7, 77,700,000 RM. so that the actual revenue was 1,139,400,000 RM. in excess of the anticipated one.

Direct Taxes.

The yield of income tax went up by 427,000,000 RM. divided as follows:—ordinary income tax—254,200,000 RM., tax on wages and salaries—169,200,000 RM. The latter figure clearly indicates the improvement effected in the labour market. The general level of wages is still low. In the interest of a sound economic policy it has been considered necessary to postpone a rise in it until conditions have been stabilised for some time. The yield of the turnover tax has gone up by 356,300,000 RM., another indication of the expansion of trade. The income tax payable by industrial undertakings underwent an exceedingly satisfactory development, receipts from it being 110,000,000 RM. higher than in 1933. This is due to the fact that numerous undertakings that had been shut down have now been reopened.

Indirect Taxes.

In the field of indirect taxation the following are examples of the increase over 1933:—

Customs ... ..	...	83,500,000 RM.
Tobacco ... ..	...	60,000,000 RM.
Beer ... ..	...	25,100,000 RM.
Sugar ... ..	...	20,000,000 RM.

The higher yield is attributable to increased *consumption* of the articles concerned. The income earned by the broad masses is to-day evidently higher than it was.

The expectations entertained by the Government when embarking upon its "labour campaign" may be taken to have been fully realised. According to the finance planning of the Nazi regime the five budgets from 1934 to 1938 are to be encumbered with extraordinary expenditure to the extent of 900,000,000 RM. annually owing to the working of the scheme for the provision of labour. But so far as 1934 is concerned, the tax receipts are more than sufficient to cover this amount, so that the first year of the deficit period has been successfully gone through.

Unemployment diminishing.

The state of public finance has been further improved by the diminished expenditure on unemployment relief caused by the fall in the number of workless. As late as 1932, the Government Board for Unemployment Insurance required public funds to the amount of 340,000,000 RM. partly obtained from Federal and partly from municipal taxation. This year, on the other hand, the Board was able to earn a surplus of 200,000,000 RM. in excess of its expenditure, which is being used for purposes of providing additional work under the Government's scheme.

Improvement in Municipal Finance.

The financial position of the municipalities has likewise improved. Further progress has been made in the redemption of municipal debt, and the conversion of their bond issues has also benefited their financial status. As regards the loans raised by them at home, 85 % of the long-term issues had already been consolidated by September 30th, 1934. This development also exercises a favourable effect upon the national finances, because in previous years the Government had frequently been obliged to come to the rescue when the municipalities found themselves in financial difficulties.

Consolidation of Credits.

The Government and the Reichsbank are continuing their combined efforts to further consolidate the credits issued in connection with the financing of the scheme for the provision of work and to finance the Government orders more and more by resorting to other sources of money. A first beginning has been made with the funding of those credits by the savings-bank loan to the tune of 500,000,000 RM.

Bank Turnover Less than Industrial Turnover.

In Germany, as is well known, the banks are far more closely connected with trade and industry generally than in most other countries. Owing to this intimate connection, the German banks are also more directly effected by the ups and downs of trade than those elsewhere. Unemployment in

the country has decreased ; the yield of the turnover tax has gone up by 22%, and the index of industrial production has risen from 61·2% in 1932 to 85·8% now. But in the case of several banks—the increase in their turnover has failed to keep pace with that in industrial production. This anomaly is explained by the facts that the scheme for the provision of work is largely financed by private credit institutions and that the foreign business transacted by the banks has materially declined.

The Deutsche, Dresdner and Commerz Banks.

The last-named circumstances coupled with the conversion of municipal credits into 4% bonds has caused a fairly considerable drop in the receipts of banks and although there was greater activity in the stocks and shares markets, this was not quite sufficient to make up for the loss. The report issued by the Deutsche Bank shows that the interest earned dropped from 66,000,000 RM. to 63,000,000 RM. and commissions from 78,700,000 to 75,900,000. In the case of the Dresdner Bank, interest also decreased from 43,000,000 RM. to 39,800,000—but commissions increased from 44,000,000 to 47,000,000. The only big bank recording increase in both items is the Commerz Bank, which was able to book extraordinary profits on the revenue side of its accounts. It was, however, not found possible to effect considerable reductions on the expenditure side, because a great deal of additional work has to be done by the banks in connection with the formalities of the foreign-exchange business, the standstill credits and the compensation transactions.

Increase in Profits.

All the big banks were in a position to increase their net profits, with the exception of the Deutsche Bank where they went down by 4,870,000 RM. The surplus earnings would have been sufficient to distribute a modest dividend to shareholders. But this has not been done. The available funds were used for depreciation purposes.

The bank shares—which were quoted around 50% in 1933—have now approached par. Generally speaking, the banks not maintaining local branches have done better than the others, and at least two of them—the Berliner-Handelsgesellschaft and the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft have been able to raise their dividend rate from 5% last year to 6% now.

Foreign Risks avoided.

All the banks have taken pains to diminish the volume of their commitments in foreign currencies. On the strength of careful estimates it is believed that these amount now to only 14% of their aggregate liabilities, as against 40% in 1930. The banks have also proceeded to write off fairly large amounts in respect of bad and doubtful debts, and thereby consolidated their position as well. They lent a helping hand to those undertakings that were endeavouring to develop the scope of their business. The effects of the banking crisis of 1931 are things of the past. The foundations of the banks are now much more secure than formerly. It is therefore much easier for them to render assistance to business in an active manner.

WHAT IS UNEMPLOYMENT ?

A survey of employment-coefficients indicates that in the world-economy to-day the "non-working dependents," jobless or workless men and women, normally, constitute a large proportion of the total population in every country. But for the purposes of unemployment insurance it is necessary to observe that these jobless or workless, i.e., "unoccupied" persons do not belong to the unemployed classes. Unemployment as an economic or statistical category is a social phenomenon of a special character. Not every man or woman who is looking for a job can be described as unemployed in the strictest sense of the term. Again, it would not be proper to characterize as unemployed all those persons who in Great Britain, for instance, obtain "poor relief."

In order to be known as unemployed one will have to prove (1) that one has had an occupation or employment,—a "gainful" employment, and (2) that for reasons beyond one's control one has been "disoccupied" or deprived of employment and has lost the job.

In those countries which regularly collect the statistics of unemployment the figures are generally derived either from the trade unions or from the unemployment insurance offices. These sources of information¹ point inevitably to the fact that only those persons' names can be sent up to the statistical bureau about unemployment who paid membership fees as belonging to trade unions or unemployment insurance premia as employees in certain establishments. The fact of the previous employment is automatically established.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS,—HOW THEY ARE COLLECTED.

In October, 1925, the Japanese Government organised an inquiry into the conditions of unemployment. The investigation was carried on in 212 industrial towns and 3 mining centres. All wage-earners as well as salaried workers earning up to 200 yens per month were taken into consideration. The results of the investigation as published by the Bureau of Statistics are given below:²

Workers unemployed.			
Class.	Number of workers investigated.	Number.	Per cent. of workers investigated.
Industrial Workers and others...	1,533,433	46,267	3.02
Salaried Workers	615,331	19,396	3.15
Casual Workers	206,251	39,938	19.36
Total	2,355,015	105,601	4.48

¹ *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations* (Geneva, 1932), pp. 60-61.

² Seishi Idei: "The unemployment Problem in Japan" in the *International Labour Review* (Geneva), October, 1930, p. 505.

It is clear that the absolute figures of unemployed as well as the percentages had reference to the persons actually occupied.

Official estimates for recent years are given below: ¹

Year.	Number unemployed.	Percentage.
1930	366,799	5.2
1931	413,248	5.9
1932	489,168	6.9
1933	413,853	5.7
1934 January	382,315	5.2
1934 February	390,243	5.2
1934 April	381,114	5.1
1934 July	372,070	5.0

In one particular industry, namely, the building, the comparative unemployment figures for two countries, the United Kingdom and Germany, are to be seen in the following percentages: ²

Country.	End of June			End of December		
	1929.	1932.	1933.	1929.	1932.	1933.
United Kingdom	8.5	26.1	19.9	16.9	32.1	25.9
Germany	10.4	78.0	70.6	52.8	86.1	59.9

The percentages refer to the proportion of the unemployed in relation to the trade unionists in the building industry.

Italian unemployment statistics furnish the actual figures of *disoccupazione*. The unemployed are classified in two groups: (1) wholly unemployed and (2) partially unemployed. No percentages are indicated. The chief source of information is the *Cassa Nazionale per le assicurazioni sociali* (National Fund for Social Insurance). As the data of unemployment are furnished by the compulsory unemployment insurance offices, the figures refer, as a matter of course, to such persons as having had a job and paid the usual premium subsequently found themselves without any occupation for a short or long period.

The unemployment figures are given below on the strength of diverse publications: ³

Year.	Wholly unemployed.	Partially unemployed.
1925 February	156,659	11,702
1926 December	181,403	10,216
1927 December	414,283	107,964
1928 January	493,311	76,327
1929 February	489,317	15,854
1930 March	385,482	28,026
1931 March	707,466	27,545

¹ *International Labour Review*, December, 1934, p. 840.

² *Barclays Bank, Ltd., Monthly Review* (London), December 1934, p. 10.

³ *Annuario Statistico Italiano* (Rome, 1930), p. 255, *Annuaire Statistique de la Societe des Nations* (Geneva, 1932), p. 58.

"Cronaca Finanziaria:" in *Rassegna Economica* (Naples), January to November, 1934, pp. 68, 231, 633, 728. See also Vergottini: "Gli indici del movimento economico italiano" in *La Vita Economica Italiana* (Rome), October, 1933, pp. 19-20, 34, and *The International Labour Review* (Geneva) for December, 1934, p. 840.

Year.	Wholly unemployed.	Partially unemployed.
1932 January	1,051,821	33,234
1932 February	1,147,945	26,821
1932 March	1,058,016	31,636
1932 July	931,300	—
1932 August	946,000	—
1932 September	949,000	—
1932 October	956,400	—
1932 November	1,038,800	—
1932 December	1,129,654	—
1933 January	1,225,500	—
1933 February	1,229,387	—
1933 March	1,081,536	—
1933 July	824,195	—
1933 September	907,463	—
1933 November	1,068,215	—
1933 December	1,132,257	—
1934 January	1,158,257	—
1934 February	1,103,550	—
1934 March	1,056,833	—
1934 June	880,866	—
1934 July	886,998	—
1934 September	887,345	—
1934 October	905,114	—
1934 November	964,944	—

It is to be observed, *en passant*, that unemployment was not a marked characteristic of the Italian economy during the first two years of the world-depression (1929-31). Since March, 1931, Italy has been witnessing the crisis in a phenomenal manner.

During the world-economic depression (1929-34) the unemployment in the United Kingdom in absolute numbers was as follows:¹

1929 March	...	...	...	1,204,000
1931 March	...	...	...	2,666,000
1932 March	...	...	...	2,660,000
1933 March	...	...	...	2,821,000
1933 September	...	...	...	2,375,000
1934 March	...	...	...	2,225,000
1934 October	...	...	...	2,119,000

For four years from March, 1929, to March, 1933, the trend was steadily rising. From the peak of 2,821,000 in March, 1933, the descending curve came down to 2,119,000 in October, 1934.

In percentage of "insured" workers the unemployment statistics for the depression period is indicated below:

Date.	1929.	1931.	1933.	1934.
January	12.3	21.5	28.1	18.6
April	9.8	20.9	21.3	16.6
August	9.9	22.0	19.1	16.5
December	11.0	20.9	17.6	16.4 (Oct.)

From 1922 to 1933 (in July of each year) the number of unemployed belonging to the classes of workmen insured under the Unemployment

¹ *Lloyds Bank, Ltd. Monthly Review* (London), December, 1934, p. 589.

Insurance Act was as follows along with the percentage of the unemployed in relation to the insured :¹

Year.	Unemployed.	Percentage of Unemployed to Unemployment Insured.
1922	1,592,000	18.1
1923	1,327,000	11.6
1924	1,138,000	9.8
1925	1,329,000	11.2
1926	1,737,000	14.4
1927	1,114,000	9.2
1928	1,377,000	11.6
1929	1,178,000	9.7
1930	2,070,000	16.7
1931	2,806,000	21.9
1932	2,921,000	23.8
1933	2,521,000	19.5

We understand at once that neither the absolute figures nor the percentages of unemployment in Great Britain have anything to do with the "workless," "jobless," dependents, etc., of the British employment-coefficient or with the persons relieved by "poor rates."

The following figures indicate for Germany the unemployed in percentage of total trade union membership² in the perspective of unemployed registered (as furnished by the Employment Exchange):

1927	...	8.7	...	1,353,000
1928	...	8.6	...	1,353,000
1929	...	13.2	...	1,915,000
1930	...	22.2	...	3,130,455
1931	...	34.3	...	4,573,219
1932	...	43.8	...	4,379,858
1933 October	...	20.9	...	3,744,860
1933 November	...	20.3	...	3,714,646
1933 December	...	24.7	...	4,050,055
1934 January	...	25.4	...	3,772,792
1934 February	...	20.1	...	3,872,611
1934 April	...	15.4	...	2,608,621
1934 July	...	15.3	...	2,426,014
1934 September	...	15.2	...	2,281,800
1934 October	...	—	...	2,267,867
1934 November	...	—	...	2,354,000

It is clear that nobody could be a member of trade unions who was not in employment. And therefore in Germany as in Great Britain the unemployed class as a percentage of trade union membership implies a class that had jobs and lost them because of certain uncontrollable circumstances.

For the U. S. A., the unemployed percentage in relation to the trade union membership is shown below (in the background of absolute figures furnished by the American Federation of Labour):

¹ *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom* (London, 1934), pp. 103, 110, 111. For corresponding percentages from 1950 to 1914, see *Problèmes du Chômage* (Geneva, 1931), pp. 109-110.

² "Movements in the General Level of Unemployment and Employment" in the *International Labour Review* (Geneva), December, 1934, p. 838. For corresponding percentages from 1903 to 1913 see *Problèmes du Chômage en 1931* (Geneva, 1931), pp. 113-114.

1928	...	9.2	...	...
1929	...	8.2	...	...
1930	...	14.5	...	3,947,000
1931	...	19.1	...	7,431,000
1932	...	23.8	...	11,483,000
1933	...	24.3	...	11,904,000
1934 January	...	22.6	...	11,755,000
1934 April	...	20.7	...	10,551,000
1934 July	...	20.8	...	10,793,000
1934 November	...	21.0	...	10,671,000

In the case of the U. S. A. also it is not the "non-working dependent" or the ordinary workless but the gainfully employed who is described as unemployed when thrown out of employment into *disoccupazione*, to use the expressive Italian term.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA.

For India we have no official source of information regarding unemployment. Unemployment benefits are hardly practised by trade unions. Nor is there any system of compulsory or voluntary unemployment insurance. But crude estimates are being offered for certain spheres in order to get a rough idea.

In Bengal the average daily number of persons employed in the factories at two dates was as follows:¹

1931	...	...	430,439
1932	...	...	454,007

In 1932 there was a diminution of 26,432 in employment from the level of 1931. Should 1931 be taken as the base for the standard of employment the unemployment in 1932 will have to be measured by 5.4 per cent.

In 1930-31 the average daily employed in the jute mills of India was 307,676. In 1931-32 it came down to 276,810, making thereby a diminution of 30,866. The unemployment percentage may be taken, therefore, to have been 10.²

In paper mills the reduction in employment was 813 (1930: 7,058; 1931: 6,245). There was thus an unemployment of 11.5 per cent.

At the Tata Iron and Steel Company's Works at Jamshedpur the average daily employment was as follows:³

Year.	Employment.	Variation from Year to Year (+ or -).	Unemployment Percentage.
1930-31	... 17,745	—	—
1931-32	... 16,771	- 974	5.5
1932-33	... 15,587	-1,184	7
1933-34	... 16,346	+ 759	—
1934-35	... 17,420	+1,074	—

¹ *Annual Report on the Administration of the Indian Factories Act in Bengal, 1933* (Calcutta 1934), p. 110.

² *Statistical Abstract for British India* (Delhi, 1934), pp. 795, 797.

Incidentally it may be observed that additional hands were employed in the cotton and woollen mills.

³ *Annual Reports of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Ltd., 1931-35* (Bombay).

In 1931-32 unemployment was 5·5 per cent. and in 1932-33 it was 7 per cent.

The average daily employment in the different industries of India at two dates was as follows:¹

Year.	British India.	Indian States.	Total.
1930	1,528,802	194,891	1,723,193
1931	1,431,487	198,550	1,630,037

From a total of 1,723,193 in 1930 the daily average employment came down to 1,630,037. The diminution by 93,156 may be said, roughly speaking, to have represented the extent of unemployment. The percentage of unemployment in 1931 in relation to 1930 may then be said to have been 5·3.

The unemployment percentages in India during 1932 were therefore as follows:

1. Bengal	...	...	5·4
2. Jute Mills	...	...	10·0
3. Paper Mills	...	...	11·6
4. Tata	...	...	5·5 to 7
5. All India	...	...	5·3

The percentage should appear to have been relatively slight in the background of Eur-American figures.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

¹ *Statistical Abstract for British India* (Delhi, 1934), pp. 813, 821.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Light on Yoga, by Sri Aurobindo, pp. 100, Price Re. 1-4 as., Arya Publishing House, Calcutta.

This book has been compiled out of extracts of letters written by Aurobindo to his disciples in answer to their queries. It contains the quintessence of his teachings on Yoga and its object. Here he has much to say as to the goal and the inner discipline of the self, which will undoubtedly prove attractive and interesting to many.

Nowadays intellectuals appear to be in a race after novelty. But it often happens that they, in their hurry and zeal for the new, hug to their bosom the nonsensical. It is superbly interesting to see that some in the realm of religion too are vying with the much-abhorred intellectuals in their enthusiasm for originality in regard to both its practical effort and its end.

Aurobindo is taken to open the book by saying that the purpose of his Yoga is different from those of others and the differentia is indicated in the assertion that our aim in religion ought not to be merely emancipation from ignorance, only rise into the divine consciousness, but also creation of a divine life in matter. The Divine is to descend completely into matter and it is not only that the individual with his physico-vital being will have to be divinized, but also that with the descent of the Divine, a supramental race will emerge. Aurobindo is here writing letters and is very brief; almost in aphoristic statements, he conveys his message to those who yearn after Truth. So it is often very hard to make out what he exactly means to communicate. He, however, dilates upon his themes elsewhere, and that he does there with some details.

Methinks there are two things very intimately mingled together and these are the divinization of the individual being and the creation of the supramental race. If we can distinguish between the two, we find that the transformation of the individual is not integral without the entire descent of the Transcendent. But if the integral transformation of the individual is possible through the individual *quâ* individual, the cherished race is out of the question and unnecessary. So Aurobindo will perhaps take us to believe that there is in fact no mingling but only that he attempts merely, to make for one thing, namely, that the divinization of the individual will be instrumental in the emergence of the new race.* This is perhaps what Aurobindo means when he says, "our Yoga is not for our sake but for the sake of the Divine." (P. 5.) It is also asserted that his vision of the coming race is no mere generalization based upon some empirical data, but an illumination through Yogic experience, which baffles reason. But the proposition appears to involve an extravagant claim inasmuch as it gives a lie not only to all logic but also to the lives and experiences of the past seers and sages, which cannot be so summarily rejected. In fact, one feels like standing stupefied and withal with half-mystified eyes longs to see how out of the *Laboratory* set up at Pondicherry, the first batch of the beings of the supramental species are going to be manufactured.

* For a detailed criticism of this theme, vide my book, *Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind*, published by Calcutta University.

In the second, the third and the fourth sections of the book, Aurobindo explicates the parts and the planes of our being, surrender as self-opening to the Divine and selfless work respectively. But one already familiar with matters religious and Yogic literature can hardly get anything new except that the old truths are presented in so fascinating a way as to assume an air of originality. If an aspirant can abstract from extravagances and keep his eye on the essentials of what he says here, he will get ample help and light. But the elegance of his language, the force of his eloquence and the hopefulness of the ideal he adumbrates will, I am sure, lead away unripe minds and inspire in many unintelligent faith.

A. C. DAS

Eastern Lights by Mahendranath Sircar, pp. 305 + xiii, price Rs. 4. Arya Publishing House, Calcutta.

The book under review emerges out of the lectures delivered by Dr. Sircar in Rome on an invitation from the President of the Instituto Italiano per il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, and at other places in Europe in 1934. The different chapters therein are so planned as to provide a brief sketch of Hinduism from the age of the Upanishads downwards.

A cursory reading of the book will reveal the fact that the author pays more attention to the theoretical or rather the philosophical aspect of Hinduism than to the practical. But we shall not do well to forget that the philosophy upon which the Hindu culture is based, is only the invisible counterpart of the visible institutions, its concrete customs and creeds. To an average European a Hindu is still a heathen. Dr. Sircar does not so much think it worth his attention to probe into the potency and power of symbolism practised in the Hindu religion and to recall before his audience what Swami Vivekananda preached with a spiritual urge and passion at Chicago in 1893.

From Dayananda onwards, the book seems to be a record of the life-history of some magnificent personalities. There is hardly an articulate attempt to indicate the positions that can be assigned to Rammohan, Keshabchandra and Ramkrishna-Vivekananda as representatives and reformers in the Hindu culture and religion nor does he bring out clearly the synthesis in the so-called *synthetic light* in Aurobindo with reference to whom the word 'synthesis' is much talked of only in connection with yoga.

Dr. Sircar writes a very plain language and what he has got to say will be intelligible even to the philosophically uninitiated. But I am sorry to say that his readers will miss therein something like uniformity of style. Sometimes the halting manner of his language points to the forced march of thought, and oftentimes he conjures up into his disquisition philosophy—baked poetry which peters out like a damp firework. He is, however, quite pleasing in the chapters on the Tantras, Cosmic Man and appears in his best on Ramkrishna.

In the course of reading, one will find that the author harps on the same tune, although with different forks at different times, in the major portion of the book. But that is not so much his fault; for, in the topics he deals with, many things common are to be found. Nevertheless, interest would have been more enlivening, if more caution could have been taken in

the approaches. Dr. Sircar's is a genial personality that does not cavil at anybody and his writings have been in this regard very faithful to his being. It is rather amazing to see that in a book extending over a wide field and presenting varied view-points, there is hardly any trace of systematic comment the lack of which has rendered the march of thought somewhat monotonous.

But in spite of the omissions, the fact that remains to be recognised is that the last half of the book covers a tract that has not yet been much traversed by any in the academic sphere. It can well be regarded as a good piece of groundwork presenting a fair idea of the structural basis of the Hindu Culture. Dr. Sircar has indeed done a distinct service to India and to the Hindus in particular by making an earnest attempt towards acquainting those who are alien to us in ideas with the essentials of the currents of philosophical thoughts and of the religious personalities that dominate the Hindu mind in modern times.

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Modern Poetry, selected and edited by Maurice Wollman, pp. 265. Published by MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1935.

This anthology contains a number of representative English poems of the period 1922-34. Most anthologies reproduce both old and new poems and aim at showing how the great tradition of English poetry has been carried on through centuries. The present collection confines itself to a period of only twelve years and yet it has its value. It certainly focuses the reader's attention on some of the most arresting features of contemporary English poetry.

The possible influence of the Great War on Literature has been the subject of widespread discussion. The conclusions, as might have been expected, have been divergent. It has even been asserted that the last war was so mechanical and so hideous that it could not possibly kindle the poet's imagination or inspire any great literary effort. Certainly was totally different from military operations in the past when sabres gleamed, drums beat to arms and there were opportunities for the display of personal prowess. It has been urged that wholesale, silent and sudden destruction of belligerents through the use of poison-gas, for example, has hardly anything spectacular in it or likely to interest the artist. On the other hand, cases of nervous shock which has destroyed memory, affected vision and audition and upset the intellectual powers, have been so numerous as to make everybody shudder at the thought of the Great War as the withering breath of an invisible monster. None finds in it any glamour. The world is to the sufferers drab and meaningless and life a burden. But even literature has derived nourishment, from the blank of inanition. Eliot, Auden, Day Lewis, Spender and Bottrall belong to the school of contemporary English poets who illustrate "the disillusionment and disorientation following the War." "Heroics are not for them, rather a dark, bitter acceptance of fate—they accept disillusionment as part of the established order of things." Eliot says:—

We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaving together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas!

In the second, the third and the fourth sections of the book, Aurobindo explicates the parts and the planes of our being, surrender as self-opening to the Divine and selfless work respectively. But one already familiar with matters religious and Yogic literature can hardly get anything new except that the old truths are presented in so fascinating a way as to assume an air of originality. If an aspirant can abstract from extravagances and keep his eye on the essentials of what he says here, he will get ample help and light. But the elegance of his language, the force of his eloquence and the hopefulness of the ideal he adumbrates will, I am sure, lead away unripe minds and inspire in many unintelligent faith.

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But in spite of the omissions, the fact that remains to be recognised is that the last half of the book covers a tract that has not yet been much traversed by any in the academic sphere. It can well be regarded as a good piece of groundwork presenting a fair idea of the structural basis of the Hindu Culture. Dr. Sircar has indeed done a distinct service to India and to the Hindus in particular by making an earnest attempt towards acquainting those who are alien to us in ideas with the essentials of the currents of philosophical thoughts and of the religious personalities that dominate the Hindu mind in modern times.

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We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas!

Our dried voices, when
 We whisper together
 Are quiet and meaningless
 As wind in dried grass
 Or rat's feet over broken glass
 In our dry cellar.

(*The Hollow Men.*)

Ronald Bottrall faces the future without hope :

The future is not for us, though we can set up
 Our barriers, rest in our dead-embered
 Sphere, till we come to pause over our last loving-cup
 With death. We are dismembered
 Into a myriad broken shadows,
 Each to himself reflected in a splinter of that glass
 Which we once knew as cosmos.—

Day Lewis, it has been remarked, "wings a living from despair" and Stephen Spender "finds himself out of harmony with the creatures of Nature and their instincts."

But it is not only the poets obsessed by the effects of the War that are given prominence in the present collection. There are many who have made their mark for their melody, verse-craft, sensitiveness to beauty or 'innovatory power.' Apart from such well-known names as Walter de la Mare, W. W. Gibson, Thomas Hardy, Robert Bridges, W. B. Yeats and George William Russell, we have poets like Austin Clarke and F. R. Higgins with their Irish reminiscences ; Edmund Blunden and Victoria Sackville-West saturated with the spirit and the love of the English countryside ; Richard Aldington and Roy Campbell, full of attractive imagery, and many others who have, "by their work, added distinction to life and opened new realms of mental and spiritual experience."

The work of the editor has been very commendable. The Index of First Lines is useful, while the notes give a good deal of necessary information which will remove many hindrances to an easy appreciation of the poems.

M. M. BHATTACHERJI

Readers' Forum

The World as I see It, by Albert Einstein. Translated by Alan Harris. 1935, (London: John Lane. Demy 8vo 214 pp. 8s. 6d.)

Nearly one-half of this book is caviare to the general and must have been very difficult to translate: the mathematical theory, for example, of tea-leaves in a cup, or the description of how Kepler arrived at the shape of the earth's orbit. The larger half is a collection of papers, letters and jottings illustrative of the great scientist's outlook on some of the problems of life. They give an impression of almost whimsical simplicity (*e.g.*, regarding the economics of over-production) combined with a happy idealism and a passionate love of nature. Einstein describes himself as a solitary creature, a mystic with democracy as his politics and militarism as his anathema. In a sense he claims to be a deeply religious man: he has no belief in an anthropomorphic God, punishing or rewarding man for predestined acts; but he lives "in rapturous amazement at the harmony of natural law, which reveals an intelligence of such superiority that, compared with it, all the systematic thinking and acting of human beings is an utterly insignificant reflection." There are flashes of humour too, as in his reflections on interviewers, and in his "Reply to the Women of America." The Nazi movement is not mentioned; but there is an interesting analysis of the Jewish mind and ideals.—LORD MESTON.

Clashing Tides of Colour, by Lothrop Stoddard. 1935. (London: Scribners 8vo 414 pp. 10s. 3d.)

In this book Mr. Lothrop Stoddard surveys some of the problems that beset the world in these troubled times and endeavours to interpret the tendencies of present conditions and to explain the effect of the machine civilisation of the West upon the economic, social and political state of the whole world.

East and West, Mr. Stoddard goes on to say, are to-day subject to the same process of disintegration though at different speeds and in different ways. The West has lost its former sense of solidarity and the East is being literally "Balkanised" by the impact of Western mechanistic civilisation and by new ideas as nationalism and communism.—J.R.C.

I speak for the Silent: Prisoners of the Soviets, by Vladimir V. Tchervavin. (Hale, Cushman & Flint. \$2.50.)

Professor Tchervavin has written a heartbreaking account of his experiences as a non-party expert in the Soviet fishing industry, the circumstances of his arrest and confinement under unspeakable prison conditions, and his life in the ill-famed Solovetzki Islands concentration camp in the White Sea, where he was sentenced to five years' forced labour. His story, told bitterly but with remarkable detachment considering his trials, is an overwhelming arraignment of one aspect of Soviet bureaucracy. It represents, he states, "the tragedy of thousands of Russian men and women of education still languishing in GPU prisons and concentration camps."—J. BARBER.

Government of the British Empire, by Professor A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.LITT. (Macmillan & Co. 8vo 21s.)

The first part of this work is devoted to a description of the mode in which sovereignty is now distributed among the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations; their international status; the modes in which they co-operate in foreign affairs, defence and imperial development; their relations to the native races for whose welfare they are trustees; and the essential principle of the rule of law and respect for individual rights which are a fundamental characteristic of the British system.

The second part contains a description of the several Governments of the Empire, with special reference to the problems of the present day. Important innovations in Dominions and Colonial government and a new phenomenon in the mandatory system also receive consideration. But more vital still is the complete change of policy as regards India, and the rapid advance of that territory to responsible government and Dominion status.

The Russian Revolution 1917-1921 by William Henry Chamberlin. Two volumes. 8vo, illus., index, bibl., appendices, notes. (New York, The Macmillan Co. \$10.00.)

Mr. Chamberlin, with a background of long residence in the Soviet Union as correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, has turned his hand to scholarship and has produced what will be for many years the definitive academic history of the Russian Revolution. He has obviously used an enormous range of sources, and selected from it wisely. The book is simply written, and except by its bulk is not a text to choke most college students. The appendices in each volume are themselves material of large value to all students who do not read English.

It is Mr. Chamberlin's misfortune to have completed his work after the publication of Trotsky's two-volume history. He carries his account further, up to the initiation of the New Economic Policy in 1921, but for the heart of this story he has had to retell a story told already in what is sure to remain a classic on the subject. Comparison of the two texts will leave little doubt as to which is the greater history; but there may be sharp disagreement as to the reasons.—J. BARNES.

My Father, by Maria Rasputin, daughter of Gregory Rasputin, (London: Cassel & Co., Ltd. 5s.)

This is the defence of Gregory Rasputin—a frank, candid defence. The most vilified the most hated man that history has ever known is here portrayed by the person who knew him best.

Gurselres

[I. *The Late Dr. Paul Brühl*.—II. *Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1935*.—III. *Tagore Professor of Law, 1935*.—IV. *Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics*.—V. *University Representatives on the Council of the Imperial Library*.—VI. *St. James' College; Withdrawal of Affiliation in Science*.—VII. *Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for 1934*.—VIII. *Yone Noguchi*]

I. THE LATE DR. PAUL BRÜHL.

It is with a heavy heart that we have to announce the death of Dr. Paul Johannes Brühl, sometime Registrar of this University. Dr. Brühl died at the ripe old age of eighty. It may be recalled that he came from Germany to this country with a party of tourists about forty years ago and settled down in Bengal subsequently as a teacher in the Government College at Rajshahi. Later on, he was appointed Principal, Sibpore Engineering College. In 1913 he was selected Registrar of this University in succession to Dr. G. Thibaut and in that capacity rendered valuable service for five years. But it was as University Professor of Botany (1918-28) that he made his mark. It was he who organised the department of Botany at Ballygunge and with his vast experience guided the new institution through the first ten years of its development. He will also be remembered as a good linguist. Dr. Brühl was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1904 and continued as such for 22 years. Whoever came in contact with him could not but be impressed by the simple, unassuming mode of a scholar's life he led even to the day of his retirement. The University will mourn his loss, and we shall ever cherish his memory especially as he was a member of our Board of Editors from 1922 to 1924.

* * *

II. GIRISCHANDRA GHOSH LECTURER FOR 1935.

We are glad to announce that Mr. Amarendranath Ray has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1935. Mr. Ray has distinguished himself by his contributions to Bengali literature especially as a journalist and literary critic. He is well read in Girischandra and it is hoped that his audience will be gratified by the

wealth of information and new view-points which Mr. Ray is sure to furnish in his lectures.

* * *

III. TAGORE PROFESSOR OF LAW, 1933.

We are informed that Professor John Hartman Morgan, Tagore Professor of Law for 1933, is expected to come out to India at the end of January next and deliver his lectures in February.

* * *

IV. HARDINGE PROFESSOR OF HIGHER MATHAMATICS.

The vacancy created by the sudden death of Professor Ganesh Prasad in the chair of the Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics has now been filled by the appointment of Dr. Friedrich Levi, DR. PHIL. NAT., formerly Extra-Ordinary Professor of Mathematics at the University of Leipzig (Germany). Professor Levi has been appointed for five years with effect from 1st November, 1935, or from the date on which he joins his appointment.

* * *

V. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES ON THE COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY.

We are informed that Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, and Professor Praphulla-chandra Mitter, M.A., Ph.D., who were nominated representatives by this University on the Council of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, have been appointed by the Government of India as members of the said Council for a period of three years from the 1st August, 1935.

* * *

VI. ST. JAMES' COLLEGE: WITHDRAWAL OF AFFILIATION IN SCIENCE.

The Registrar of this University has notified for general information that the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) have confirmed the resolution adopted by the Senate on the 29th July 1935, to the effect that the privileges of affiliation in Science up to the Intermediate Standard enjoyed by the St. James' College, Calcutta, be

withdrawn with effect from June, 1935, as the authorities of the institution have decided to close down the college.

* * *

VII. GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE IN SCIENCE FOR 1934.

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Science for the year 1934 has been divided equally among the following candidates for the thesis mentioned against the name of each :—

Name.	Thesis.
1. Dr. Sukumar Sarkar	... <i>Rotational Raman Scattering in Benzene Vapour and Liquids.</i>
2. Dr. Chittaranjan Barat	... <i>Syntheses in the Pyridine Series</i> (Main). <i>Pyrry-Athanone und ihre Abkommlinge</i> (Subsidiary).
3. Mr. Binayendranath Sen	... <i>Role of Parachor in Physical and Inorganic Chemistry.</i>

* * *

VIII. YONE NOGUCHI.

Yone Noguchi, the great Japanese poet, is arriving here by the middle of November next to deliver a course of lectures as a Reader in this University. His lectures will be confined to, Adoration of Nature ; The Little World at One's Feet ; Japanese Poetry ; Japanese Art (illustrated) ; Koye tsu, the Japanese Leonardo Da Vinci (illustrated) ; The Art of Hiroshige (illustrated) and The Mask Play of Japan (illustrated). Those who are interested may write to him, care of, The Calcutta Review, Senate House, Calcutta.

BUSINESS NOTE

There are many Provident Insurance companies in India. But among them we find that *The Bengal National Assurance Co., Ltd.*, has got some distinctive features. Unlike other Provident companies it has no Dividing schemes which has been condemned by the Government Actuary. Further by introducing Medical examination and immediate risk it has made its mark in the Insurance world and at the same time it has been able to arrest the confidence of the public. This company is working on sound schemes allowing all the advantages, facilities and benefits, those are allowed by a higher company. In short this company may be described as a real Insurance company for smaller amounts. Its schemes are to suit the majority of the Indians, who are not able to maintain a higher Insurance. The company is managed most economically.

In India at present there is a growing need for Provident companies of this type. There are many higher companies in India and to insure with which is a luxury to the richer. But it is a necessity to the middle-class people and labourers. The *Bengal National Assurance Co., Ltd.*, is the only concern where people can safely insure. We wish its success.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1935

PASSIVE RESISTANCE—OLD AND NEW

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, KT., M.A., D.LITT., D.C.L., LL.D., BAR.-AT-LAW.

PASSIVE resistance, civil disobedience, Satyagraha and soul force are words now associated with the cult of the Indian National Congress, and they are treated in India as new effective weapons forged by the hand of Mahatma Gandhi to overthrow England's Imperialism in India. It shows to what little advantage history, both ancient and modern, is learnt in the schools, and how little historians think of human psychology as guiding human action when they chronicle the march of political events, record the progress of a people, or describe a battle scene. As such, we read of the birth and crucifixion of Christ, of the birth and development of Christianity through the ages, but hear little of the conditions which fed that movement and the stimulus it received from the tyranny of Rome and Roman prelates and Roman legionaries in her far-flung dominion in Palestine and Asia Minor in the centuries which preceded the birth of the Saviour. Even Gibbon, the greatest of modern historians of the decadent epoch of that phenomenon, does scant justice to himself when he describes the stirring events which heralded the birth of Christianity. We hear of the great Chinese Wall as one of the wonders of the world built by the Chinese at incredible sacrifice of men and money to stave off the inroads of Hun bucaneeers, who had overrun the steppes of

Central Asia and from where they carried on relentless forays into the peaceful province of Mongolia which the Chinese were unable to resist by force of arms, and which drove them to adopting the colossal expedient of building a great wall as a set-off to the Hun horsemen who had harried their borders and threatened to enslave the entire continent.

In later ages we have learnt to erect redoubts, block houses, chain fortresses, and the great Hindenberg line was constructed during the Great War as an everlasting tribute to the incomparable genius of the Marshal who later ruled over the entire Germanic Empire as its President till his demise the other day.

Now if we look behind these supreme efforts of man, we shall find that they are all the outcrop of human devices to thwart the impact of direct force by what we should more correctly now call passive resistance.

Take, for instance, the greatest of all human spectacles, the birth of Christianity. We have on the one hand, the decline of the Roman Empire and the terrible cruelties practised by her prelates and pro-consuls in her overseas provinces in her name. The people so conquered were powerless to raise the standard of open revolt against the Empire, but they nevertheless resented, and resented bitterly the exactions made and the oppression practised upon a harmless and defenceless people by a militarist government which prided itself upon bringing law and order to a country which before its advent was a prey to chaos and confusion, internecine rivalries, quarrels and civil war. That Rome had pacified Syria and Palestine in the days of Antonius and Augustus admits of no doubt, that the pacification by the Romans of their distant colonies was the pacification of the lamb by the wolf at the proverbial pool equally admits of no doubt, but the people were peaceful because they were dead—civilly dead; but even though oppressed and exploited, the vanquished and the humbled foe had not forgotten the tradition of their noble descent, nor become reconciled to the rule of a usurper. But what were they to do? They could not fight because they had no arms, they could not hope to win because they were still disunited, but though they were disunited and disarmed they were all by now agreed upon one thing—their common hatred of Rome. But their common hatred was useless unless they could combine to one common purpose. The purpose was clear enough but how was a combination possible. In their small rugged

mountainous country they were divided into clans and tribes, all living under the hegemony of the priests who were the chosen vicegerents upon earth of their great Jehovah, who though the supreme lord of the Universe had chosen the Israelites and entered into a covenant with them which assured them of His special favours and special protection.¹ Neither those favours nor that protection had yet come, but what had come in its place were the Roman legions and the Roman spread-eagle policy of oppressive taxation and mass cruelty unredeemed by any display of true statesmanship in their dealings with the country or tolerable political freedom in their dealings with the people.

It had been the policy of Rome to let alone the religion of the people. In this regard its policy had always been one of strict neutrality and absolute non-interference,—a policy which all later conquerors emulated and followed in their dealings with their subject races. This policy, though wise both in its intention and effect, still left one avenue free from the dominant control of temporal power which the people could turn into a powerful lever for their political liberation, and as the Roman arm had not spared the clergy in their all-pervading zeal to rule over the people, both the clergy and the laity joined in a common effort to overthrow the alien yoke of Rome. The prophets found it easy and safe enough to predict that the lost independence of Israel would return, and return with a vengeance, in that upon its return, as if to make amends for its past subjection, Israel would in its turn be the overlord of all other nations and re-establish a reign of everlasting righteousness and peace.

The transition from the abstract to the concrete, from the general to the particular, from the vague and shadowy longing to a more solid and tangible hope was a natural and an easy one. The prophets soon discovered old prophecies of a coming Messiah connected by lineage to their last independent King David who should bring them deliverance.

Such a Messiah was found in Jesus, who born of the low and the despised stock naturally rallied to his banner a few of the ardent spirits of his tribe. His garb was spiritual but his motive ill-disguised: it was intended to liberate his people by invoking the spiritual force of God. In one word, it was a movement to rally mass civil disobedience; it would take time, but it was not, he believed, uncertain in its action.

¹ Isaiah, Ch. 40, v. 2.

That Jesus was himself swayed by the prevailing notion of a coming liberator and the emancipation of the people of Israel through divine intervention is clear from his recorded statements in the four Gospels. But whether it is so or not, one thing is certain, Christianity was a revolt against Rome and it gained both speed and strength from the resistance it encountered from it. Christianity was then the triumph of soul force over brute force, but its progress was slow and uncertain and it took time to assert itself, for by the time it did assert itself Rome itself had disappeared as a political force and its place had been taken by another more aggressive, though a more lenient adventurer from Macedonia. The motive for passive resistance though changing in its outlook continued to remain as a vital force. These plain facts of history the historian glosses over lest it cast a doubt upon the divinity of Christ or upon the spiritual force of Christianity; but it is a fact which confronts every student of history, whatever may be his allegiance to Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Christianity is a socialistic creed and is professedly a religion of peace and tolerance without which it would have died out long ago. It is a religion of the people for the people adapted in all its essentials from an older religion which the court of Alexander had studied with such veneration and such zeal, and the tenets of which gave birth to the school of the Gnostics (a Hellenic rendering of Buddhists) who have leavened the teaching and development of Apostolic Christianity in such a striking manner.

It is a curious freak of history that while Buddhism taught peace and non-violence as in the abstract good for human progress, Christianity turned it to good account by giving it a political turn and later Christianity abandoned non-violence as a creed for the Academy which the practical needs of politics could do without.

The doctrine of peace and non-violence, poverty and non-aggression thus receded into the background with the advent of Islam, a religion at once aggressive and militant, started to arouse the dormant martial spirit of the Arabian denizens of the desert, who overran Europe as far as the farthestmost boundaries of Spain and laid waste most of what is now known as Southern Europe. The Aryan has since the dawn of history somehow felt an inward repulsion towards the Semitic race. The battle of Troy and the destruction of Carthage are two outstanding landmarks of the Aryan triumph over the Semitic kingdoms. That antagonism gave a fresh impetus to the conquering march

of the Saracen hordes into Europe. If mediaeval Europe had loyally stood by the Christian doctrine of non-violence and passive resistance, all Europe would have been to-day under the sway of Islam. But Europe met the Saracen force by force, with the result that the Saracen had soon to return to his steppes only to ravage the votaries of non-violence in Asia, with the result that all Asia came under their sway: only China and Japan escaped, the latter owing to its insularity and the former owing to its long distance from the Hunnish base of operations.

But the one great ocular monument of passive resistance, the great Chinese Wall, failed to serve its purpose, since it failed to keep the Hun invader out of Chinese territory. On the other hand, it often became a trap as many forts do when the besieged are powerless to make effective sallies and the besiegers are powerful and resourceful.

But though the pacificism and passive resistance of mediaeval Christianity had deserted the battlefield, it still lingered in the monastic order whose sufferings and martyrdom in the cause of the faith illumine the ecclesiastical pages of all Europe. But passive force did not free Palestine or liberate the Jews, who to this day remain a harlot nation despised and unwanted everywhere, but whose very agelong servitude has engendered other qualities making that nation a great people whose specialization in trade and finance has made them the king-makers of many a country.

It is a well known biological fact, which the devout acclaim as the divine law of compensation, that while nature deprives one of one faculty it develops another, thereby restoring the mental equilibrium and thus partially redressing the loss of an organ or sense without which life would become unendurable. The recent persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany is at once the recrudescence of an old-time racial animosity which the Jews are facing with their traditional passive resistance.

Japan before the reign of their great national hero, Emperor Meiji, had time to reflect upon the virtue and shortcomings of passive resistance. They decided that pacificism was an ideal for the moralist to preach, but though it was a noble doctrine it had only a place in the abbeys and academies but not in the marketplace, where the sterner doctrine of tooth and claw was the only sensible rule to go by. They so decided, and their modern history is the history of a great people who have abandoned tradition only to enter the great battle of life in which they have given so good an account of themselves.

The philosophic savant may scorn at the triumph of material civilization. He may deride at the misery of the multitude in the factory life, inseparable from the pursuit of wealth and material comfort without which political power and national development are impossible. Faith and squalor may be the lot of the many in the modern ill-regulated world. But it is there. But how long shall we wait for the millennium when the wolf shall drink from the same pool as the lamb ! The prophets had dreamt of this millennium two thousand years ago, but it never came. Instead came a reign of terror and tyranny, world-war and world-depression. The sole panacea which the older religionists and the philosophers preached as the single and infallible talisman for human ills and human suffering has failed, and fail it will so long as human nature remains what it has remained for so many ages—selfish and self-seeking. The ideology of a bygone age had been falsified by the pages of history.

Passive resistance appeals to people enured to quietism, and as such, it has for ages been the dominant creed of the people of India. Archaeological finds in Mohanji Daro and Hirappa have unearthed an older civilization of Dravidian strain which preceded the Aryan mass immigration into India. It does not appear that either side risked a pitched encounter for the mastery of India. The Aryan settlers appear to have followed the safer course of peaceful penetration. The older records such as exist do not give any account of active warfare between the two races, while the battle of Kurukshetra between the two rival clans was a purely civil war in which the combatants put their fortunes to the arbitrament of a fratricidal war. The Puranic legends do not refer to any wars except the invasion of Ceylon by Ramchandra the King of Ajudhia. But these must have been mere border skirmishes when compared with the pitched battle which Paurav (Greek : Porus) gave to Alexandar in 327 B. C. ; and when he was defeated the whole countryside began passive resistance which disheartened the Macedonian troops who threatened a revolt which could only be averted by a hasty withdrawal from India. But the passive resistance which Alexander encountered was not born of a spirit of patriotism or inspired by a national sentiment, being rather engendered by fear and the presence of a stranger.

The records of history show that passive resistance and pacifism are close allies and though they were both inculcated as a part of

the religious dogma as warranted both by policy and ethics, still they have never exercised any direct influence upon the course of events, though they have moulded the lives of the people and endowed them with the supreme quality of suffering and sacrifice for a noble cause, and so tended to build up a sturdier human character. But taken as a political weapon it has signally failed. Passive resistance has long been at work in the Indian polity. When the Moslem and Mogul invaded India they entered the passes with the dual object of conversion and conquest. The one they carried out by employing every means that their ingenuity could devise,—force, slaughter and reward. The Christian evangelist in the opening centuries of the Christian era adopted the same means of conversion, but latterly they have substituted persuasion for force, and worldly advancement for displaying the torments of hell to the heathen.

Christianity and Islam are both actively proselytizing creeds. Hinduism was and still remains an exclusive creed. Its only defensive armour against the attack of the two great religions is passive resistance, and what has it not suffered in the ages gone by. Her men and women and children were slaughtered by the million. A mountain of human skulls marked the vengeance of a Changez Khan or Tamerlaine ; while over hundred years ago Nadir Shah ordered rapine and slaughter of the peaceful inhabitants of Delhi and rivers of blood ran along what is now its principal city boulevard. Nearly 70 millions of her people have deserted their fold and joined the new creed while six millions more have turned Christians. Hinduism has defended itself by its one pet weapon of passive resistance and it is turning the self-same weapon athwart the progress of European civilization and culture, with the result that while foreign enterprises are exploiting her resources the Hindus still hug to their bosoms their rusty weapon of passive resistance. The great success of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress in marshalling the forces of the masses is due to the new application of an old doctrine the effect of which young India is still unaware of and the result of which it is still unable to see.

Human progress is impossible without adaptability to one's environment. Hinduism has so far shown no such adaptability. The soul of the people still remains untouched by the triumphs of science. The British have multiplied universities, the universities have turned out graduates in their tens of thousands, but education to be useful must

be assimilative. It must reach the mind and mould the thought and shape the action. That it has failed to reach the mind of all Indians, whether Hindu or Moslem, must be the impartial verdict of every true lover of the country.

Fifty years of European education has made Japan a new nation: one hundred years of European education has left India in its state of intellectual dormancy. It has produced brilliant scholars who have amassed learning, but it is not learning but wisdom that makes a nation great. We may cavil at the exploitation of our country by the British, but why should they not exploit it, if we cannot do so ourselves. No nation governs another out of sheer benevolence. We speak of the poverty of India. It is, indeed, a fact, but think of what India would have been, and might still be if the Indians brought to bear upon the solution of the task that lies before them a certain measure of sincerity and earnestness. If they would only emerge out of their decayed sarcophagi and take to the light of modern science and modern thought, they will soon find themselves making headway in the battle of life. It is not necessary that we should discard the past wholly if we are to adapt ourselves to the present, but what is necessary is a healthy and wholehearted recognition of the new forces that surround us: to recognise the expanding social consciousness of ourselves and our fellowmen, and recall and retrieve our past mistakes that have retarded our progress because we have not responded to the call of time, but offered the one weapon we have immemorially used, namely, passive resistance.

The new revivalist movement with its programme of Swadeshi Sanatanism and Swaraj is in all conscience reactionary, because it fails to recognize the march of time and the development of machinery which has put all hand products, *Khadar* included, into the class of archaic curios. No amount of propaganda will prevent a ship from sinking if it has sprung a leak in its keel. Our forefathers lived primitive lives, their wants were simple, their struggle hard, their crops uncertain, their environment limited. That life may create a yearning for its return but we cannot return to the simple lives of our forefathers when we are born in the rattle of machinery and its finished outpourings before which man-made products are crude and uneconomic. To test their true value let us sell them in the open market; or better still export them

overseas, and we shall then appraise their true value. Whether we like it or no, we are living in a machine age exposed to world competition, not only in the field of industry, but also social problems and religious beliefs. Our passive resistance to all change can only result in one consequence, and it is apparent to any one who sees the exploitation of our industries by foreigners and foreign capital.

The same defeatism has overtaken us in the religious field. Institutions like the *Sanatan Dharm* revivalist institutions may delay the dissolution of Hinduism, but where 76 millions have left the fold to-day a hundred millions will have left a few years hence, and it is only a question of time, and not a long time now at that, when Hinduism will cease to be. It will die as certainly as it is already dead to a third of the Hindus only a hundred odd years since. And its future decay will be at even an accelerated pace, since political power has now become allied to religion, which has given the proselytizing creeds a direct incentive to increase their converts. When are the Hindus going to weather the growing storm arising both from within and without? Some feeble and wholly inadequate efforts are being made to improve the lot of the depressed classes; but nothing short of absolute equality will satisfy their growing consciousness. And such equality is not possible so long as Hinduism remains tied to the shackles of caste. It has often puzzled me when I think whether we can reform Hinduism to make it a competitive force, and the more I think about it the more convinced I feel that if Hinduism is to survive the disintegrating forces sapping its very lifeblood, it must launch a nation-wide campaign for mass conversion to Buddhism, since Buddhism is nothing but Hinduism without its dogmas, and it is the flower and fruit of true Hinduism and, as our Shastras declare, it was revealed to Gautam Buddha by Brahma Himself who became incarnate in him to re-establish the true Aryan faith in the world.

Both the Moslem and Christian religions are exotic products of an alien civilization. There is nothing in common between the Arab thought and culture and the Aryan mind—Christianity is adapted from Judaism with a leaven of Buddhism, but its whole history is the history of a foreign race. It has made converts in India, less because of its acceptance of its dogmas, but more because of its social equality and the sanctity of its founder whose life of service and sacrifice will always make a stirring appeal to human sympathies. I have described

Buddhism as Hinduism without its dogmas. I may equally well describe Buddhism as also Christianity without its dogmas. The fact that the three religions are kept aloof is due to their priests. But neither Christ nor Buddha had a kindly word to say of priests against whose cupidity and sacerdotal pretensions their religions were a standing protest. Time has obscured the fine fabric of their teachings, but the new generation dreaming of a world religion is already making a critical study of these two ancient creeds in which it finds such close analogies.

The Indian is essentially a religious man. Religious propaganda has obscured his vision to mundane things. He has to correct that perspective if he is to make any intellectual advance in the assimilation of knowledge. His innate passivism must yield to the glowing optimism of science. His mental outlook must not be backward but forward. He must treat life as a fact and make the most of it for himself and his fellow men. He must dismiss religious obscurantism from the plain facts of existence. A professor of mathematics who describes the occurrence of a solar eclipse as a shadow must not hie home to fast and pray for deliverance of his God thrown into the clutches of the Demon. He must not develop two minds: one for his class-room and another for his home. If science can make no inroad upon his traditional faith, science has failed to dispel his credulity. The teacher of history has not merely to learn the dates by rote, for human history is a study of human psychology. Facts do not count without the background which produces facts.

Indian education in its true sense has yet to make a beginning, but it is a melancholy fact that even in our convocation addresses these facts are not brought home. The mentor of the young fails in his duty if he cannot set alight the dark recesses of knowledge. To the young Indian a few plain truths may be galling to his sense of vanity and self-esteem, but I have felt so strongly upon the dissipation of youthful energy in vain pursuits that I have felt driven to address these words which are but the fringe of what I feel, and which I should not be true to myself if I did not write with a *sangfroid* for which my only excuse is my love of my own country and intense anxiety as to its future.

Age-long slavery has unfortunately not merely intensified national degeneration in all spheres, but it has deprived us of our traditional honesty and truthfulness. Cunning and deceit, lying and intrigue,

duplicity, flattery and insincerity heralded the downfall of the Roman Empire. In India the Empire fell first and then followed the aftermath of a fallen Empire. This misfortune betook India owing to the iconoclastic policy of Islam whose rise to power has been as phenomenal as its decline.

As it is, India now stands on the crossways, and it has to make up its mind. Hitherto it has showed a tendency to go back, a very easy thing to do. It appeals to one's sense of vanity and self-respect. "Back to the Vedas" cries the Sanatanist and bellows the Congress orator. And alas! our new instinct of patriotism scarcely out of the seed predisposes us to the same retreat. But galling though it be to our sense of national pride, we cannot adopt a course that is fraught with pitfalls and perils both to our people and our country. The hard struggle for existence cannot be dismissed with a *laissez faire*. We have to take note of the forces released by science and history, which make our backward march impossible. Some self-complaisant Indians reconcile themselves to their reactionary march on the ground that we have been always a people who have scorned the materialism of the West. Our strength, they say, lies in our spirituality. But are we sure that this is not an empty phrase. What has contributed to the spiritual uplift of ourselves or of the world? We have expelled Buddhism, the supreme spiritual force generated in our midst; and what other contribution have we made to our own spiritual betterment? We decry the materialism of the West and associate it with the filth and squalor of factory life. But filth and squalor is by no means the outcrop of factory life, as any one who has seen the factory life in Japan will readily bear witness to; nor is such filth and squalor implicit in the factories of Europe, where the operatives now live in surroundings which the cleanest municipalities in India might well envy. The fact is that the filth and squalor of the worst factories in Europe is not for a single moment to be compared with the filth and squalor of our own town, nay, our own homes. Let us face the facts as we find them. The so-called materialism of the West has added to human happiness, and alleviated human suffering which will astound those if they only took stock of the ravages of disease which used to decimate the population of Eastern countries before the healing balm of Western science started its humane mission of saving the people against themselves.

It is a fact of Indian history that never in its long and chequered career have its people developed a sentiment of nationhood—Patriotism was a strange emotion which they could not understand. Docile by nature, tractable by habit, the Indian had built, for himself a system of philosophy in which a common cohesion for national defence found no place. Life was full of sadness and sorrow: man was an aberrant spark of the Divine spirit which flew from it as sparks of an ingot fly about from the smith's anvil. He remains on earth in fulfilment of his destiny and the sooner he can get out of it the better, for his sole objective should be his reabsorption into the Divine substance. Life to him is an evil and it has no reason to be pampered with material well-being. Herein lay the vital contrast between the Eastern and the Hellenic ideals of life which has leavened European thought and given to Europe the ascendancy which it has enjoyed and is enjoying up to the present day. These ideals have shaped the destiny of the two people. To the one, life being an evil it was of no concern: its early dissolution was all to the good. To the Greek, life was a blessing and meant to be enjoyed. It had its sufferings and its sorrows but they were not of its essence. The one promoted a desire for sturdy struggle for one's betterment and improvement. The other treated that struggle as only prolonging human suffering and want. To him the path of glory led but to the grave. Then, why struggle, why strive, why toil.

That the devitalizing climate of the tropical regions had something to do for the popularity of this philosophic pessimism may be a reason for the fact, but the fact remains. That it is not even a reason will become apparent to any one who views the panorama of Asiatic history. We have on the one hand the whole of the Asiatic continent before the rise of Islam and its history under its sway. Islam is a religion which embodies the Spirit of the Arab nomad. It is a militant aggressive force which made the Mongolian horsemen fierce warriors and implacable foes. These Mongolian hordes descended from their steppes and carried the message of fire and sword wherever they went. They descended upon the plains of India, enslaved her people and kept them in bondage till the British displaced them. For a thousand years or more the struggle between the two ideals has gone on and it has not yet abated. The British have imported into India a new ideal which had its root in the Hellenic culture so that at the present moment we have three great ideals in sharp conflict

struggling for intellectual ascendancy. The Mongols (called the Moguls) came burning their pre-Islamic Buddhism in the fiery zeal of Islam which as a new religion was naturally anxious to make itself a world religion by force or persuasion, and of the two methods it found force more effective. The early Christian fathers found the same method as yielding more converts, and the two religions then made a serried attack upon the two essentially Aryan religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, driving the former back from the ramparts of Rome to within the great wall of the East, and the latter by the mass conversion of Persia, Afganistan and the whole of Central Asia; and later on it reaped a still richer harvest by the conversion of 70 millions of Hindus who became Moslems not only to escape the hell-fire of the next world, but also that of the Mogul fanatics who had outlawed Hinduism, destroyed and despoiled their temples and sacred shrines and placed a price upon their infidel heads.

Hinduism never faced this new menace to its conscience except by the self-same device of passive resistance. There would be something ludicrous, were it not pathetic that the Hindu sages should have rested content with mumbling the old childish adages of servile impotency and done nothing to awaken in the minds of the people the virile instinct of self-preservation, not to speak of self-advancement. All the *idolas* of our metaphysics are nothing but naked dogmas in dissonance with the proved facts of science. The doctrine of predestination and Karma has been blown to the winds with the fundamentalists since the theory of Evolution became established. It was at all times an illogical and a depressing doctrine, and what havoc it has not played with its unsuspecting votaries!

What India now wants is a more manly philosophy and a more practical outlook. We can no longer feed upon the dry leaves of old tradition. We should no longer accept the old because it is old, but stretch it out on the dissecting table of reason. There should be no tender regard for ancient authority which has painted all our history so red with our own blood. What India wants is a Renaissance, which must accompany a revolt against traditional beliefs and traditional credulity. What India needs is an intellectual iconoclasm, a merciless Mahmud who will destroy not the stone idols of our faith but the still more sinister idols of our superstition.

THE LITERATURE OF YONE NOGUCHI

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Tokyo.

THE consideration of economy in beauty brings us within the regions of aesthetic ; and within this region Noguchi treads on the surest, the most familiar ground. His criticism and speculations fall mainly under two heads, those of verbal and pictorial art ; he is less concerned with the "theatre-craft" aspect of drama, with sculpture and architecture, and with music. As one might expect, the *Ars Poetica* of Yone Noguchi does not inculcate the conscious efforts of arrangement and deliberate balance, of planning, bevelling, and polishing, of the laborious perfection of form ; the thing to be attained with labour is that right frame of mind that he calls "inattention." You have to learn that most difficult art how to be inattentive. "When I forget poetry it is the time when I am wholly with poetry." His is a shy Muse which must flutter down and perch unobserved. "And," he continues, "you must let the poetry write itself ; I mean that you must get your own true self." That is one view of the matter, and one recognises it is a wholly legitimate poetic theory, merely pointing out that there are others. Some of us, for example, may say with Ben Jonson, "if his wit will not arrive suddenly, try another time with labour. If then it succeed not...beat not the poor desk, but bring all to the forge and file again."

As for the use and aim of poetry, he is satisfied that its value lies in making one find oneself ; it teaches the real proportion, in which a person stands to Nature. Poetry makes us "philosophical," and therefore builds up our characters, "because it makes one gain silence; for silence is the real foundation of character." Once more the spirit of Zen shines, this time illuminating Noguchi's poetic. Next, poetry must be rooted in the poet, and be as much a part of him as his habit of life. "If I can be called poet, that would be through the virtue that I carry it into my daily life ; when I am most poetical,

I know I believe that poetry will least betray itself." Poetry is not, despite the hackneyed simile, a mantle to be assumed, but an extra and not always controllable sense. Though, again, there is the wholesome belief that the poet should school himself until he has the faculty of secreting poetry at any given moment.

In 1914 Yone Noguchi read, before the Japan Society of London, a paper on Japanese poetry, which was subsequently incorporated in *The Spirit of Japanese Poetry* published by John Murray. The paper opened on a distinctly combative note: "I come always to the conclusion that the English poets waste too much energy on 'words, words, words,' and confesses later on that my "On Japanese Mind... rebels against something in English poems which...for lack of proper expression we might call physical or external." (I connect this repulsion from the "external" with the abhorrence of "intellect" which he also displays.) As my attention is never held by the harmony of language, I go straight...to the writer's inner soul to speculate on it...I am sound-blind or tone-deaf." It is partly for this reason that Japanese poetry, differing from Western poetry "in the same way as silence is different from a voice" appeals to him. He pushes the doctrine of economy and silence to its extreme limits when he says that "written poems, even when they are said to be good, are only the second best, as the very best poems are left unwritten or sung in silence," and elsewhere he remarks that the poetry that is most precious to him is the poetry of passivity. A reviewer (I think it was Max Plowman), attacked this position very strongly, pointing out that it was a *reductio ad absurdum*, and that Western poetry is very largely the craft of word, metre and stress, which cannot be adequately criticised by anyone who has no sense of these things. But a more dignified reply was made by the late Professor Longford at the Japan Society's meeting. "I was struck," he said, "by two or three points" (in Mr. Noguchi's paper) "which are not in harmony with our ideas of what is worthy of admiration in poetry, and my admiration was stirred at Mr. Noguchi's courage in propounding them...He says that the poetry of inaction must always be superior to that of action. Now I cannot agree with that, for if his theory had been adopted and followed by English poets the result would have been to deprive us of much of the grandest poetry that we have. We should still have had, for example, Milton's "Odes and Sonnets" but not "Paradise Lost." He proceeds to show

that similarly Spencer, Shakespeare, and other 'standard' poets would have been put out of court, and to remind his hearers that the traditional forms of Western poetry are simply those which in course of time have survived as being the most suitable for expressing Western thoughts. Therein lies the core of the matter. The long English poem with its rhymes, stress-feet, and so forth, can express thoughts which cannot be adequately expressed in any other form, such, for instance, as the Japanese Hokku-form; and conversely, the thought of Japanese Hokkus cannot be expressed in an English Epic. And unless the critic assigns to the forms their full measure of importance in either case, he cannot be said to have gone "straight to the writer's inner soul." English (or rather European) length and Japanese brevity are phenomena of two parallel traditions and have no ground for a quarrel; elusive beauty is not the only beauty, and to the 'active' no less than the 'passive' voice of the world, or of its art, must utterance be permitted. Since delivering this address there is no doubt that Noguchi's view has been modified, and at the present time he is keenly interested in experiments with English metres that can be used in bulk. Moreover it must be remembered that he visited England as a missionary, with the evangelist's license to colour his case; and very probably the English poets of 1914 (in fact, certainly, if their works are any guide,) appreciated too little the charms of passivity and silence; for one thing, *Georgian Poetry* had been recently inaugurated, and the first volume included such garrulous contributors as Mr. Abercrombie, Mr. Masefield, and Mr. Drinkwater. And Europe was sorely in need of 'counsels of silence' though by this time it was too late for her to take them to heart, committed as she was to the direst commotion that history has ever had the misfortune to record. To-day it is clear that, thanks in no small measure to Mr. Noguchi, the West more fully comprehends an aesthetic code that has in the past moved poets to practise, like Basho, the almost monastic rule of Seishin or pure poverty; or to write with a noble laconism while their goods perish in a burning house

It has burned down :

How serene the flowers in their falling.

And, in truth, there is no person why a poet should not rise—perhaps more than one has risen—who will make something of both

worlds, that of energy, and that of silence. Before England knew that this was an Eastern theory of art Blake wrote

Ah, sunflower ! weary of time
Who countest the steps of the sun,
Seeking after that sweet golden clime
Where the traveller's journey is done, etc.,

But nowadays we have a wider understanding of it, and—if we have not we alone are to blame, and we could if we liked put it to good use in our art. Noguchi has brought us the tables of the canons from the Sinai of Fuji Mountain, and we may now learn with him and Lao Tze to “assert non-assertiveness, practise non-practice, taste non-taste, and express in non-expression”, though we shall not agree that this is the only consummation of our artistic quest. Nor shall we perhaps agree with him in his support of Pater’s notion that other arts tend to approach music. Modern English poetry (the Sitwell, Aldington, Campbell group), has been lately in close relation with painting ; music herself has borrowed from her sister arts, for this is the age of the tone-poem and the ballet. Lyric poetry has never yet been divorced completely from the lyre ; but to say that it is now cohabiting with it more than in the past is, as regards Western poetry at least, running counter to the evidence, unless I am mistaken. Among the varieties of Eastern poetry, one is ready to take Noguchi’s word that Hokkus are musical, as the call of a bird or the notes of temple bells are musical. But we must realise that this is no formal music. The Hokku is the song of the “accident inevitable,” “with no word, not tyrannised by form....They are the voice of spontaneity which makes an unexpected assault on poetry’s summit.” No strict boundary between ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ is required, and so the Hokku, confined as it is within strict syllabic bounds, nevertheless affords full scope for the freedom that “makes us join at once with the soul of nature.” He admits that a method of this kind, if carried to extremes, might result in “unintelligibility,” but “poetic unintelligibility is certainly better than the imbecility or vulgarity of which examples abound, permit me to say, in English poetry.” This is most dangerous both as a precept and an assertion ; and unfortunately Mr. Noguchi does not produce any documentary evidence in support of it. One always regards with the very greatest suspicion any poet who, felon-like, seems to be taking refuge in obscurity.

What adds to the difficulty of comprehending the Hokku is that its aim, if any, is rather to reveal "the poetical position in which the writer stands," than to bend itself to the task of presenting "the thing and matter actually stated" in a clear and ultimate form. Consequently the intelligent sympathy of the reader is constantly required to make an effort to grasp the writer's "position," or, one might say, mood in which certain objects assume an unusual significance. But a not dissimilar effort is needed for much early XVII century English poetry, as anyone who has braved *Pharonnida* will doubtless agree. The Hokku is perhaps one of the two most important modes of Japanese poetic self-expression, the second being the *No*, or "play of silence," as Noguchi calls it. The atmosphere of the No-theatre is religious, and "the actors and audience go to the heart of prayer in creating the most intense colour of greyness, the most suggestive colour of Japanese art." The audience dress purposely in neutral colours, and behave with unusual decorum and quietness.¹ The performance is a ritual rather than an entertainment, and with its masks, its perfectly conventionalised motions, and the austere and symbolic ornament of its stage, as remote from realism as it is possible for any kind of drama to be. In the No-mask may be found one of the highest developments of Japanese sculpture in wood. So subtly is the face carved that it 'seems to differentiate the most delicate shades of human sensibility.' But the looker-on must join to this an act of imaginative faith in order to see in the mask "a spirit more alive than you or I," thus going half way to meet the actor and the sculptor. But No-Hall will help him to compose his mind to the required state, since it is the hall, not of the five senses, but of the spirit; and the play itself will also assist, being not representational, but evocative. "It is for your poetical mind...to object to seeing the superficial reality." "Indeed, the actual expression of the No-stage is...slight and ephemeral, like...the sighs of crickets or shivers of flowers." It is profoundly suggestive, in fact. And what does it suggest? Perhaps all members of the audience do not react to it uniformly. But it reminds Noguchi, among other things,—chiefly through affinity of atmosphere,—of the ceremonial tea-room, where, "through the fragrance of tea, the melody of the boiling kettle, and the curl of incense, you will slowly but

¹ Generally. But I regret to say that on one occasion I was rather shocked to see the audience rushing with anything but decorum to the windows on the left side of the Kadan No Theatre, in order to witness a boxing match that was being held in the area just outside.

surely enter the twilight land of the unknowable." This association might at first sound rather strange to the Westerner who is unfamiliar with the cult of the tea-ceremony, but if he recalls the "odour of sanctity" in which his own ritual of bread and wine is preserved, he may be able to catch something of Noguchi's intention. There is no reason why the tea-kettle should be less sacred or more absurd than the chalice. Besides, we are told that "the simplicity and archaism of the tea-ceremony grew out of the purism of the Zen. hall of meditation," and the No itself is closely connected with Buddhism. In every play a priest appears for the purpose of conducting by meditation or prayer "the ghost of a warrior, or a lady, or a flower, or a tree, into the blessing of Nirvana." The names of many of their authors are lost, for in the days when they were written it was not the author, but the work, that became famous. Noguchi considers the No to be a literature that has arisen naturally and spontaneously, as it were "trees rising from the rich soil of tradition and Buddhist faith." The No-plays are the 'traditional epics' of Japan. A few of the fables are described, of which that of the Morning Glory must, one would think, appear no less charming to the West than to the East; for the West is by no means insensitive to wistful and fluid types of beauty. The Morning Glory or Japanese convolvulus "cannot enter Nirvana on account of her short life of only one morning, and her jealousies that burn on seeing other flowers who enjoy a longer life." The priest hears from a villager that her ghost haunts a certain spot; he meets her at night and expounds to her the gospel of Nirvana.

Noguchi has written a short dramatic piece based on this No-fable; of which the conclusion runs:

PRIEST

Poor child, there is no life where is no death;
 Death is nothing but the turn and change of note.
 The shortest life is the sweetest, as is the shortest song:
 How to die well means how to live well.
 Life is no quest of longevity and days.
 Where are the flowers a hundred years old?
 Oh, live in death and Nirvana, live in dissolution and rest,
 Make a life out of death and darkness;
 Lady or flower, be content, be finished as a song that is sung!

LADY

Happy am I to hear such words, holy father,
 Pray, pray for my sad soul that it may return to Hades and rest!

PRIEST

Namu, amida butsu.....

(The lady disappears at once into the Morning Glory. The moon rises. The flower withers. The midnight bell rings.)

To us Europeans at least Mr. Noguchi's dignified and moving dramatic fragment should convey something of that blend of infinite sadness and infinite serenity with which he may have been impressed while witnessing a No performance ; but for one who has not attended this rite, it would be necessary to imagine as best as he could, while reading the poet's words, the melancholy, almost whining intonations of the ghost-lady (played by a man in a mask), and the rolling chant of the deep-chested priest.

Finally, Noguchi records an interesting historical fact. The No Drama did not spring up in connection with the old cultured aristocracy, but kept itself distinct from the literature encouraged by the Kyoto court ; he claims that its sentiment is democratic, though the language is not, but is stiff and formal like " the magnificent dresses of stiff brocade the actors wear as they move along to the deep cadence of music."

While writing of the beginnings of Japanese poetry he makes a confession which we may by this time have expected ; if not, we may now recognise it as an indicator of the point from which he views art and life. It is his business, he maintains, not to discuss the historical value of the old records of the official reciters, but to examine them for the poetry they may include. It is psychological time, and not mathematical time, that interests him. Especially dear to him are the early love-songs, some of which may date back to the VIIth century A.D. Japan has an admirable family tree of love lyric, rooted in those early days when the ancestors of the English were apparently singing of little else but the byrny, the runed sword, and the hornynibbed raven hovering above the rock of battle. The Englishman can hardly say with reference to his literature

What does never change
Since the days of the gods
Is the way love flows,

as Noguchi can of his national poetry : for with us there was little sign of any softer passion until after the Norman Conquest. " But

our ancestors," says Noguchi, "hailed, I believe from a warmer climate with poetry and love." But they were far from being sentimental or pessimistic. "They were the singers of life and joy, not of death and tears," which can scarcely be said of such later Old English Poetry as the Sea-farer or the Wanderer. From this age on the borderland between myth and history he brings us forward to the poetic movements of present-day Japan. Hitherto a rigid discipline had confined poetry to certain prescribed and rather cramping forms; this self-denying ordinance, which was extended to the subject-matter as well as the metre, was apt to render the poem more remarkable for what it omitted than for what it contained, according to a principle that has been put into practice in all departments of Japanese art. But in time this limitation "which originated as a test of strength degenerated to a confession of weakness." This type of poetry was bound, as Noguchi admits, to be left further and further behind by the current of life; and it became clear that it was coming to be regarded as obsolescent when a body of poetic revolutionaries came into prominence. In 1882 the Shintaishi, as they were called, were introduced to the public by certain professors of the Imperial University, who published their poems and translations from Western poets. Noguchi mentions the gradual innovations, the attempt to break monotony by alliteration—(was such perhaps the origin of Germanic alliteration?), the discovery of Allegory and the Personification of Abstracts. Poets were now no longer ashamed of being sentimental, and signs of softness might now be observed here and there in the new poetry, such as that of Shimazaki who "hated, as any other Japanese poet, the song of wisdom, faith, and liberty." The words come to one with something of a blow; but there the statement lies, and it cannot be ignored.

Very soon afterwards the Japanese began to fall more or less under the influence of European poets. The ethical poet Tsuchii "observed wisdom through Hugo and perhaps Schiller," and was the first Japanese poet, according to Noguchi, to wrestle with Eternity. Susukida was attracted by Keats; in the work of Ariake Kanbara there were signs to indicate that he fell early under Rossetti's guidance; and later he was in debt to Mallarmé. Iwano, whom Noguchi calls the Irish singer of Japan, has taken to symbolism, and has made of Verlaine "a bosom friend without any proper etiquette." But—and one must expect to find it occasionally in a revolution,—indiscipline

Court Road of "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," he returned in thought to a Japanese lakeside, and to a Chinese poet, T'ao Yuan Ming, who, writing in the IVth and Vth centuries A.D., produced an ode called "The Homeward Return" which in Noguchi's opinion was strongly Celtic in feeling. He reiterates the belief that up to a point Chinese poetry yields evidence of "Celtic temperament," and proceeds to trace similar correspondence in Japan. But the Celtic "spontaneity and imagination" has been restricted by the "moral finiteness" of other and soberer Chinese works and by the rigours of Buddhism, "whose despotic counsel often discouraged imagination." Nevertheless, the freer spirit survives in some Japanese folk-songs "which flow like streaming flame on the air." And he suggests that all Japanese poets have at some time or other assumed the shadowy mood of Celtic melancholy in which to brood over human fate. To-day the "Japanese-Celtic" spirit is confronted with a new peril, that of Western influence, by which Noguchi probably means (but does not specifically state it,) the apparent 'materialism' in Western Literature, that is so often laid at the door of the Anglo-Saxon, an imputation as lightly made as it is hardly proved. But Irish literature, especially that of Yeats, is not fraught with this danger, since it holds aloof¹ from the vitiating "Saxon" modes and artistic tyrannies. Its elfin music is blown round the world to Japan "like an elegy heard across the seas of the infinite, with all the joys pointing to life that always glistens with the pain of the destiny.

He recollects that during his stay in England he had projected a tour of spiritual reconnaissance through Ireland, but abandoned it because "W. B. Yeats was, I thought, bigger than Ireland herself; sorrow with him ceases to become a merely national thing, and is elevated to universality." His poetic flight was above all things "a fight to lose his own nationality;" but while transcending a mere concrete nationalism he never ceased to be more widely patriotic, since patriotism is as vital and intimate a part of the Irish nature as it is of the Japanese. However, this patriotism was too ethereal for the groundlings, and an attempt to produce "Kathleen Ni Houlihan" in Japan failed because the play was too symbolic, and "we Japanese are able to think of patriotism only physically."

As a study of the reaction of Yeats on the Oriental mind, this little essay is most precious, and no less so because it helps us to grasp

¹ With Mr. Noguchi's leave we might perhaps except George Moore.

certain states of Japanese poetic feeling which seem to be more than passing phases of the national soul.

Last came and last did go in this brief review, the pilot of the Decadence, Oscar Wilde. It is edifying to see Wilde, whom many a careless English burgher still regards as the purveyor of naughtiness, "re-bound" as the last chapter in that long history of British hypocrisy that includes so much of our moral and religious development. Wilde's peculiar form of deceit is branded as "literary hypocrisy," but his chief fault lay in its ineffectiveness; the very act of concealment was a betrayal, and therefore failed in its purpose. Noguchi seems to deplore not so much the artifice as its shallowness. Wilde talked so much about his art and himself that one might have begun to question whether there was any solid worth in either. A second cause of offence was that his art "smelt too strong," a phrase for which the Japanese use, Noguchi tells us, the single word "kusai." He accuses Wilde of being often vulgar and generally acrobatic; he began life in a relatively quieter way as an artist, as a rather indolent spectator, "till suddenly he found himself an actor taking a shameful role." It was only through suffering, Noguchi maintains, that he discovered his manhood, and prior to this discovery he had created nothing that bore the true stamp of genuineness. Noguchi finds the greater part of his work merely irksome, an opinion with which one can sympathise, though perhaps it implies a condemnation too severe to be absolutely just. One has no right to refuse to allow any merit whatever to intellectual gymnastic: the Shakespearian pun, the Euphuistic antithesis, the Wilde paradox, the buffoonery of Shaw, have their limited ornamental value, and to argue that literature would be better without them because they do not conform to one's personal ideal of an art conceived "on one's knees in a bloody sweat" is fallacious in that it is arbitrary and one-sided. Intellectual virtuosity has a part to play, the importance of which we are beginning once more to recognise. The "chevron" or "saddle-back" line of Pope contributes more than the past generation would care to admit to the sumtotal of Beauty; the value of its equilibrium differs in kind rather than in degree from the less definite ecstasy of Kubla Khan. This at least is one legitimate view, though it is not Mr. Noguchi's view, as will be seen when we are brought up short against his statement that "Wilde was a playwright far below Bernard Shaw." It is true that neither are playwrights of the very first order; but if one

is censuring playwrights on the ground of artificiality and pose, Shaw, with the posturings and antics in which he has tried ineffectually to conceal the sentimental curate that is his true "daimôn." must not be permitted to go unscathed. Both are deserving of the rod. The British public are now, perhaps, beginning to estimate Shaw at something like his true worth, and would probably be more prepared than formerly to award him and Wilde a "Beta," as University examiners would say.

While disagreeing with Noguchi on some counts, one appreciates his very honest and necessary crusade against Wilde-worship, a phenomenon which appeared in many parts of the world—Japan not excepted—and among freshmen at college.

Other articles in newspapers referring to modern English authors contain more history than criticism. In one of them he alludes to Masefield's play based on the story of The Forty-seven Ronin (The Faithful), and finds that the character of Kurano has been over-westernised. Here is an engrossing theme, for the elaboration of which one would have been grateful to Mr. Noguchi ; but in the article where it occurred, a descriptive review of literary life in London before the war, there was unfortunately no space for any detailed criticism. Apropos of the comparison of Shaw with Wilde mentioned above, it should be added that in another newspaper article there is a paragraph that "deals faithfully" with the former. "Shaw is more a protest than an achievement...but when his protest goes too far he always forgets his achievement and lets it fall into confusion." And once more, "he is a mischief-doer, often a cruel master. He has a great destructive power : but in the place of what he has destroyed he has nothing to construct, his destructive strength is quite puritanic and straight ; but when he aspires to some achievement he falls into bathos." This last accusation is certainly too true of his attempt to reconstruct Joan of Arc, who is little more than one of the bumptious and Shavian young women of the earlier plays.

There are two passages of a more general nature on tendencies in modern English and American literature in "Japan and America" which cannot be neglected. Here he begins by pointing out that it would not be surprising if the Americans found the old literary traditions of the English to be meaningless. So far, so good ; but he goes on to conclude that therefore it would not be surprising if

“Western America gave birth to the new English poetry, that trampled down all the literary traditions, and established a native movement with its own flowing rhythm of a newer and living diction.” This refers probably to such movements as those of the free verse writers that have been noticeable in many countries for the last few years, most laudable activities indeed, and such as no one who believes that the literary art can and must progress would be so foolish as to oppose. But in the first place such progress has not been confined to Western America, nor is this so at the present moment ; and there are signs that it will be no less widely distributed in the future.

Secondly there seems to be a suggestion in this passage that literature can make no advance without destroying past traditions,—a theory that seems open to doubt. Manifestos, whether Futurist, of “Harvey-Immerito,” or Bolshevik, that announce a complete breakage with the custom of the country, seem themselves to become meaningless after a few years; then comes the inevitable admission that vitality cannot be maintained in this isolated state, and the inevitable return of the small and still living residue of the revolution to seek support and nutriment in those very principles that it proposed to destroy. And this is not reaction but the commencement of true progress. To judge from some of the most recent events in English poetry, the process of advancing not over a ruined, but out of a living, past is once more taking place ; the staccato of Ezra Pound is ignored; a comparative youth like Roy Campbell takes to the ten-syllable line couplet like a duck to water. Until union with tradition has been accomplished it hardly seems probable that much of an enduring nature will be created in the Renaissance the signs of which Noguchi rightly detects.

The second passage, on the page following the first, also provokes more than one query, unless I have grossly misinterpreted it. “The literary insularity of English literature that had always been denying French influence found itself splitting open ; and it had hardly any resisting power against the new literature that was born in the Western America, when it had invaded, perhaps with the American democracy, the old traditional castle of English literature.” First, as to England’s denial of French influence. What exactly had Noguchi in mind when he delivered this judgment ? He seems to be referring to the state of things in England before the war, and to

the "splitting open" of British insularity after and as a result of the war. The denial of French influence was characteristic, then of the ages before the war; but it is not easy to disregard the continuous tradition of French influence on English letters from a comparatively remote period, the French Romances of the XIIIth century, De Lorrise Meung, Machault, and their effect on Chaucer in the fourteenth, Garnier and the Elizabethans in the XVIth, Moliere and others in literature and Lulli in music in the seventeenth, and so forth; while to-day no critic would be so boorish as to repudiate the debt owed by a now maturing generation to Laforgue, Rimbaud, Verlaine, or Anatole France, all of which authors were known and studied in England before the war. Possibly he wishes to emphasise the supposition that the English have in the past been reluctant to acknowledge the debt; but Dryden does not hesitate to acknowledge his to Corneille (*Defence on an Essay of Dramatic Poetry*) and Rymer is almost reverent before Malherbe. The French Doctrinaires like the Prince de Conti and Bossuet were diligently studied and debated. As for the failure of "post-war" English poets to resist the new Literature born in Western America, it is true that T. S. Eliot (born at St. Louis, Missouri, saturated with ancient European tradition—especially XVIIth century, and settled in London these twelve years) has dominated certain of the poets who were but yesterday "the latest thing," like Miss Cunard and the Sitwells and it is true that the imagist group included Americans as eminent as John Gould Fletcher. But I cannot see, (and perhaps it is my ignorance,) that British Literature has accepted the Yankee Apollo to a very much greater extent than that. The influence of Pound is negligible. Mr. Vachell Lindsay had many British admirers, at least one adequate caricaturist (a Mr. Knox who contributes to *Punch*) and, I am relieved to find, few if any imitators. And he hails from Springfield, Illinois, the state that also gave birth to Mr. Carl Sandburg, who has not, I think, effected a breach in the castle of the British ogre. Edgar Lee Masters, again, though his work has won the praise of several Britishers, cannot be said to have either a large or an enthusiastic following in the "highbrow" circles of that island. It is in these little matters of detail that one requires further enlightenment from Mr. Noguchi; in general he is perfectly correct in implying that during at least the first decade of the XXth century there was a deadness in English literature, and that a resurrection was overdue. But

I suspect the main factors in that resurrection to have been actually the Post-impressionists, the rediscovery of Dostoievski, the Frenchmen from Anatole France to Aragon, and Diaghileff's Ballet. And lastly many of the new " revolutionaries " in England are not only predominantly Latin in feeling now, but seem likely to become more so ; of this tendency Aldous Huxley provides but one instance.

Dare one say that in his literary writings Noguchi discloses the fact that he is an ' anti-intellectualist,' a critic of the method of impression and intuition, of emotional rather than ratiocinative processes ? There is something like an admission of this in his own words. " I value candidness of opinion more than anything else," a condition of mind that, while it may lend itself to overstatement, leaves no room for either hypocrisy or compromise. He has a remarkable gift for arriving one at stride at the central point of his subject and of putting his conclusions in a form that is always forceful, and often startling. He challenges us either to agree or to fight ; an excellent thing for keeping literary controversy in a healthy condition.

THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN PERCEPTION AND INFERENCE.

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“**I**T is not always easy,” says Prof. Stebbing,¹ “to draw the line between a judgment in which no inference is involved (*i.e.* perception) and an inferred conclusion.” The object of this paper is to show that no absolute line of demarcation between perception and inference can be drawn. From the logical standpoint perception and inference are two completely distinct ways of knowing things. The logical definition of perception applies to perception and perception alone. Similarly, the logical definition of inference distinguishes inference from all other forms of knowledge. Hence logically, a perception can never be an inference and an inference can never be a perception. But from the psychological standpoint there is no impassable gulf between perception and inference. There may be a normal transition from the one to the other. The same fact may, under the same objective conditions, be an object of perception for some individuals and that of inference for others. In a similar way the same fact may be an object of perception or inference for the same individual at different stages of his life.

Perception may be defined as an immediate knowledge of objects, or a knowledge of objects which does not involve the mediation of any other knowledge. On the other hand, inference is the knowledge of an unperceived object through the mediation of some sign which is known to be always related to it. In both perception and inference there is an interpretation of some datum. In both we may distinguish between a given and a suggested content. In perception there is a synthesis of some sensum or sensa with some ideatum or ideata. Perception involves certain presentative and representative elements, *i.e.* some sensorial and some ideational factors. But in perception these two elements, namely, the sensory and the ideal, are not kept distinct. They fuse into one whole or form parts of one complex

¹ *Logic in Practice*, p. 18.

object. There is no transition of consciousness from the one to the other. We do not think of the one apart from and independently of the other. The one immediately suggests the other and gives rise to the cognition of an object as one whole, of which they are the parts. Thus in an adult's visual perception of a rose the sensory element, namely, its colour immediately suggests its other qualities, namely, its touch and smell, and the sensed and the suggested elements blend into the perception of the rose.

Inference is distinguished from perception by the fact that it gives us a knowledge of some fact through the mediation of some other fact on the basis of a uniform relation between them. Of these two facts the second suggests the first through a knowledge of their uniform connection with each other. But the suggestive fact and the suggested fact remain distinct and we are conscious of a transition of thought from the one to the other. These do not fuse into one whole, as they do in perception. Rather, they stand out as two wholes or two distinct facts, either of which is thought of independently of the other. Thus in the inference of fire from smoke my mind passes from one thing to another which is distinct from it and is thought of independently of it. Hence the distinction between perception and inference is briefly this. Perception is the integral immediate consciousness of an object. Inference is a multiple mediated consciousness of an object, which may be expressed as a this-therefore-that consciousness.

Although the essence of perception lies in the immediacy of the knowledge given by it, we admit that every normal perception is conditioned by certain sensory processes. Perception is constituted by the union of certain sensory elements with certain ideational factors into one whole. The sensory elements are the given and the ideational factors are suggested by the given. As a general rule, there is perception in the sense of immediate knowledge when there is a 'natural' or a 'habitual' association between the given and the suggested elements of it, and consequently no transition of thought from the one to the other. A 'natural association' between these two kinds of elements in perception is, as Professor K. C. Bhattacharyya has suggested, the union of a lower sense quality with a higher, and consequently a suggestion of the higher sense quality by the lower. Having regard to their range or extent, the ancient Hindus have arranged the sense qualities in a hierarchy in which smell stands lowest and leads on through taste, colour, and touch, as progressively

higher steps, to sound which stands highest.¹ One of the grounds on which this hierarchy is based is this.² The qualities of smell, taste, colour, touch and sound belong respectively to the physical elements of earth, water, light, air and *ākāśa* or space. These five physical elements are so related that in point of extension *ākāśa* pervades the preceding four, air pervades the preceding three, light pervades the preceding two, and water pervades the preceding one element. As a consequence, the earth has the qualities of smell, taste, colour, touch and sound, of which smell is its primary quality, and the others its secondary properties. Similarly, water has taste as its primary quality, and colour, touch and sound as its secondary properties. So too, light has colour as its primary quality, and touch and sound as its secondary properties. Likewise, air has touch as its primary quality, and sound as its secondary property. *Ākāśa* has only sound as its specific quality, but no secondary properties like touch, colour, taste and smell. The quality of smell is thus existentially related to taste, colour, touch and sound. There is a 'natural association' of smell with these other qualities. We have a perception when a smell sensation immediately suggests one or more of these qualities and gives rise to the immediate cognition of an object. This is illustrated by the perception of a rose from its smell when it is neither seen nor touched. A better illustration is afforded by a person who enters a room and without seeing anything immediately complains that somebody must have poured kerosene in the room. Similarly, a smell or a taste sensation has a 'natural association' with, and immediately suggests, an object's colour, touch and

¹ I have omitted the kinæsthetic and other organic sensations from this hierarchy because these give us no perceptions of objects like the visual and tactual sensations. In fact, it is very doubtful if they can be treated as sensations at all. There are no sense or sense qualities corresponding to them in the same way in which there are sense qualities corresponding to visual and tactual sensations. For example, position, resistance, weight, etc., are no qualities of things in the same way in which colour, taste, smell, etc., are qualities. I am inclined to think that the so-called kinæsthetic and other organic sensations are, properly speaking, bodily conations like the alleged sensation of innervation. It may also be noted that the fivefold classification of sensations and the senses has the support of the general consensus of opinion among men from very ancient times. The hierarchy of sense qualities may be represented by the following scale :—

Sound
|
Touch
|
Colour
|
Taste
|
Smell

² For a clear understanding of this ground I may refer the reader to Brajendranath Seal's *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, pp. 1-56.

sound. But the taste of a thing does not directly suggest its smell. When the nasal cavities are choked up by cold we can hardly guess the flavour of a tasteful curry which we may eat. The sensation of colour has a 'natural association' with those of touch and sound which are higher than it. But it has no such association with the lower sense qualities of smell and taste. As Dr. Ward¹ says: "The sight of a suit of polished armour instantly reinstates and steadily maintains all that we retain of former sensations of its hardness and smoothness and coldness." Likewise, touch has a 'natural association' with sound which is higher, but not with colour which is lower than it. The tactual quality of a body immediately suggests the kind of sound that it will produce when we strike it. But it does not ordinarily suggest its visual properties so immediately. This is admitted by Professor Stout² when in illustration of "complication" he refers (1) to the qualification of sight by touch and resistance, and (2) to the qualification of touch and resistance by sight, and observes that when we turn to the second case, "the qualification of actual touch experience by revived visual experience, we find the union of the constituents of the complex *much looser*." Still he admits that in normal human experience the association of touch with sight is almost indissoluble and gives rise to that type of perception which is called "complication."

The second condition of perception is, as I have already said, a 'habitual association' between the presentative and representative factors involved in it. By 'habitual association' is meant that union of a higher sense quality with a lower, by which the one immediately suggests the other and gives rise to the immediate cognition of an object. The visual perception of a bell is due to a 'natural association' of its sight with its touch and sound. The auditory perception of the same bell is due to a 'habitual association' of its ringing sound with its touch and sight.³ The qualification of touch by sight may

¹ Article on "Psychology" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th edition), Part XX, p. 57.

² *A Manual of Psychology* (2nd edition), pp. 102-103.

³ Cf. Bosanquet, *The Essentials of Logic*, p. 31: "Take the affirmation, 'That is a cab,' assuming it to be made from merely hearing a sound. Now compare this with the affirmation, 'That (which I see) is a cab.' This judgment of sight-perception, though its terms are *more intricately interwoven*, has just the same elements in it as the judgment of sound-perception, 'That (which I hear) is a cab.'" Similar is the case when we compare the judgments: 'I see the train,' and 'I hear the train.'

sometimes be, as Professor Stout admits, much looser than the qualification of sight by touch. But the qualification of sound by touch and sight is sometimes as intimate as the qualification of sight by touch and sound. If the sight of a bell immediately suggests its hard touch and ringing sound, its ringing sound also immediately suggests its hard touch and shining sight. If a hard touch immediately suggests a hard sound, a hard sound suggests a hard touch no less immediately. Hence the auditory experience of a bell is as good a perception as its visual experience. In some cases, however, the qualification of touch by sight seems to be as intimate as the qualification of sight by touch. The sight of a pillow immediately suggests its soft touch by 'natural association.' But its soft touch, either passive or active or both combined, seems to suggest as immediately its visual appearance by 'habitual association.' My tactual experience of a pillow while I am on bed in a dark room is, therefore, a perception like its visual experience. In the visual perception of water, its sight immediately suggests its touch. When we close our eyes and dip the hand in water, the tactual experience immediately suggests the visual experience and we have a tactual perception of water. Again, when you burn your foot by treading on something not seen, you perceive fire as immediately as when you see it. In these cases the qualification of touch by sight is as intimate as the qualification of sight by touch. The reason for this is that a 'habitual association' between two sensations produces the same kind of immediacy of suggestion as is produced by their 'natural association,' although the direction of suggestion is in the one case from the higher to the lower, and in the other, from the lower to the higher.

The two alternative conditions of perception, namely, a natural and a habitual association between its two elements, are realized in the life of an individual through repeated experiences of the objects of the world. When we speak of a 'natural association' between them we do not imply that it is congenital, so that the association is formed in the mind of every individual from his or her birth. If it were so, every baby should have as good perceptions as any grown-up person. All that we mean by a 'natural association' is that it has a basis in the constitution of things and that it is most frequently met with in the experience of an individual. A smelling object has generally some taste, colour, touch and sound. But a sounding object like *ākāśa* or air has no smell, taste, and colour. So also, to smell a thing is generally

to see and touch it. But to see a thing is not to smell or taste it generally. Hence it is that a lower sense quality naturally suggests a higher. A 'habitual association,' on the other hand, is the union of a higher sense quality with a lower and is, therefore, much less frequently experienced by us. Air has the quality of touch, but no colour, taste and smell. Light has colour, but not taste and smell. So also, to touch a thing is not always to see it, and to see a thing is not always to taste or smell it. This is probably the reason why the union of touch with sight is, as Professor Stout has rightly observed, much looser than that of sight with touch. But as I have already shown, there are some cases in which the one is as close as the other. Be this as it may, it is a commonplace fact that both the natural and the habitual associations between the given and the suggested elements of perception are established in the mind of an individual by repeated experiences of the objects of the world.

Now let us consider the consequences that follow from the fact that a natural or a habitual association between the sensory and the ideal elements of perception is the result of the repeated experiences of an individual. It follows first that the knowledge of an object is perception or inference or something else, according as there is or is not a natural or a habitual association between the given and the suggested elements of it. Secondly, it follows that the same object may, under *the same objective conditions*, be a matter of perception or inference for different individuals, according as there is or is not a natural or a habitual association as the basis of their knowledge. Thirdly, it will follow that, under *the same objective conditions*, the same object may at first be a matter of inference and subsequently of perception, and *vice versa*, for one and the same individual. To illustrate the first point I may just refer to the different ways of knowing the same object. The knowledge that I may have of my house in Calcutta by seeing it is a perception, because its actual visual experience immediately suggests its tactual experiences by 'natural association.' The knowledge that one may have of the same house from its municipal tax-bill is an inference, because it is mediated by his knowledge of a uniform relation between a municipal assessment-bill and the existence of a house, of which it is the assessment. The knowledge that you may have of the house from my statement, "I have a house in Calcutta," is a case of testimony or verbal knowledge, because it is due to an understanding of the meaning of

a sentence. This point, however, has no bearing on my present purpose. It only shows how perception is distinguished from other forms of knowledge like inference, testimony, etc.

The second and the third points are important for our present purpose. These serve to show that there is no absolute line of division between perception and inference. These are explained and illustrated together for the sake of brevity. Perception arises when, by repeated experiences, a natural or a habitual association is established between the sensory and ideal elements of any knowledge of an object. If there is no such association then the knowledge of the same object will be an inference, although the objective conditions of knowledge may be the same in both cases. The knowledge of a rose from its sight is a perception for a person in whom the repeated experiences of roses have established a natural or a habitual association between its colour and touch and smell. The knowledge of the same rose, under the same external conditions, will be an inference for another person when, for want of repeated experiences, its colour does not immediately suggest its touch and smell, but calls them up as distinct ideas or images on the ground of its similarity to the colour of roses. For illustration we may refer to the difference between our knowledge of a new variety of the rose and that of the gardener who presents it to us. For further illustration of the second point we may refer to the characteristic difference in kind between the knowledge of the expert and that of the layman with regard to the same thing. A curator's knowledge of some uncommon layer of earth or stone from its sight is quite direct, whereas our knowledge of it is indirect and inferential. An experienced physician detects a disease directly from its external symptoms, while the inexperienced comes to know it after a good deal of reflection and reasoning. An armour may look hard, smooth, and cold to an adult who is familiar with it. A child may just imagine it to have these or very different tactual qualities. The fragrance of sandalwood may be directly known from its sight by those who are closely acquainted with it, but for others its visual appearance may only be a sign from which to infer its fragrance. When I go to a foreign country I can barely infer the distance and size of an object from its visual appearance, but a native of the country who is familiar with the environment has a perception of these from the same position, which is essentially visual. If, however, I stay there for some months and

become familiar with the environment I may have a visual perception of the same facts under the same objective conditions.¹ Similarly, the auditory perception of distance and direction is the result of a 'habitual association' of auditory experiences with tactual and visual experiences. Before such an association is established the auditory experiences only suggest the visual and tactual experiences as distinct ideas or images, and we have an inferential knowledge of these facts. The recognition of persons from their voice is another instance in which our knowledge generally passes from an inferential to a perceptual stage. We need not further multiply such instances, but would close by a reference to two striking cases. An old lady of my acquaintance lost her eyesight two years ago. She can now recognise her grandsons immediately on hearing the sound of their footsteps. I know from a reliable source that a beggar who is blind goes on his daily round by crossing the Ganges on boat and understands the position of objects like trees, houses, etc., with almost as much precision and immediacy as belong to our normal visual perception of the position of those objects. To my mind these two cases may be taken to illustrate both the second and the third points mentioned above. They serve to show how by "habitual association," the blind can perceive objects and their position, which we can only infer if, by some accident, we lose our eyesight. But even then we may expect to perceive these when in course of time repeated experiences establish in us a 'habitual association' between the sensations of sound or touch and the revived visual experiences. For the illustration of the converse case, *i. e.* the relapse of perception into inference we may refer (1) to any case of senility in which a person has but a doubtful inferential knowledge of things or persons under the same objective conditions under which he or she once used to perceive them, and (2) to the common though curious instance of forgetfulness in which we fail to recognise an old acquaintance, whom we have not seen for many years, and try to infer his identity by putting certain questions to him and judging their answers. The foregoing discussion therefore leads us to the conclusion that there cannot be an absolute line of demarcation between perception and inference. We cannot

¹ Cf. Bosanquet, *The Essentials of Logic*, p. 28: "But we know this much, that it takes a long time and many kinds of experience to learn to see as an educated human being sees, and that this acquired capacity is never at a standstill, but is always being extended or diminished according to the vitality, growth, or atrophy of our apperceptive masses."

say that under the same objective conditions the knowledge of an object must always be a perception for every individual and that it can never be otherwise. Nor can we aver that the knowledge must always be an inference for all individuals and that it can never be a perception for any. On the contrary, we are to admit that it may be either, for different individuals, or for the same individual at different stages of his or her life, according to his or her or their mental equipment. The dividing line between perception and inference should, therefore, be not a solid, but a dotted line which allows our knowledge to pass from either to the other.¹

¹ Bosanquet (*The Essentials of Logic*, pp. 31-32) supports the conclusion I have here arrived at. In analysing the judgment of sound-perception, "That (which I hear) is a cab," he says: "A particular complex quality in the sound suggests as its objective explanation,...the movement of a cab on a particular kind of pavement....But it is quite easy to consider the sound in itself apart from its interpretation, and we sometimes feel the interpretation to be more *immediate*, and sometimes more *inferential*. We sometimes say, "I hear a cab," just as we say, "I see one," but in case of sound we *more often* perhaps say, "That sounds like—" such and such a thing, which indicates a doubt, and the beginning of conscious inference." This means that the interpretation of sound (which is higher) by touch and sight (which are lower) is more often inferential than perceptual, while the interpretation of sight (which is lower) by touch and sound (which are higher) is more often perceptual than inferential. In my terminology, it means that a 'habitual association' is less frequent than a 'natural association,' but that both may be the ground of perception.

EMPEROR VISALDEVA

DIVAN BAHADUR HAR BILAS SARDA, F.R.S.L., F.S.S.

“THERE is no spot in Rajputana,” says Colonel Tod, “that does not contain some record of the illustrious Chauhan ; and though every race has had its career of glory, the sublimity of which the annals of the Sisodias before the reader sufficiently attest, yet with all my partiality for those with whom I long resided, and with whose history I am best acquainted, my sense of justice compels me to assign the palm of martial intrepidity to the Chauhan over all the “royal races” of India. Even the bards, to whatever family they belong, appear to articulate the very name as if imbued with some peculiar energy, and dwell on its terminating nasal with peculiar complacency. Although they had always ranked high in the list of chivalry, yet the seal of the order was stamped on all who have the name of Chauhan, since the days of Prithviraja, the model of every Rajput and who had a long line of fame to maintain. Of the many names familiar to the bard is Goga of Bhatinda who with forty-seven sons “drank of the stream of the sword” on the banks of the Sutlege, in opposing Mahmud of Ghazni.”

The Chauhans rose and fell before the Gehlots or the Sisodias attained to fame and before the Rathors had their birth in Rajputana. They stemmed the tide of Afghan aggression for a very long time until they were finally submerged in the fateful year 1192 A.D. From the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D. they adorned the annals of Rajputana with deeds of chivalry and valour, which found their highest expression in the chivalrous career of Emperor Prithviraja, which put a seal on their position at the head of Rajput hierarchy and earned for them the undisputed title to the crown of Rajput chivalry.

Emperor Visaldeva IV, also called Vighraharaja, was the second son of Arnorāja or Anhaldeva (also called Anaji), king of Sapadalaksha, as the kingdom of Ajmer was then called, and came to the throne about A.D. 1152, after expelling his elder brother, the parricide Jugdeva. Both Jugdeva and Visaldeva were sons of Arnoraja by his queen Sudhava of Mārwar. By his second queen Kanchandevi,

the daughter of the celebrated Sidhraj Jai Singh, king of Gujrat, Arnoraja had a third son, named Someshwara, the father of the renowned Emperor Prithviraja.

Visaldeva's reign is a landmark not only in the history of the Chauhan Rajputs but also in the history of India. He was the first Chauhan Emperor of India. He reduced to submission the various kings of Hindustan. The principalities of Pali, Jalor and Nadole (the last, once an independent Chauhan kingdom) had during the time of Arnorāja acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gujrat king Kumarpal and transferred their allegiance to him. Visaldeva therefore attacked them. He "burnt Jalor, reduced Pali to a hamlet and Nadole to a marsh."¹ All these were once Chauhan feudatories of Ajmer, and Visaldeva once more reduced them to their original status, and compelled them to look to Ajmer rather than to Anhilwārā Pātan for protection and safety.

Visaldeva conquered Delhi from the Tanwars and made the king of Delhi a feudatory of Ajmer. He then advanced further north and then towards the east and drove the Musalmans out of Hindustan and became Emperor of India.

There is difference of opinion as regards the date of his conquest of Delhi. It has been placed by various authorities between A.D. 1139 and 1166. As a matter of fact, the event took place sometime between A.D. 1153 and 1163; for according to an inscription² in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, Visaldeva was making preparations in Ajmer to move towards Delhi and the north in A.D. 1153; and the inscription on the famous Siwalik Pillar in Delhi³ dated the 9th April, 1164, says that the Emperor had conquered the whole of Hindustan.

The Bijolian Inscription also disposes of another popular error that Prithviraja of Ajmer got Delhi by inheritance when he was adopted as son by king Anangpal of Delhi. It is now clear that it was not Prithviraja who got Delhi, as wrongly stated in the famous *Prithviraja Rasa*, but his father's elder brother, Visaldeva, who had conquered it, and who, by extending his conquests to the whole of Upper India, was the first of the Chauhan Emperors of India—the Chauhans being the last of the Kshatriya races who became Lords Paramount of India. This fact has now been proved beyond doubt by the Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscription.

¹ See the Bijolian inscription dated the Samvat year 1220 (A.D.).

² For this inscription. see Dr. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xx, p. 201.

³ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. 215; and *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, p. 130.

The history of this pillar called the Delhi Siwalik Pillar is a chequered one. Built by Emperor Asoka nearly three hundred years before Christ, it has seen many a dynasty come and go in India. It is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 ft. 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 ft. in length, has received a very high polish. Its upper diameter is 25·3 inches and its lower diameter 38·8 inches, the diminution being 3·9 inches per foot. Its weight is rather more than 27 tons.

This celebrated pillar was originally erected at a place called Topar Suk or Topur or Tobra and was situated on the bank of the Jumna in the district of Salora near Khizrabad, 180 miles from Delhi. This position at the foot of the mountains points out the present Khizrabad on the Jumna just below the spot where the river issues from the lower range of hills. Salora is perhaps Sidhora, only a few miles to the west of Khizrabad. Visaldeva, after conquering the territories from Vindhya to the Himalayas reached this place at the foot of the latter mountain, and seeing this pillar there had his inscriptions engraved on it. From this place it was removed to Delhi about A.D. 1356, by Firoz Shah Tuglak (A.D. 1357-88). The pillar was conveyed by land on a truck to Khizrabad from whence it was floated down the Jumna to Ferozabad or New Delhi and fitted on the top of the three-storied building called Firozshah's Kotilla. When it was fixed "the top was ornamented with black and white stonework surmounted by a gilt pinnacle from which it received its name of *Minar Zarin* or Golden Pillar. This gilt pinnacle was still in its place in A.D. 1611 when William Finch came to Delhi."¹

This pillar was one of several such put up in the middle of the third century B. C. by Emperor Asoka for the promulgation of his edicts in the Pali language. The Asoka inscription on it ends with a sentence in which the Emperor directs the setting up of these monoliths in different parts of India as follows:—"Let this religious edict be engraved on stone pillars and stone tablets that it may endure for ever." •

SIWALIK PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS

The first inscription simply says: "Samvat 1220, Vaisakh Sudi 15th (9th April, 1164 A.D.), this monument is of the Lord of

¹ *Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, p. 164.

Sakambhari, Sri (illustrious) Visaldeva, the son of Sri (illustrious) Anhaldeva."

The second inscription is a eulogy of Visaldeva and says that when he goes on an expedition he resembles Vishnu.¹ It says:

"Om ; tears are evident in the eyes of (thy) enemy's consort ; blades of grass are perceived between thy adversary's teeth ; thy fame fills with glory all space ; the minds of thy foes are void (of hope) ; their route is the desert where men are hindered from passing, O Vighraharajdeva, when the Jubilee of thy onward march has come. May thy abode, O Vighraha, Sovereign of the Earth, be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms (akin to the mansion of dalliance) of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies. There is no doubt of thy being the highest of embodied souls. Didst thou not sleep in the lap of Sri (prosperity) whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it."

The third is the most important of all and says: "In the year 1220 (9th April, 1164), on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaisakh (this monument) of the fortunate Visaldeva, son of the fortunate Anhaldeva, king of Sakambhari. As far as the Vindhya as far as the Himādri (Himalays) having achieved conquest in the course of travelling to Holy places ; striking at the haughty kings and gracious to those whose necks are humbled, making Aryavarta once more what its name signifies (Land of Aryas), by causing the barbarians (Mlechhas) to be exterminated ; Visaldeva, supreme ruler of Sakambhari and sovereign of the Earth, is victorious in the world. This conqueror, the fortunate Vighraharaja, king of Sakambhari, most eminent of the tribe which sprang from the arms (of Brahma) now addresses his own descendants: 'by us the region of the earth between Himavat and Vindhya has been made tributary ; let not your minds be void of exertion to subdue the remainder.' In the year, from Sri Vikramaditya, 1220, on Thursday the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Vaisakh. This was written by order of the king in the presence of the astronomer Sri Tilak Raja, by Sripati, the son of Māhava, a Kayastha of the Gor family. At this time the fortunate Salakshana Pala, a Raj-putra is prime minister. Siva the terrible, and the universal monarch." 2

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, p. 180.

² See Professor F. Kielhorn's translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, July, 1890 A. D., p. 215. Also, Professor. Colebrooke's translation in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII, p. 180.

This proud boast of Visaldeva that he had exterminated the barbarians and made Aryavarta once more what its name implies, marks the birth of the Empire which attained its zenith of glory under Emperor Prithviraja, the *beau ideal* of Rajput chivalry. His earnest appeal to his successors to drive them beyond the borders of India, though unheeded by the first three of his successors, found an echo in the thrilling heart of his nephew, the chivalrous Prithviraja, whose glorious exploits shed lasting lustre not only on Chauhan arms but on the whole Hindu race.

Emperor Visaldeva was a monarch as much distinguished for letters as for valour. Like the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius or Sri Harshadeva who flourished in the sixth century A.D., his literary achievements rivalled his military glory, and show that he was as pre-eminent in arts of peace as in deeds of arms.

Visaldeva was a great poet. Fragments of his drama "*Harakeli Natak*," engraved on slabs of blackstone found buried in the courtyard of the *Adhai Din ka Jhonpra* at Ajmer in 1875 A.D., prove his scholarship.

ADHAI DIN KA JHONPRA

Emperor Visaldeva-Vigraharaja has left two memorials of his memorable reign in Ajmer. The first is the college built by him which was converted into a mosque during the time of Qutbuddin Aibak and Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash and is now known as the *Adhai Din ka Jhonpra*. From an antiquarian as well as an architectural point of view, the *Jhonpra* is one of the most important buildings in India. General Cunningham, the first Director-General of Archæology, says:—"There is no building in India which either for historical interest or archæological importance is more worthy of preservation."¹ Colonel Tod holds it to be "one of the most perfect as well as the most ancient monuments of Hindu architecture"² still preserved.

In its conception and execution, this building was a fit monument of the reign of Emperor Visaldeva. As a work of art, it was an exquisite ornament of the capital of his Empire. As a specimen of Hindu sculpture, this college building marks the high watermark of excellence attained in the art. "For gorgeous prodigality of

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 778.

² *Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, p. 156.

ornament, beautiful richness of tracery, delicate sharpness of finish, laborious accuracy of workmanship, endless variety of detail, all of which are due to the Hindu masons, this building," says General Cunningham, "may justly vie with the noblest buildings which the world has yet produced."¹

Mr. Fergusson² says: "As examples of surface decoration the Jhonpra and the mosque of Altamash at Delhi are probably unrivalled. Nothing in Cairo or in Persia is so exquisite in detail, and nothing in Spain or Syria can approach them for beauty of surface decoration."

The building was originally constructed as a college house. It was built in the form of a square 259 feet each side, with cloisters on all the four sides enclosing a spacious courtyard, and four splendid star-shaped cloister towers on the four corners, surmounted by magnificent *chhatrees*. The building stood on a high terrace, and was originally constructed against the scarped rock of the hill, having the *Saraswati Mandir* (Temple of Learning) on the western side, and entrances towards the south and east. The interior consisted of a quadrangle 200 feet by 175 feet. A comparison of this building with an almost similar one at Dhar also converted into a mosque, and which is still known as Raja Bhoja's *Pathsaala* (School), would remove all lingering doubts regarding its origin. The towers, the exquisitely-designed fluting and ornamental bands of the columns, and the wonderful cloisters in the shape of a quadrangle, which originally extended to 770 feet, and of which only 164 feet are now left, were destroyed by the ignorant bigotry and fanaticism of the Afghans of Ghor, who attacked Ajmer under Shahabuddin Ghorî in 1192 A.D.

They then began to convert it into a mosque; the alteration consisted principally of the addition of the magnificent screen-wall, consisting of seven arches³ fronting the western side, and the insertion in the back wall, of the inevitable *mehrab* or arch inseparable from a mosque, and the erection of a pulpit or *mimbar* near it. The *imamgah* or *mehrab* in white marble was built in 1199 A.D., and the screen wall was added during the time of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash, about 1213 A.D.

The western side of the quadrangle is a vast pillared hall, 248 feet

¹ *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 268.

² *History of Eastern and Indian Architecture*, p. 518.

³ The number of columns of the pillared hall ill fit in with the size of the arches, and clearly shows what is old and what is new.

long by 40 feet wide, covered by a flat recessed roof which is divided into nine octagonal compartments corresponding with the seven arches of the screen wall and the two corners of the cloisters. In this hall there are five rows of columns, of which one row is placed against the back wall. Altogether there are 70 pillars now standing. These pillars have a greater height than those at the Kutub, and are more elegant in their sculpture and general appearance than the converted mosques in Malwa and Ahmedabad.¹

VISALSAR

The second memorial of Emperor Visaldeva is the lake built by him named Visalsar, and now called Vislya or Bislia. This beautiful lake was, in old times, one of the two most notable and picturesque features of Ajmer. It is an artificial lake, oblong in shape.

The celebrated *Prithviraja Rasa* says that the Emperor, returning from a hunt, one day finding springs of water and hills amidst beautiful surroundings called his ministers and ordered a lake like Pushkar to be built.²

INSCRIPTIONS

Ten inscriptions of the time, of Visaldeva, have so far been found, three on the Siwalik Pillar at Delhi of the year A.D. 1164 ; one, on a pillar in the Bhuteshwar temple in Lohari village in Mewar dated the Samvat year 1211 (A.D. 1154) stating that Vishneshwara Pragya Acharya of the Shaiva religion bestowed a golden dome to the Siddheshwara temple, and six in the *Adhai Din ka Jhonpra*, Ajmer.

Of these six inscriptions, two are very small ones and are engraved on the lintels of the two small staircases by the back wall of the cloistered hall leading from the roof of the hall to the top of the Imamghah Mehrab of white marble. The one in the northern staircase is fading fast, while the other one is in good condition ; it is inscribed there in Sanskrit, which when translated means : " This building was constructed by the illustrious King Vighraharajadeva." The other one simply says, " Made by the illustrious King Vighraharaja."

¹ Captain H. H. Cole's *Preservation of National Monuments in Rajputana* (1181).

² *Prithviraja Rasa*, Adi Parva, Chhand 864.

The remaining four, recovered in 1875-76 A.D., consist of six tablets of polished basalt, inscribed in Devanagiri of the twelfth century A.D., and are more or less in fragments. Four of these tablets contain fragments of two old plays in Sanskrit and Prakrit, hitherto unknown. On slabs one and two are engraved parts of the play called the *Lalita Vigharāja Nāṭaka*, "The Lovely Play of Vighararaja," composed by the learned poet Somadeva, in honour of the Emperor Vighararaja of Ajmer. Slabs three and four contain portions of a play by Emperor Vighararaja himself in honour of Siva, called *Harakeli Nāṭaka*, or the play of Hara (Siva). The play is partly in imitation of Bharavi's *Kirātārjunīya*. It also contains the praise of the Emperor by Siva for the play. The date of the play as given in the inscription, corresponds to Sunday, the 22nd November, 1153 A.D.

These inscriptions serve a threefold purpose. Firstly, they show that Vighararāja (Visaldeva) fought against the invaders of India from the north-west, and thus supports the Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscription of the same monarch, and tends to show that the event took place about 1153 A.D., or soon after it. Secondly, they show that Visaldeva was not only a great king but was a great scholar and poet, and was a patron of learning. "Actual and undoubted proof is here afforded," says Dr. Kielhorn, "to us of the fact that powerful Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kalidasa and Bhavabhūti for poetical fame."

Thirdly, the inscriptions help us in fixing the date of the building, which would be sometime before 1153 A.D.; and if we remember the design of, and similar inscriptions in the famous pathshala of King Bhoj, which was evidently the prototype of the *Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpra*, also in showing that the building was originally a college building.

¹ Dr. Kielhorn adds: "And it shows the strange vicissitudes of fortune that the stones which a Royal author, who could boast of having repeatedly exterminated the barbarians (Turushkas, Musalmans) and conquered all the land between the Vindhya and the Himalaya, made known to his people the products of his Muse, should have been used as common building material" by the descendants of those barbarians—*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 201.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF RAMDAS THE GURU OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

IN Ramdas's *Ananda-vana-bhuvana* as in Paramananda's *Shiva-Bharata* Shivaji is a "deliverer." Gaga Bhatta in his *Shiva-raja-prasasti*¹ also compares Shivaji's work with that of Visnu who in his *Kamatha* (Kurma or Tortoise) Incarnation rescued the *Vedas* immersed in the ocean. One of his verses reads in part as follows:

"*Avarangajebayavanadhipabhitavipratranaya yah parigrihito nava-vataarah.*"

Shivaji is here described as having assumed a new *avatara* (incarnation) for the protection of the Brahmanas who were terrified by Aurangzeb, the Moslem monarch.

It is interesting to observe that in Shivaji's times (1626-80) the European mentality was used to such conceptions of Divine incarnation in regard to the political emancipation of certain territories from the tyranny of an impossible despot. The legends afloat in the Dutch atmosphere in the period of unrest and rebellion against Louis XIV enable us to realize how William of Orange was virtually looked forward to as one of the *avatars* or Divine incarnations such as had been popular in the Old Testament stories.

The Dutch situation in 1687 is described in the following manner:² "Religion gave her sanction to that intense and unquenchable animosity (against France). Hundreds of Calvinistic preachers proclaimed that the same power which had set apart Samson from the womb to be the scourge of the Philistine and which had called Gideon from the threshing floor to smite the Midianite had roused up William of Orange to be the champion of all free nations and of all pure churches."

From the history of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century also we can cite ideological parallels in connection with the rise of the Maratha power. The charges of the Dutch people (1560-80) against

¹ B. V. Bhat, *Maharashtra-dharma* (Dhuliya, 1925), p. 89.

² Macaulay, *History of England* (London, 1896), Vol. II, p. 138.

Philip II of Spain bear close analogy with what the Maratha saints and chronicles of the seventeenth and perhaps of the eighteenth centuries make out against Aurangzeb, described in their own words as the Mlechchha and the Yavana tyrant, in regard to the pre-Shivaji political and social conditions of the Deccan, nay, of India.¹ It is the "terrors of the *Kaliyuga*" that constitute Shivaji's *Apology*, so to say, corresponding to the *Apologia* of the Prince of Orange (1580). The following statement of the Dutch hero is in keeping with the spirit of the Maratha champions of Hindu liberty :

"I am in the hand of God, my worldly goods and my life have been long since dedicated to His service. He will dispose of them as seems best for His glory and my salvation."²

It is this religious fervour of the Calvinist William that the Maratha saints propagated. In Maratha ideology the *Kaliyuga* or Iron Age was to a considerable extent the "*Aurangya papi*" incarnate, so to say. The orientations of the Netherlands to Philip II of Spain and Louis XIV of France were identical with those of the Marathas *vis-à-vis* this "*papi*." It is with reference to the problems and achievements of the Dutch people that the politics of Maratha independence, *Hindwi Swarajya*, and the expansion of the Hindu states-system by Shivaji and his successors can be appreciated.

In the present study we are not concerned with the details of Shivaji's political views or of his political institutions. The political theories of his *Hindwi Swarajya* cannot but be of profound interest. For the present, however, to get the approximate philosophical perspective we have but to mention the works like the British treatises on paternal despotism, e.g., the *Patriarcha* of Filmer (1590-1653), published during the year of Shivaji's death (1680). In France about the same time Pascal in his *Pensées* was adumbrating the doctrine of obedience to custom, and in Bossuet's *Politique* (1709) based on the Scriptures, the people were being taught "*O rois vous êtes des dieux !*" (O kings, you are gods). In that age the Bible of contempt towards the people was Richelieu's *Testament Politique* (1668).³

¹ Some of the charges may be read in Bhat : *Maharasthadharma*, pp. 84-88, 143-144, 154-164, 166, 169-186.

² J. L. Motley, *History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. III (London, 1904), pp. 5-12; *The United Netherlands*, Vol. I (London, 1904), pp. 5-12; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. III (1907), pp. 191, 253.

³ P. Janet, *Histoire de la Science Politique* (Paris, 1913), Vol. II, Chapter on Bossuet and Fenelon; F. J. C. Hearnshaw (editor) : *The Social and Political Ideas of Some English Thinkers of the Augustan Age* (London, 1928), Chapter on Filmer.

Shivaji, be it remembered, is the contemporary of the Stuarts and *le grand monarque*. As in connection with the previous epochs of Hindu political thought, in regard to the Hindu political ideas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also the comparison with European ideas is not to be taken in a literal and detailed manner. The analogies must not be stressed too far in any case. The differences in the institutional *milieu* will always have to be noted.

Writing on Frederick the Great the following observation is made by Meinecke:¹ “*Rationalisierung der aus dem Mittelalter her entwickelten sozialen Kraefte fuer die Zwecke des Staates, das war die Summe seiner inneren Politik*” (The rationalization of the social forces developed since the Middle Ages in the interests of the State—this was the gist of his internal politics). It is by rationalization of the army, finance, the middle class and the farmers that Frederick the Great sought to transform Prussia into a real *Grossstaat*, i.e., great state (*maharashtra*). This short and pithy description can be used likewise as the key to Shivaji's political life. And he establishes not only the *Machtstaat* (power-state or military state) but the *Kulturstaat* (culture-state or *dharma*-state, humanitarian state) also of Frederick the Great's *Anti-Machiavel* (1739) and *Das Politische Testament* (1768).

Certain interesting items call for notice, however, at this stage of Hindu evolution in positivism.

By the middle or rather end of the seventeenth century Hindu political philosophy embarks upon a career of profound enrichment, renovation and remaking. For the first time in the history of Hindu India is it possible to encounter certain entirely new categories. For the first time do we find ourselves in an atmosphere in which the political theorist does not think in terms of the *saptamga* (seven-limbed organism) at all. And it is curious that this remaking of Hindu political theory is consummated by one who is not a professional *Artha* or *Niti*-writer. The man who without being a professor of an *Artha*, *Smriti* or *Niti*-Academy yet succeeds in imparting to *Artha* and *Niti Sastra* an epoch-making form and spirit is Ramdas. The most intensely original of Hindu political philosophers and the profoundest re-maker of Hindu political theory,—second perhaps to none but Kautalya, the *avatara* of political science,—be it repeated, did not write anything on politics. His great work, *Dasabodha*, is a

¹ *Die Idee der Staatsrason* (Munich, 1925), pp. 349, 350, 353, 354.

wonderful treatise on universal morality of the most non-political character. Excepting a few stray references to *rayakarana* (king's functions) there is nothing political in this book. And yet this is the man to whom India owes the re-birth of her political science, the transformation of her *Arthasastra*.

❧ In *Dasabodha* it is hardly possible to find any political teachings. The politics of the kind such as might be useful to Shivaji is the farthest removed from it. This work is, as we have observed, essentially a treatise on morals. It is well calculated to promote noble and lofty ideals as well as help forward the building up of strenuous habits and righteous personality. But there are other writings attributed to this saint-philosopher-poet in which political messages may be detected.

For instance, we are taught in one connection that *Kaliyuga mahaghora sarva dosacha akara*.¹ It is the terrible Iron Age and is the source of all sorts of vices. Among the evils are mentioned short life, premature death, the sale of daughters by Brahmans, the miseries of cows, the neglect of duties by the castes, etc. It is also pointed out that

*Mlechcha rajya hoilo pravala
pida paweli dvijakula.*

That is, the Moslem state has become powerful and the Brahmanas are in trouble.

Besides, a special political message is generally attributed to Ramdas, which runs thus:

*Maratha titu ka melwawa
Maharastradharma barhwawa.*

(Unite all the Marathas and propagate the *dharma* of Maharashtra.)

There are some difficulties in connection with the source of this text, however. The message is alleged to have been communicated to Sambhaji by Ramdas.² The first mention of this message is perhaps to be found in Ranade's work. But regretably enough, he does not cite the original source. Indeed, he reports it as a traditional information.

¹ B. V. Bhat, *Maharastradharma* (Dhuliya, 1925), pp. 169-170.

² M. G. Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power* (Bombay, 1900), pp. 63, 143.

The letter of Ramdas to Sambhaji (1680) on the occasion of the latter's coronation contains pieces of advice like the following :

(1) *Bahut lok melwawe* (unite many people or bring together many persons).

(2) *Jivitva trinasaman manawem* (consider life like a blade of grass).

This letter is complete in twenty-one verses. But it does not furnish us with the text in question. This letter is quoted in the Marathi work entitled *Sambhaji and Rajaram* by Malbar Ramrao Chitnis (1810).

The alleged message of Ramdas is quoted on the title-page of a modern treatise entitled *Maharastradharma*.² The author quotes it also at pp. 25 and 184. In regard to the first reference we are told, perhaps on the authority of Ranade, that Ramdas wrote it to Sambhaji. In the second instance, the message is found in the midst of a letter from Ramdas to Shivaji. It is clear, therefore, that the authenticity of the message is not free from doubts.

But let us accept the tradition as such. We understand, then, that Ramdas wants, first, a "union among the Marathas." And secondly, as Ranade interprets it in one context (p. 53), Ramdas is looking for an expansion of the *dharma* or duty of *Maharashtra* (a large or unified state). Thus considered, the category *Maharashtra* did not imply any particular geographical region, namely, Maharashtra, the country of the Marathas, but a great or powerful nation. The unification of the Marathas was the first item in Ramdas's policy. This corresponds to the *Einheit* or unity for which Fichte made propaganda in Germany.³ The second item was the establishment of a large state. In other words, the territorial expansion of a Hindu state, under the auspices of the united Marathas may be taken to have been the goal of action recommended by Ramdas in the popular adage ascribed to him by tradition.

In another context (p. 172) Ranade explains *Maharastradharma* in quite a different manner. He considers it to mean the "religion" of Maharashtra, the country of the Marathas. This religion, again, is

¹ Text edited by K. N. Sane (Poona, 1915), pp. 6-7. To this and other books in Marathi utilized for the present paper my attention was drawn by Prof. S. N. Sen, whose help in the explanation of some words and phrases I acknowledge with pleasure. He is, however, not responsible for the views expressed here.

² By B. V. Bhat (Dhuliya, 1925).

³ *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1808), First Address.

interpreted by him to mean not the conventional religion of the Hindus, but the reformed and somewhat liberalized religion and morality as is alleged to have been preached by the "saints and prophets of Maharastra" in the days of Ramdas.

Since Ranade's interpretation or interpretations in 1900 the category *Maharastradharma* has been the subject of much controversy and historical, philosophical and sociological criticism. The diverse interpretations have been brought together in the treatise entitled *Maharastradharma* by B. V. Bhat (1925), which has been already referred to several times. An interpretation of a very suggestive character is that offered by Rajwade, according to whom *Maharastradharma* is neither to be taken as a category similar to Christian *dharma*, Mahomedan *dharma*, Jewish *dharma*, etc., nor as simple Hindu *dharma* (p. 36). He says that *Maharastradharmachi vyakhya Hindudharmachya vyakhyehun just vistrita ahe* (the content of *Maharastradharma* is more extensive than that of Hindu *dharma*). He thus takes *dharma* in the sense of religion just as Ranade does. But while Ranade takes a reformist view of religion Rajwade takes the traditional, *Varnasrama* view. It appears that Bhat also, the author of the Marathi treatise, takes virtually the same orthodox view as Rajwade (pp. 411-456). This indeed is the *Leitmotif* of his thesis.

It is not surprising that *Maharastradharma* should have so many interpretations. Under our very eyes we notice that a corresponding European category has been passing through the same diversity of treatment. The French sociologist, Bouglé, for instance, is the author of a work entitled *Questce que l'Esprit Francais ?* What is the French spirit (*Farasi dharma*)? And he offers twenty-five different definitions.

On an examination of the material as brought together in Bhat's book it should appear that the orthodox view is more in keeping with the facts of Maratha social history than the reformist view.

Maharastradharma, as thus interpreted by Rajwade, Bhat and recently Sardesai, becomes virtually nothing but Hindu religion as generally understood, i.e., in the narrower sense of the term. It comprises (1) practices towards gods (*deva-sastrachara*), (2) local practices (*desachara*), (3) family practices (*kulachara*), and (4) caste practices (*jatyachara*).¹

¹ G. S. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History* (Bombay, 1933), pp. 12, 65.

It is questionable, however, if we are justified in attaching either a reformist or an orthodox view of "religion" to the category *Dharma*. From the earliest times when the word *dharma* is used in Vedic and post-Vedic texts down to Hemadri's *Chaturvarga-chintamani* (c. 1300 A. C.) and still later down to Moghul-Maratha times (c. 1650) it is not possible to confine *dharma* exclusively to this narrowly circumscribed religious sphere. In the *Dharma-sutras*, *Dharma-sastras*, *Smriti-sastras* and *Niti-sastras*, the category *dharma*¹ is very comprehensive, implying law, justice, duty and what not although it comprises no doubt the four practices enumerated above and of course also the reformed modes of life. It cannot be taken to be identical with "religion" as understood by the folk, by the priests or by the moralists. If any European equivalent is to be sought for this Sanskrit term, perhaps the vague word, culture, civilisation, spirit, *Geist*, ideals, nay, "life" may be conveniently used. Anything and everything for which an individual or group stands and in extreme cases is prepared to die is virtually his *Dharma*.

It is this *dharma* of the Aryans, Hindus, Indians, etc., i.e., the life, culture, spirit, or ideals of these races that was "protected," "saved," promoted and expanded by the *Yugavataras* like Chandra-gupta Maurya and Skandgupta the Gupta in earlier times. The Rayas of Vijayanagara also became *Yugavataras* by functioning as the saviours and protectors of the same life, culture and ideals. In Ramdas's and Shivaji's *Maharastradharma* likewise we are to see the life, culture and ideals of the Hindus as being first "saved" from foreign aggression and then promoted under benevolent protection.

It is now necessary to analyze *Maharashtra* in *Maharastradharma*. By all means it is a territorial or regional concept. But are we to understand simply the geographical area for which the expression *Maharashtra* is used?

On the face of it, *Maharastradharma* ought to mean simply the *dharma* of the territory known as Maharashtra, the Maratha country. In a sense it may not be wrong to take Maharashtra here as implying only this geographical area. But perhaps it might be considered more relevant and reasonable to take it as the name of a more extensive region. Here we have an instance of where "more is meant than meets the ear."

¹ On *Dharma* see "The Doctrine of Property, Law and Social Order in Hindu Political Philosophy" in B. K. Sarkar, *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922).

Maharastradharma is not to be taken as the *dharma* exclusively of the region Maharashtra or of the races and castes constituting the people (Maratha) living in Maharashtra. It is the *dharma* of the Aryans, Indians or Hindus of all regions. We are to understand by this category the eternal or *sanatana dharma* of the Hindus in the diverse regions of India. *Maharastradharma* = *Hindurastradharma*.

When Ramdas exhorts Sambhaji to propagate and expand the *Maharastradharma*, we are to understand that this great saint of Maharashtra wants Shivaji's son to hold forth as the champion, embodiment and missionary of the Hindu *dharma*, protect this culture of the Hindus from non-Hindu and anti-Hindu attacks, nay, march on conquering and to conquer in regions where Hindu culture is being menaced by non-Hindu and anti-Hindu aggressions. Ramdas is not preaching anything short of the aggressive nationalism of Fichte.

Ramdas is speaking as a Maratha to a Maratha. To him naturally for the time being Maratha and Hindu are virtually convertible terms. The men and women of Maharashtra, the Maratha *antyajas* (lower castes), saints, Brahmans and all other occupational and social groups are nothing but Hindus. And in his "geopolitical" perspective the Hindus are for all practical purposes all to be found among the Maratha Brahmans, saints, *antyajas* and other socio-professional groups or castes. Sambhaji is therefore to appear throughout India as the champion of Hindu *dharma* determined to carry forward its expansion (*barhwawa*) in all directions.

The local or geographical colouring associated with the expression Maharashtra in *Maharastradharma* should not by any means mislead anybody in regard to its import as having bearing on the Hindus of all India. Ramdas is not addressing his message to a Rajput. Nor is a Rajput or, say, a North Indian saint, poet or patriot (like Bhushana) trying to inspire a Maratha ruler with a call to duty. That is why the pan-Indian category of, say, *Bharatadharma* or *Daksinidharma* (Deccani *dharma*) or *Aryadharma* has not been employed. It is as a Maratha patriot that the saint Ramdas is reminding Sambhaji of the great task that lies before him, and no regional category can possibly be more normal and natural than that about the land in which he is born and bred, the land which has already shown the way to *Hindwi Swarajya*.

It is to be understood, besides, that the pan-Indian category which we use so glibly in the twentieth century was unthinkable in the seventeenth century. Moreover, the exploits of the Marathas which

subsequently rendered them the virtual rulers off and on over the most diverse regions of India thereby enabling the emergence of a pan-Indian Hindu states-system could not have been foreseen by Ramdas or even by Shivaji. Indeed, it is perhaps to the realisation of the dream or ideal of such a Hindu Empire or states-system extending as it should over all India that Ramdas is spurring his prince. It is when the duty of *Maharastradharma barhwawa* has been done into life that the pan-Indian Hindu states-system would come into being, thanks, it might be dreamt of, to the glorious military feats of a son of Maharashtra. This sort of local pride can be honourably credited to Ramdas and it is this sort of local patriotism to which Sambhaji is being incited.

It is a political message, pure and simple, that is embodied in the wish, command or exhortation, *Maharastradharma barhwawa*. Sambhaji understands and Ramdas means that, situated in the Moghul milieu as the country is, the message involves two equations, negative and positive.

Negatively, the command=remove the enemies of Hindu culture. Positively, it=carry forward the *digvijaya* of Hindu culture, which is tantamount to the expansion of the Hindu state.

The message of Ramdas is thus ideologically akin to and sociologically identical with, the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII. 15) cult of *charaiveti* (march on) for Hindu culture of which the thousand and one expressions have been encountered in the diverse regions of India all through the ages. Altogether, the political philosophy of Ramdas, as exhibited in *Maratha tituka melwawa*, *Maharastradharma barhwawa* implies in plain words understandable to Sambhaji and his compatriots nothing but the "*digvijaya* or expansion of the Hindu Empire or states-system under the auspices of the Marathas." And since (1) Hindu=Maratha and (2) Maratha=Hindu, the two messages of Ramdas combined imply more concretely the expansion of the Maratha Empire. We are to understand that in Ramdas's survey of the Indian "geopolitics" none but the Marathas are in a position to protect and propagate the *dharma*, culture, spirit, *Geist* or ideals of the Hindus. It is nothing but extraordinary political insight and dare-devil mentality of the most virile type that can conceive and promulgate such a fruitful *sutra* for the guidance of a *vijigisu* (aspirant to conquest). Ramdas does not perhaps know the Kautalyan categories of the *mandala*-complex, but he has carried India on his

to cite from the vast mass *Artha*, *Niti* or allied texts any passage which can approach the doctrine of *Maharastradharmā* as a deliberate and consciously designed promulgation of a territorial patriotism.

While assuming this position we do not by any means overlook the consideration that the eternal Hindu doctrine of *saptamga* (the seven-limbed organism) includes *rastra* or territory as a limb. The territorial concept is organically bound up with the most traditional theory of Hindu politics. But even in this theory we are to see nothing but a statical analysis of a societal complex, the state. The doctrine which exhibits the interdependence of the seven limbs on one another has certainly a value of its own. In the doctrine of *Maharastradharmā*, however, the territorial unit, the region or the *rastra* is posed in its solitary greatness and is enabled to tower above every other factor of societal organization into an extraordinary prominence. This isolation of the regional or territorial unit in the political consciousness must be considered to be something unique in Hindu political theory. By contributing the doctrine of territorial nationalism as a war-cry Ramdas has carved out for himself a position of paramount significance in the world of political speculation. In mankind's history of nationalist philosophy Ramdas, as the creator of these two epoch-making categories, should be treated as a forerunner of Herder (1744-1803) and Fichte (1762-1814) the prophets of nationalism in Europe.¹

¹ J. Baxa, *Einfuehrung in die romantische Staats wissenschaft* (Jena, 1923); Herder, *Saemmtliche Werke* (Berlin), Vols. XIII and XVII; Fichte, *Reden an die Deutsche Nation*, First and Fourth Addresses; R. E. Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York, 1931); B. K. Sarkar, *From Herder to Hitler* (Calcutta, 1933).

A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT KAMENG (MANIPUR), ASSAM

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The pre-history of Assam is of great importance to the students of ethnology and archaeology but unfortunately very little work has yet been done in this field. The various types of celts collected from different sites and at different times being generally of the shouldered type, suggested the extreme likelihood of Assam being a route of migration of peoples of the Mon-Khmer Branch. In fact, its pre-history is likely to show connecting links between North-East India, Burma, Malay Peninsula, further East and even up to the Pacific. The comparison of the Mohenjo-Daro stone pieces with the chestment pillars of Assam shows the likely antiquity of ancient cultural connections. On the strength of the discovery of Notling and Swinhoe at Yenang Yöung in Upper Burma we can assume the possibility of finding some day a Paleolithic Culture, coeval or posterior to Burma finds, in Assam. All that we know about the Neolithic age, though few and fragmentary, is represented by a few megalithic monuments and three types of celts¹ which are as follows:—

(1) Having a long and narrow shape exactly like an isosceles triangle which bears close resemblance to those found in the dolmen graves of south India²

(2) More or less rectangular in shape, hafted "between two layers of wood lashed together" as is still found in Polynesia. It at once suggests an important problem of cultural relation between India and Polynesia.

(3) The widely distributed shoulder celt, the prototype of the shouldered hoe, used now-a-days by the Khasis of Assam. It is undoubtedly introduced by the Austro-Asiatic races.

As to the megalithic monuments of Assam, it should be worth while to note that its importance is gaining ground with the progress of researches. But whence and by whom these have been introduced in India or whether these are indigenous to India—these are some of the problems that are baffling scholars to solve. The monoliths and dolmens that are found at Dimapur, in Jaintia Hills as well as those in the Naga Hills offer interesting affinities with the similar erection made by Mundas, Hos in Chota Nāgpur and Singbhum and Porojas in the Jaypore Agency of the Madras Presidency on the one hand, and South-East Asia, Madagascar, Sumatra on the other.³

¹ Hutton, J. H., "Prehistory of Assam." *Man in India*, Oct.-Dec., 1928.

² As for other affinities, reference will, however, be made in this connection to Dr. Hutton's paper on "Naga Chank Ornaments of South Indian Affinities," *Man*, Vol. XXX, p. 80.

³ Van der Hoop—Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra. *Vide* also Heine-Geldern, R.—Die Megalithen Südasiens und ihre Bedeutung für die Klärung der Megalithenfrage in Europa und Polynesien. *Anthropos*. XXIII (1928), and also the highly interesting article of Mon. H. Neuville entitled "Megalithes abyssins et megalithes indiens," *L'Anthropologie*, Tome XLII, Nos. 5-6.

Such a vast area of distribution has added much complexities to this problem specially in regard to the solution of its precursor. But, be that as it may, Dr. Hutton's suggestions that the Mon-Khmer people is mainly responsible for this is worthy of much consideration.¹

Thus the tract on which are situated the old mountainous roads connecting India and Further India would be of still greater importance. Such a tract is Manipur which has been the meeting-ground of Old Hindu, Burmese and Chinese civilizations from time immemorial. But unfortunately very little excavations have yet been attempted. In the course of our ethnographic work, we found a typical highly polished neolithic celt from a field near Imphal. This is, however, not of the shouldered type; on the contrary it resembles the non-shouldered Naga celt and is rectangular in cross-section. This along with the survival of a pre-wheel pottery and wheelless trailer shows likelihood of the beginnings of Manipur culture harking back into the Neolithic. The site excavated does not, however, seem to be very old though decidedly pre-British containing in its upper layers relics of Sino-Burmese culture-contact. Till the excavations are completed up to the lowest levels its antiquity cannot be judged. The iron spear-head, the primitive pottery and the crude bricks tend to show that we have to deal with an ancient type of culture.

In July, 1932, the first informal excavation in the Manipur State was begun which yielded some interesting materials. The site chosen for excavation was situated in the village of Kameng which again is situated on the banks of the hill-stream Lwangli, about 9 miles from Imphal in the north-west of Manipur valley about nine miles from Imphal and is situated on the banks of the hill-stream Lwangli. On the east and south-east of it lies the Langol Hill.

In an early seventeenth century manuscript, Langol-Chingoirol, there is some reference to this name though it does not occur in the manuscript of Poireiton Khunthokpa which, however, mentions that the valley in this place was first settled by colonists from some far-off countries. Sir James Johnstone refers to a Kameng people who are said to have been the descendants of some original Chinese soldiers who invaded the country about 1250 A.D. and taught the people brick-laying and silk-culture. In modern Manipuri language Kameng-chatpa generally refers to printed silk cloth. Thus, we find that the site very possibly may contain relics of Chinese occupation and may also unfold vestiges of the ancient capital of the early Manipur settlers.

It being the rainy season, it was not possible for us to proceed with the excavation work, so we had to suspend digging when we reached up to a depth of four to four and a half feet from the ground level. It seems that most of the articles at these beds found were interred along with the ashes of the dead body.

Some of the finds such as the smoking pipes, coins, and earthen beads do not, however, belong to the cremation-ground area. Generally, in the cremation ground we found water pots, dishes, cups, ornaments and sometimes weapons probably in the case of soldiers. The spear-heads and tails were also found in the cremation-ground area. Cloths and other articles of everyday use seem to have been interred along with the ashes. This is evidenced from the signs of thin layers of red lacquer and matted soil resembling a basket. It has also been lately reported that at least in one of the Loi villages manuscripts too have been found buried and they are preserved

¹ Hutton, J. H., "Prehistory of Assam," *loc. cit.*

in the following manner, viz., by wrapping up in Leihoura—a leaf that looks somewhat like the plantain leaf but resists the action of the soil, with a coating of Khe—a water-proof varnish similar to Japan-lacquer and obtained from the sap of a tree of the same name. In order to make the packet quite secure the process is repeated three or four times; and the packet is then placed in an earthen jar with a cover and then buried.

From the top of the Luwangjing Hill to the open space on the north and north-west of the village traces of another important village site were unearthed. This site also yielded some pottery. The ingredients used in manufacturing these pottery are quite different from those found in the cremation ground because in the former it is not uncommon to meet with chips of an ash-coloured pottery containing granulated sand-stone and small particles of quartz, while in the case of the latter, the pottery found is of ordinary clay. In one of the corners of this open land there is an area of waste land where if we dig six to eight inches deep, chips of bricks and pottery may be found here and there but unfortunately the spot in question is a paddy field owned by some private persons. The chips of bricks of that locality are very similar to those found on the southern foot of the Langol Hill. The pottery of Manipur is of unique interest as showing the survival of a non-wheel using area. The primitive tournette which is now-a-days met with is of a very crude type. It consists of a circular piece of wooden plank of about eighteen inches in diameter and is placed on one of the knees of the workman who sits cross-legged on the ground. This solid wheel is slowly turned with one hand and the clay placed on its top is shaped with the other.

Three different types of beads were found of which one is of pure quartz with the hole bored beautifully at the centre. The second and the third type are of terra cotta, one being of ash colour resembling a sand-stone while the other is a piece of ordinary clay. The second type might have been used as dragnets though at present ordinary metal weights are used.

The other interesting finds are iron spear-heads resembling more the type found in South Indian dolmens than those actually in use in this area. The types of pottery are also interesting as being mostly of archaic features. None of them is in common use now-a-days. On the other hand the presence of porcelain shows strongly the Chinese influence.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the chief object of this brief report is to bring to the notice of both prehistorians and archaeologists the importance and richness of the long-neglected prehistoric sites on the borders of Assam and Burma. It is to be hoped that a systematic excavation may reveal many interesting data concerning the long-lost pre- or proto-history of Assam.

WORLD EDUCATION CONGRESS

The World Education Congress was opened at Oxford on Monday the 12th August with a series of meetings in different parts of the city. Lord Halifax (Lord Irwin), Chancellor of the University of Oxford, welcomed the delegates.

Visual education, free school and kindergarten, the health of school children, the entrance to Secondary schools and training of teachers were some of the topics that were discussed at the Conference. Mr. Fred Manders delivered his presidential address, some extracts of which are reproduced below from *The Manchester Guardian* :—

It is now twelve years since the World Federation of Education Associations had its birth. The representative educators of many nations who brought it into existence set before themselves a great and noble objective. Put concisely, their aim was to promote goodwill and mutual understanding between the peoples and to make a lasting contribution to the cause of peace through world co-operation in education.

They saw in the world around them numerous instruments for the prevention of war, in the form of international law; pacts, alliances and diplomacy; international courts and the League of Nations. They appreciated to the full the purpose and importance of such instruments, and, in particular, recognised the beneficent potentialities of the League of Nations as a means for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

But they conceived, and I think rightly, that these things, although important, were not sufficient in themselves to remove the root causes of international discord.

How sure were the instincts of our founders has been demonstrated during the passage of the years. We meet to-night at a time of considerable disillusionments; confidence in collective instruments for the prevention of war has been shaken, and it is now clear that hopes placed on mere machinery, were set too high. "The Parliament of man, the Federation of the World" still belongs to the region of poetry: the world super-state, to which all national sovereignties shall subordinate themselves as yet has arisen only from the materials of idealism.

The hard fact of the world to-day is the reassertion of nationhood—the reassertion of the right of the individual nation to determine its own destiny and to decide for itself what measures are necessary to safeguard it. At the same time new conceptions of the nature and purpose of a state are developing upon widely divergent lines, and are increasingly influencing the relationship of peoples with one another, while racial prejudices continue to constitute an obstacle to the comity of nations. Unless existing conditions can be removed, or substantially modified, and a greater and more universal sense of community and good will developed throughout the world, no machinery set up can offer a firm promise of permanent security. The League of Nations cannot be more than the Nations of the League, and can only be made to fulfil its highest purpose by people possessing an attitude of mind which is ready to relinquish ancient prejudices in favour of a new outlook.

It was precisely in the development of this new outlook among the nations that our founders believed that educators, co-operating on a world

basis, might hope to play a helpful part. They set out to establish throughout the world an educational probity which in time would lead to a change of mind, a new disposition towards international amity, without which the best worded treaty or agreement will be a mere scrap of paper.

If I have correctly conceived the aim and mission of the World Federation, its members have voluntarily assumed a great and serious responsibility. The educational method of contributing to the improvement of international relationships, involving, as it does, changing the mental habits of the world, must necessarily be a slow one. It will be a process of evolution, not of revolution.

If success is ultimately to be attained we must proceed upon sound and practical lines. Mere idealism, however eloquently expressed, will not take us far. The educator must firmly resist the narcotic of mere rhetoric and with complete frankness, sincerity and realism examine the materials upon and with which he must work.

There must, from the outset, be a frank recognition of the fact of nationhood, and its complete compatibility with a sense of world community. We can no more shed our sense of nationality than we can rid ourselves of our skins, nor is there any reason why we should desire to do so. This hall to-night is full of men and women who love their country, but they do not on that account, like John Randolph, the Virginian, allow their patriotism to end at the boundary line of their own state. Deeply rooted in the love of their own land, they are able to rise above national limits in a spirit of service to humanity as a whole. That, to my mind, is the right conception of the relationship between nationalism and internationalism.

The practical problem of peace is the problem of adjusting conflicting outlooks and interests among differing nations. Its solution calls, in particular three things—understanding, appreciation and sympathy—all of which can be developed in some measure through education. Let it be clear that I use the word “understanding” in a scientific sense. We need to grasp the facts concerning the social, political and economic movements of the races. Without a scientific attitude and informed minds we cannot hope to escape from the prejudice and bias which lie at the root of much international misunderstanding.

From scientific understanding is but a short step to appreciation—to the realisation that race or nation has its own contribution to make, and that through its art, literature, and learning it can bring its own special gifts to the treasure-house of culture which is the inheritance of the whole world. “God has written one line of his thought upon each people:” these were the words of Mazzini, the great Italian patriot, and they express in terms of picturesque wisdom the fact that each nation has its own inherent characteristics and qualities which are of distinct value to humanity.

But although appreciation can be developed on the plane of intellect, sympathy can only be developed through the associated life of men. The one is of the mind, the other is of the heart—actual contact is necessary for its full fruition. For that reason we need to bring the nations more closely together by travel, interchange of visits, exchange of professors, teachers and students, by summer schools and such gatherings as these. Previous experience of each other has taught us that although the nations are wonderfully different, they are also, in many human respects, wonderfully alike. Through education we can hope to comb out a host of common virtues, tastes and ideals which will tend to link together peoples however

diverse in race, colour, religion and general philosophy. That is the aim of our Federation—it exists to mobilise education in the service of humanity at peace.

But although probably the largest in membership the World Federation is by no means the only international organisation of educators claiming among other things, to work for peace. Up to the present there has been all too little contact between us, and all too great a disposition for each to cling to its right of self-determination as tenaciously as the nations themselves.

It has always appeared to me that our influence has thereby been diminished. Our appeal for a greater sense of community among the nations must lack somewhat in sincerity, and fail to carry complete conviction, unless we can demonstrate to the world our own willingness and ability to develop a sense of community with one another. In this matter we are dwellers in glass houses, and our most admirable precepts will be vitiated by a bad example.

Our efficiency will also suffer if there is overlapping of function, or lack of co-ordination in our efforts—still more so if there should be any element of competition between us either for membership or influence.

It was with a cordial desire to join hands with other international bodies working for the same, or similar ends that the World Federation at Dublin two years ago decided to make contact with the International Federation of Teachers' Associations, and the International Federation of Associations of Secondary Teachers. The first-fruits of those contacts were decisions to organise the congresses of the three bodies this year in Oxford at the same time, and to appoint representatives to discuss how far it might be possible to go forward together in the future.

Our organisations are great and important, and there have been good reasons for their separate growth. But the interests of Education and Peace are still greater, and amply justify a patient and determined attempt to find a co-operative foundation for future effort. If it be at all possible, let us join hands in a great cause, and agree to go forward together on a mission than which there can be none nobler under Heaven—the mission of cross-fertilising the minds of the peoples of all nations with ideals of goodwill, friendship and lasting peace.

Arts, Letters and Sciences

Indian and East Iranian Pottery.

The discovery of the Indus Valley civilization ranks as the most revolutionary contribution to the history of human culture in modern years. Prof. V. Gordon Childe in a discourse on the above subject tries to establish some similarity between certain aspects of ancient Indian ceramics and those of Sumerian or Egyptian civilization of the Pyramid Age in the *Ancient Egypt and the East*. The author observes:

"The discovery of the Indus civilization may eventually rank as the most dramatic and revolutionary contribution to the history of human culture made in the current century. In the III millennium B.C. the Indus valley was the seat of a complete urban civilization fully the peer of those of Sumer or of Egypt in the Pyramid Age. The newly discovered centre of city life was already in contact with Mesopotamia, and thus directly contributing to the formation of the cultural tradition which we inherit. Moreover, its civilization was based upon the same fundamental discoveries as the Sumerian and Egyptian, but these were elaborated in a thoroughly individual and, indeed, already Indian way. In the following notes on certain aspects of early Indian ceramics I hope to illustrate the last two points—to emphasize the thoroughly individual specialized character of the newly discovered civilization and to define the problems raised by its underlying kinship with the more familiar cultures of the Near East.

To prove in the first place the underlying unity in ceramic technique between India and Mesopotamia it suffices to refer to an illuminating study by Dr. Mackay. He has pointed out that several technical processes employed today by the village potters of Sindh and the Punjab can be traced already among the prehistoric potters of Mohen-jo-daro."

Russian Exhibition.

The following account of the exhibition appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

"The impressive Russian Exhibition at 1, Belgrave Square, is to remain in being till July 13th. A remarkable assortment of works of art and craft has been assembled by the courtesy of owners of many nationalities.

There is a good deal to astonish the visitor, and on the ground-floor a collection of icons has been brought together which can only provoke the purest amazement and pleasure. Some of the finest of these paintings are obviously first cousins to Italian primitive art.

The Pellegrina pearl on the first-floor, the pearshaped pearl that is supposed to have belonged to Cleopatra, is insured for £20,000. Its sister was the pearl said to have been dissolved to make a drink for Anthony. Be that as it may, the Pellegrina and the other chief jewels in Room 6 make a display which, if it is not primarily artistic, is at any rate historically interesting, and of a kind one cannot see every day. In the same room are many examples of the skill of Faberge, who conceived the fascinating idea of specializing in luxurious nick-nacks for kings and queens to give each other as presents.

Indeed, three-quarters of the exhibition are associated with the Romanoffs. Their portraits hang on the walls ; we are shown the porcelain off which they dined, and on the third floor are some of the eighteen thousand dresses that swelled (quite the correct verb) the wardrobe of the Empress Elizabeth : one per day for half a century. The elegance of their capital is best shown by some of the topographical water-colour drawings ; and the kind of atmosphere that was breathed by the people in Tolstoy's novels clings faintly to the charming wedgwood-like room on the second-floor.

It is fitting that the art of the Ballet, which owes so much to Russia, should be represented : many designs for stage sets and costumes have been hung, including of course, characteristic examples of Bakst.

The receipts from the exhibition are to benefit sick and destitute Russian exiles in England. The object is worthy, and the enterprise of unusual interest : for the sake of the icons alone everyone who cares for beautiful things should be ready to pay his half-crown."

China's Ministers of Beauty.

In a discourse on Chinese Art, Sister Daya observes in the *Message of the East* :

" A mis-stroke, for an artist, is not a very serious catastrophe if he happens to be of the West. Work can be wiped out and done over again, and there are few artists indeed who arrive at the goal of completion without producing a series of metamorphoses in their subjects, akin to those the worm goes through in becoming a butterfly. With the ancient Chinese artists, however, there could be no false stroke, or if there were one, it would have to remain unaltered. For his " canvas " was not canvas at all, rather it was silk or a porous paper which showed every mark and retained it permanently. Thus, at the very start, hand and eye had to be one, and the vision single ; in fact the artist had to be far beyond the groping, experimental stage in regard to the working out of his concept. " The Chinese artist," comments Miss Hackney, " had to have a complete conception to the minutest detail of what he wanted to do, before putting brush to silk. He had to ' sketch it out with his brain ' beforehand, as an ancient Chinese painter once tersely phrased it." Naturally this called for a memory made practically faultless through prolonged training in visualization. Instead of looking without the Chinese master looked within, not only for form, color and composition, but for the movement of life as well.

Even to fix in one's mind the image of the most simple of objects requires command of the lower levels of concentration. Think, then, of the heights attained by these wonderful old Celestials who could out of their own mental content reproduce, with what sincerity and how exquisitely, the running stream and the flowing cloud and the relationship between them ! "

The Victorians and Their Books.

Mrs. Amy Cruse (the clever writer of a study called " The Shaping of English Literature ") has given us a delightful volume, dealing more with readers than authors. In it we discover what books people read in Victorian days, " and how their reactions influenced the future output."

We can imagine how the making of this book, with the endless necessary references, to literature and papers of the period, entertained Mrs. Cruse, who is quite obviously a great reader herself. She is to be congratulated on having drawn a charming, truthful, and informative portrait of popular reading during the first fifty years of the Queen's reign. Much of the material dug out of the archives of the past by her painstaking hands is extremely valuable, and the volume is certain to be consulted by students in the future.

The Victorian Family.

This is no dry-as-dust record; the author has a light and entertaining touch, and she pictures for us very skilfully a household of the upper middle class—a class which was rapidly rising in importance at the time of the Queen's accession. Father by the fire, in the solidly equipped room, Mamma with her worsted work opposite him, Caroline the eldest girl, just engaged to the dark-whiskered Edward.

An amusing account is given of the love of Papa for "Pickwick". After Edward, a great reader aloud, has finished one of Mrs. Hemans' touching poems, father became restless:

"Here, let's have some Pickwick now," he said; and Edward, with brightening eyes, took the slim green number from his hand. Caroline's eyes brightened too, for she, with thousands of other people in England, was following the career of the stout little spectacled gentleman and his lanky cockney serving man with keenest interest. There followed a delightful half-hour, with peals of laughter from Papa and Edward, and soft lady-like titters from Caroline. Mamma set her lips and tried to think of the Rev. Josiah Banks' last Sunday's sermon.....

Later, when Mamma went down to the kitchen, she hopes that her servants are busy with the tracts she has given them (including that soul-stirring one by Banks, entitled "To-morrow You May Wake Up in Hell,") but when she reached the basement she heard shouts of laughter, and opening the kitchen door, saw Jane, the housemaid, with the obnoxious number of "Pickwick" in her hand, reading aloud to the cook and Henry the boot-boy.

Dickens.

There is an excellent chapter on Dickens, and it emphasizes the great influence that young man had (he was only twenty-four at the time that "Pickwick" appeared), over the boys and girls of the land. Dr. Arnold complained that his pupils showed to an increasing extent the fault of childishness, and this he severely attributed to their reading 'a great number of exciting books as "Pickwick" and "Nickleby." The whole nation was upset when Dickens killed Little Nell in the "Old Curiosity Shop!"

Macready, the famous actor, said that he opened the November number and saw one print in it of the dear dead child that gave a dead chill to my blood. I dread to read it, but I must get it over.

Are there any such books now? I paused in this review to ask a younger visitor. "No, because we have too many novels," was the interesting but hardly accurate answer.

The Poets and their Readers.

One of the most attractive sections of "The Victorians and Their Book" is devoted to a consideration of poetry in the forties, fifties, sixties. We are reminded of the hosts of ardent Byron-worshippers. It is odd to remember that the trio of Tennysons—Frederick, Charles and Alfred—looked on him as the king of poets.

Read Ouida, read Miss Braddon, and there, as Mrs. Cruse points out, you find many heroines who revel in the romantic creator of "Childe Harold" and the rest. Good Miss Charlotte Yonge, however, regarded the poems of Byron as mischievous, and would not allow the heir of Redclyffe to enjoy them!

There are some interesting things said about Wordsworth and his vast influence on Victorian readers, about Tupper and his large public, and about Mrs. Hemans, "read and praised and almost revered." Then came Tennyson's great vogue, and he gave the city folks a fresh sense of the beauty of Nature, and taught even the country-dwellers some things they did not know ("The cedar spreads his dark green layers of shade," quoted Mr. Holbrook from the "Gardener's Daughter," "Capital term—layers—wonderful man.")

In Oxford, as Professor Mackail pointed out in his "Life of William Morris," the enthusiasm that prevailed about the "divine Alfred" at the time of "In Memoriam" is hard to understand in these more prosaic, crowded days. Followed Browning's popularity—slow in starting, with the puzzling early poems, but eventually triumphant. Who does not remember the Browning Societies that were run in every other small town up to the nineties? Some still survive.

Favourite Books still.

Among the favourite Victorian books that are still, happily miraculously, favourites, we hear a good deal of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Thousands of copies of this story are still sold every year. Lady Frances Balfour, writing only a few years ago, said:

I hear the criticism of today on its vulgar style and its melodrama; I keep silence even from good words. It did its work. A woman's pen, under divine inspiration, touched the iron fetters; the rivets fell apart, and the slave, wherever he cowered, went free.

Mrs. Cruse does right to emphasize the great debt that Victorian readers owed to books from America (which is the title of yet another of her graceful and entertaining chapters).

As Sir William Robertson Nicoll wrote:

At a time when Browning, Carlyle and Tennyson were proscribed by reason of their price, I was busy reading Longfellow, Lowell, Emerson, Hawthorne, Oliver Wendell Holmes and many others. To this day their books have a wonderful power over me. The scent of roses still hangs about their names.

Emerson, it is safe to say, influenced some of the most brilliant minds for long. When Nicoll in the War days was at a luncheon given to Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, by the then American Ambassador, Mr. Walter Page, he records that he kept thinking of

Emerson's great and haunting lines, so finely expressive of America's true spirit:

Though love repine and reason chafe
 There comes a voice without reply ;
 'Tis man's perdition to be safe,
 When for the truth he ought to die.

Few of us, probably, are setting down how we were affected by "The Forstye Saga".....how we wrestled and overcame in an encounter with Mr. Stephen Spender.

The writer who attempts to picture the reading of the Georgian Age will indeed have his or her work cut out. Nowadays one has only to observe one's companions to see how books are galloped through and forgotten. It is hard, very hard, on this era of many sensations to carry long remembrance of a book in one's memory, though the great ones do make their mark.

We hope we have said enough about Mrs. Cruse's vivid and lively work to send many readers to it. Old people, real unashamed Victorians especially, will be pleased with it.

(C. Miles—*Great Thoughts.*)

Haunts of the Famous.

We go roaming again but in "Shadows on the Road," by Mercedes Gallagher Parks (Allen and Unwin), we aim neither for the glorious country-side nor after the ideal town, but follow our admirable guide on a series of pilgrimages to the Haunt of the famous.

Jane Austen, Scott, Beethoven, Saint Francis, Byron, Mozart, Horace Walpole—to the spots made famous by these and many others this book takes us. It is daintily written, it is enthusiastically written; I find myself wondering whether the author is American, for such devoted homage to the shrines of the great is slightly foreign to the more phlegmatic English temperament. Not that there is anything banal in this hero-worship, Miss Parks having contrived to go to the right places and yet see them from an unusual and decidedly original angle. Thus, in visiting Jane Austen's place of residence, she also gives us an unforgettable picture of Winchester, making us realise the beauty and "atmosphere" of that historic town anew.

Then she strays delightfully from place to place and when we reach Berkeley Square of London, gives us the happiest of dissertations on Horace Walpole, speaking of him as "Horry" with ease and familiarity, for all the world as though that "high priest of platonic friendship" were quizzically smiling at her elbow. It is a natural transition from Walpole to the continent where we switch over to memories of Frederick II, of Haydon and Schubert. So to Vienna with a delicately sympathetic study of Beethoven. Then, prefacing the story of a lesser hero, Johann Orts "the vanished Archduke," nephew of the Emperor Francis Joseph, comes the sort of description which reveals this author's gift for discovering unrecognised spots of beauty or distinction:

"Immediately to the east of Salzburg is.....the undiscovered paradise of Central Europe..... No travel agencies have proclaimed its beauties in shrilly coloured posters. Yet here, in the very middle of things, and within

easy reach of both Munich and Vienna is one of the prettiest, most attractive, and most unspoiled country-sides in Europe, whose natural sites are second to those of few regions in the world, and whose people are simple, gay, friendly and charming. By a blessed and unexplained dispensation of fate they have kept their own quaint way of living and their own picturesque and distinctive dressThe country-side has that almost incredible prettiness which, outside of Christmas cards and book illustrations, is only to be found. I believe, in two countries in the world: Austria and England..... Things have not just grown as they are because they could not help it, as they appear to do in England, but they have often been put there because the peasants like to see them looking neat and pretty. So there is much more decorativeness than in the English scene.....Yet another contrast... ..is that the English country.....seems planned for play; the Austrian for work."

Miss Parks writes equally well of even New York, taking us there, quite astonishingly, to the Church of St. Francis of Assisi. Of the haunts of Byron, Durer and Shelley one would expect her to be eloquent, nor does she disappoint. It is a pleasing pilgrimage this following of the shadows on the road under her kindly tutelage.

We are reminded again of Jane Austen in "Six Portraits," by Isabel C. Clarke (Hutchinson), a most satisfying and engrossing book. Those who are interested in the lives of literary figures will read every word of this book with avid interest and at the end wish Miss Clarke—despite the industry revealed in this bulky volume—had kindly increased the number of characters in her gallery. The portraits are of George Eliot, John Oliver Hobbes (Mrs. Craigie), Mrs. Oliphant, Katherine Mansfield, and Jane Austen.

Madame de Stael.

The most interesting picture is that of Madame de Stael, that woman of abounding vitality, extraordinary friendships and titanic persistence who was the bane of Napoleon's existence. Again and again he banished her from Paris, even from its environs; again and again she returned, immediately gathering round her the famous, the witty, the established ones, not only of Parisian society but of international fame. Napoleon was afraid of her influence, of her tongue and even of her pen:

Napoleon, planning a descent upon the English coast, wrote to Fouché saying that if that jade Madame de Stael ventured within a hundred and twenty miles of Paris, she would be arrested.....The Emperor regarded such writings as tendentious (this after the publication of "Corinne"). She extolled the English, their country, their Constitution and customs, to the detriment of anything France had to offer. The book expressed views that were in exact opposition to his own, and of course everyone was reading it. She must be forbidden to write even fiction, since she used it as a vehicle for the expression of her political aims and antipathies. Hardly had "Corinne" appeared than she received an order to leave France immediately. Bad citizens, Napoleon said, were not to be given the opportunity of disturbing the peace of his capital during his absence. "That wicked intriguer had better take care. Send her back to her lake!"

The study of Jane Austen is slighter, but her life was a pleasanter story, calm as an English river in comparison with the turbulence of Madame de Stael's stormy career. There is nothing outstandingly new about Jane

beyond the fact that the happiness of her life is more emphasized than usual. Pictures of George Eliot seem always a little dour, but this one is enlightened by the warm tribute paid her in her devotion to George Lewes. This side of the powerful novelist we rarely see shown is given here too, that unexpected side which demanded loving companionship, though many thought her so frigid.

Of Mrs. Oliphant this author writes most tenderly. Here was a woman—too much neglected in this day—who sacrificed her whole life toiling for others. Her perpetual struggle to her husband, her sons, her nephew and nieces by her pen is beautiful though not a little tragic. She was a rare character, and part of her indisputable strength lay in the fact that she seemed unaware that life was hard on her. The heavier her burdens grew so much the more was she willing to shoulder them. To the end she worked for others, and through it all she was a devoted mother and a most winsome friend.

The sketch of John Oliver Hobbes strikes one as being bright and polished, perhaps fittingly so to describe the career of that brilliant writer who died at the early age of thirty-nine when in the full flush of her genius. Even more tragic is the story of Katherine Mansfield, a story more familiar to today's readers since Katherine was of the modern school of writers. Hers was a sad, a restless and a striving life, and she, too, was but young when death cut short her genius.

This vivid book is a worthy successor to Miss Clarke's previous studies of great literary figures and the more voracious among us but ask for more of the same calibre.

Maurice Maeterlinck.

"Before the great Silence," by Maurice Maeterlinck, translated by Bernard Mill (Allen and Unwin), is written in disjointed paragraphs, as though it were the haphazard musings of the poet. They are musings of a haunting sadness:

"We do not know what will be tomorrow; but let us be assured that it will be nearer the end and sadder than today.

We are already living in the grave.
Nothing is ours, least of all that which we are."

Thuswise do his meditations turn. Maeterlinck's prose—in this case so akin to poetry—is always a joy to read and his translator preserves its beauty well; but this book, with its staccato thoughts and gloomy inferences will be a mystery to the average reader. Is it a swan song, or did he intend it to be so deep as to be understandable by only the few?

(M. Marshall—*Great Thoughts.*)

Intermediary Iron Metabolism in Children.

Determinations of an acid soluble iron fraction contained in serum and considered to be an intermediary product of iron metabolism were made in a series of children of different ages. The highest value was found in umbilical blood from a new-born child. The value fell during the next few months and reached its lowest point at weaning; it subsequently rose

and reached a constant value. The fall in this iron fraction ran roughly parallel with the fall in Hb. In the presence of any infection, its value fell rapidly in the absence of a corresponding fall in Hb. level, and it returned to normal on recovery.

It is claimed by Thoenes (*Acta Paediatrica*, 16:507-520, 1933) that the view that his iron fraction is an intermediary product of iron metabolism is supported by the fact that a blockade of the reticuloendothelial system by the intravenous injection of colloidal metals in animals causes a marked lowering of the value of this iron fraction.

Investigations on Heavy Muscular Work.

In view of the growing importance of sport throughout the world, and the tendency to support it out of public funds, an enquiry into the physical effects of severe exertion was sponsored by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations (*Quart. Bull. Health Org. League of Nations* 3:288-417, 1934). Three young men, first class athletes and also physiologists, took part in the enquiry in the double role of experiments and subjects. It was found that while during rest about 75 per cent. of heat produced is eliminated by radiation and convection and 25 per cent. by evaporation, during extreme exertion this ratio may be reversed. The subjects, in performing light and moderate work, catabolised both carbohydrate and fat in proportion determined by the preceding diet and nearly the same as during rest. The heavier the work, the greater the percentage of carbohydrate catabolised. A gradual fall in blood sugar, correlated with depletion of glycogen stores, was observed during prolonged muscular effort; at the same time lactic acid continued to rise. In work of maximal intensity, oxygen supply becomes the limiting factor for the duration of work. Kidney function is influenced by moderate muscular work, but seriously affected only when work is very heavy.

Practical suggestions with regard to training for athletic contests are added. During the days preceding a severe contest, the diet should be high as regards energy value and carbohydrate, and heavy work should be avoided to allow for maximal filling of the glycogen stores. At least two days rest is essential between contests and games demanding extreme effort.

Factors influencing the Utilisation of Calcium and Phosphorus of Cow's Milk.

The results of balance experiments with an infant of 80 days old are recorded by Hiss, Poncher and Wood Ward (*Am. J. Dis. Child*, 48:1058, 1934) in which retentions of Ca and P were determined on (a) whole boiled cow's milk, (b) base exchange treated boiled milk, (c) base exchange treated powdered milk and (d) whole boiled cow's milk 0.6 g. citric acid per 100 ml. In all cases the milks were diluted with water and lactose and orange juice added. Although the base exchange treatment of the milk resulted in a reduction in the amount of Ca and P in the milk, the retention, both actual and percentage, of these two elements was raised. The treatment of the milk by base exchange results in a modification of the amount of ultra-filterable Ca and an increase in the amount of fixed base in the ash, and it is considered that these changes play a part in obtaining a maximum retention of Ca and P on minimum feedings of milk.

(*Indian Medical Journal*)

Astronomical Inscriptions of the Mayas.

The Mayas, whose culture to some extent is redolent of Indian Renaissance in Mexico, have left behind them numerous inscriptions, carved on the stone. Prof. Ludendorff, who has been confronted with the question of countless dates in these inscriptions, has given the world the results of his investigation, in *Research and Progress*, a German quarterly of Sciences :

The Mayas, who inhabited south-east Mexico, Yucatan and Guatemala, are the civilized people of pre-Columbian America who have left inscriptions on stone behind them. Like the three Maya codices which remain to us, they are written in a peculiar hieroglyphic script, efforts to decipher which have not in general yet met with success. But—chiefly on the basis of copies made by Bishop Diego de Landa, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century—we can at least read the calendar symbols (hieroglyphics for certain spaces of time and names of days, and we have likewise learnt to understand the symbols for the numbers, which, in their usual form at least, are constructed on a very simple principle. Thus we have gradually got so far as to see that the Maya inscriptions literally teem with dates, indeed in part consist of nothing but dates. The investigators of the Maya civilization have also succeeded in unravelling the calendar system of this remarkable people, which appears at first to be very complicated but is really very simple. The most remarkable fact that emerges from this is that the Mayas numbered the days continuously, so that every day is determined by a definite number, much as in the Julian system employed by modern astronomers. But apart from the number of the day a complete Maya date also shows the position of the day in a year of 365 days and in the so-called 'Tzolkin' a kind of year of 260 days.

Indeed the whole result of my investigations justifies one in assuming that the Mayas were very thorough observers of the motions of the planets, moon and sun, and had a very exact knowledge of the periods in the movements of these celestial bodies. They show further that Spinden's abovementioned rule for converting Maya dates into our calendar is correct. According to this most of the Maya inscriptions date from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The astronomical science of the Maya must have been already very old at this time, for otherwise so accurate a knowledge of the length of the year and the month and the planetary revolutions such as is clearly seen in the inscriptions and also in the Dresden codex—which dates, it is true, from the later period—would be impossible.

It cannot of course be maintained that all Maya inscriptions have an astronomical content.

Universe Built of Energy Alone.

Energy and matter are forms of the same thing, and space is discarded in a new concept advanced by a noted pathologist, Dr. Eugene J. Asnis. Abandoning mathematics, the theory likens the universe to a huge electric fan, with energy as blades, constantly speeding up and slowing down. Energy at maximum is like the fan blades at high speed, Dr. Asnis says. Neither can be detected by the eye. Energy slows down just like the fan however, and eventually becomes visible as matter. Although contradicting

the Einstein belief that space and matter are similar, Dr. Asnis agrees with the famous German's statement that science must go beyond mathematics to find the answer to the riddle of life.

Dr. Asnis substitutes zeros for numbers in a system he calls "zerotie." The terms "finite" and "infinite" are discarded and replaced by "maximum" and "minimum" because the latter are relative terms.

The minimum is matter, or mass; the maximum is energy in its purest form. As links between them, he gives, in order, the molecule; the atom; the electron; the photon, or solecule; the cosmic ray, or cosmisule, and finally, as the ultimate positive particle, the proton, or ether.

Space is ignored by the theory as mere manifestation. "This room is filled with space," says Dr. Asnis by way of example. "Now fill the room with coal. Where is the space? It is gone. Where did you push it to? It was never there."

Although a newcomer to the field of research physics, Dr. Asnis is a recognized expert in pathology, and credits the birth of his theory to three puzzles of biology and physiology:

First, whereas a muscle when irritated electrically becomes gradually more and more fatigued, the nerve that controls the muscle never tires.

Second, no one knows where a nerve gets its food, if it gets any.

Third, the transmission of nerve impulse over the "synaps," or gap between the sensory and the motor nerves, has never been explained.

At Home and Abroad

Fifth International Co-op. Societies Congress

It is understood that Mr. P. N. Mukherjee, late of the Bengal Co-operative Service and consulting Co-operative Adviser to several Indian Ruling States, has recently received an invitation to attend the Fifth International Congress of Co-operative Societies of Austria, which will be held at Salzburg during the next Good Friday session, under the presidency of Sir Harold Bellman, Chairman of the British National Association.

Mr. Mukherjee is a "Fellow International" of the Manchester Co-operative College, England, and had won the reputation of formulating a "Co-operative Scheme" in Ichalkaranjee State (Bombay). It is further understood that Mr. Mukherjee is soon going to England as the London Co-operative Trade Agent of a progressive Indian State with the object of circulating the 'State-made' industrial products to different parts of Europe and the British Isles.

Newspaper Exhibition

It has been decided to hold the third All-India Newspaper Exhibition at Allahabad on the occasion of Adh-Kumbh Fair in January under the auspices of the Vidya Mandal, Allahabad.

It will be remembered that Mr. Sachidanand Sinha, Bar.-at-Law, editor of 'Hindustan Review,' who inaugurated last year's exhibition at Allahabad and took a keen interest in this movement, had invited this year's exhibition to take place at Patna in the Shrimati Radhika Devi Institute Hall, but in view of the fact that a large number of people from various parts of India will be visiting Allahabad on the occasion of the big Adh-Kumbh Fair at Allahabad in January, he was consulted in the matter. It is learnt that Mr. Sinha has approved of the proposal of holding the Exhibition at Allahabad in January. Several new sections are proposed to be included in this year's exhibition.

Administration of Alwar

An announcement has been made at a Durbar held under orders of the Government of India by Mr. Ogilvie, Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, regarding the administration of Alwar. Mr. Ogilvie said that the Government of India had been throughout anxious to spare the Maharaja's feelings but the responsibility for the announcement he was making must rest on the shoulders of those ill-disposed persons who were carrying on propaganda for the Maharaja's premature return and by deception and intimidation were inducing others to sign petitions calculated to disturb the present form of administration. Should these endeavours be repeated, the Administration would know how to deal with them and would not hesitate to act accordingly. Mr. Ogilvie announced, "The scheme for

relieving the indebtedness of the State will necessitate the continuance of Government control for at least 15 years and the Government of India can see no prospect of the Maharaja's return to Alwar within that period."

Jute Restriction in Bengal

It has already been announced that the Government of Bengal, after considering the results of last year's propaganda for restriction of the area under jute, decided to renew propaganda this year, with a view to securing restriction of the area under jute in 1936. It has now been decided that the extent of restriction in 1936 should be one-third of the acreage under jute in 1924 and it is announced for information of the public that the Government intend to use their best efforts to bring about this reduction in acreage under jute next year. The area which should be planted with jute in 1936 would thus be two-thirds of the area so planted in 1934.

Everest Reconnaissance party's return

Mr. E. E. Shipton, leader of the Everest Reconnaissance Party, with members of the party, has returned on completion of survey photography work in preparation for next summer's expedition.

Franchise for Upper Chambers

A White Paper has been issued embodying the proposals by His Majesty's Government for electorates for the Federal Council of State and Provincial Legislative Councils, electorates in Chief Commissioner's provinces for the Federal Legislature and the list of scheduled castes. It will be noticed that the same franchise has been fixed for Federal and Provincial Upper Houses. The total number of voters as a result of these proposals approximates to 160,000 which is rather more than Lord Zetland's first estimate during the debate in the House of Lords.

More troops for East Africa

Arrangements are being made by the Military Department in Bombay for embarking more British units for East Africa. Plans are being kept confidential. Several officers have been asked to cancel their leaves or postpone their going home. Several units in various parts of India have been ordered to stand by ready for a possible move. Some brigades have been actually ordered to leave for Africa. It is reported that Somerset Light Infantry now stationed in Poona, is one of the brigades to receive orders for embarkation to an unknown destination in East Africa. It is believed that these arrangements have been proceeded with so that there may be perfect policing arrangements in British territories in East Africa.

Political and Civic Rights for Indians in S. Africa

Sir Syed Raza Ali has succeeded in getting a motion advocating the restoration of the franchise to Indians accepted by an influential gathering of Europeans at Pietermaritzburg. The movement for political progress

had been in inverse ratio in the case of Natal Indians. First they had had political and municipal franchise. The former was taken away in 1896 and the latter in 1924, declared the speaker, and now they were without either. An attempt must be made to give first municipal and then political rights to the people who were now more deserving than were their fathers and grandfathers to exercise the privilege.

Mrs. Kamala Nehru's health

"Kamala's condition continues to cause us great anxiety. The slight improvement which has come about soon after her arrival has not made much difference to the disease, and she still has very high temperature. She is behaving very gallantly, but it is a hard fight." The above is an extract from a letter written by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Mrs. Purnima Banerjee of Allahabad.

Introduction of the Elective Principle in Fiji

It is understood that the Government of India have sent a despatch to the Secretary of State regarding the question of introduction of the elective principle in Fiji. In accordance with the assurance given, the Government first consulted the Standing Emigration Committee which, it is believed, practically unanimously endorsed the popular view which is also the view of the Indian community in Fiji. The despatch of the Government of India is understood to be based on this, though in supporting it without qualification, it has been made quite clear that it is prejudicial to the previously expressed desire to see a common electoral roll maintained and the principle of equality, without racial discrimination, established.

Mr. Joshi sails for Geneva

Mr. N. M. Joshi sailed for Geneva and London. At Geneva he will attend the session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation at the end of this month. This session, which is the first after the International Labour Conference last June, will consider the action to be taken on the various resolutions adopted by the Conference and will also settle the agenda for the 1937 Conference. It is also likely Mr. Joshi will attend the Tripartite Maritime Conference which commences at Geneva on November 25. This Conference will follow up the work of the Maritime Conference of 1929 and though only of a consultative character, it is expected to settle the form wherein various questions on the agenda should come up before the Plenary Conference in 1936. Important questions concerning the hours of work of seamen, arrangements for their welfare at ports of call, manning of ships, etc., will also come up for consideration and India is one of the chief countries of Maritime importance invited to attend its deliberations.

Demonstration against Italy banned

Labour organisations in Bombay city which had announced a procession to the Italian Consulate in the city as a mark of the working classes'

protest against Italy's aggressive attitude in Abyssinia have been directed by the police not to take out such a procession, as it was likely to result in breach of the peace. Pursuant to the police ban on the labour procession to the Italian Consulate, elaborate police precautions were taken in order to avoid any unpleasant developments. The demonstrators abandoned the idea of a procession at the last minute and contented themselves with holding a meeting and passing a resolution condemning Italy's aggressive activities in Abyssinia, including the alleged bombing of women and children. After the meeting, demonstrators quietly dispersed.

Indian ships for East Africa

Bombay Harbour is humming with preparations for converting several steamers into hospital ships. It is understood that several such ships will leave the shores of India for East Africa at any time. S. S. "Ellora" is now ready to sail as a hospital ship. It is likely that the S. S. "Versova" is also to be converted into a hospital ship and hundreds of new workers have been recruited in connection with the scheme. These two steamers, it may be recalled, served as hospital ships during the Great War; but were later converted to passenger steamers. Two other boats are understood to have been ordered to be ready to leave Bombay at a moment's notice. It is also reported that the S. S. "Rona" and "Rhonda" are on their way to Bombay from Calcutta. These, on arrival at Bombay, may be used for carrying troops and other materials together with S. S. "Karanja," and S. S. "Howrah" which are already ready for sailing. It is not confirmed when these steamers will leave Bombay, but it is stated that they are expecting instructions from the British War Office at any time.

India's Public health

The latest report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India which is expected to be released shortly for publication strikes, it is understood, a pessimistic note in regard to certain particulars. Col. Russell is believed to have taken a serious view of infant mortality, which, during the year under report, was responsible for one and three quarter million deaths. The existing campaigns in the field of child welfare and maternity relief, he thinks, have exercised little widespread influence and without deprecating the admirable preventive work done in the large number of child welfare centres all over India, he has stressed, it appears, as of even greater importance the urgent need for expanding primary health necessities, such as pure water supplies, better conservancy, and more effective removal of sewage, all of which would have profound effect on the appalling infant child mortality in the country. Another disquieting feature is the terrible ravages of malaria.

Italy to intercept Munitions for Abyssinia

Sixteen Italian submarines are reported to be stationed in the Red Sea to try to intercept munitions and war material which may be shipped to Ethiopia from foreign countries. Certain Somali tribes friendly to Italy have been entrusted with the task of intercepting munitions and strictest watch is being kept along the Abyssinian and British Somaliland frontier.

Abyssinian authorities are well aware of the activities of these "hostile friends" and many suspected persons have been arrested. The town of Jijiga has been closed to all foreigners.

France's new Battleship

France's first new battleship since the War, the "Dunkerque," which is the last word in warship construction, weighs 26,500 tons and has an estimated speed of 28·30 knots. Her armaments are eight 13·2 inch and sixteen 5·5 inch guns compared to the German battleship "Deutschland's" six 11 inch and eight 6 inch guns. The "Dunkerque" will have special defences against submarine, torpedo and aerial attacks and will carry four high-powered seaplanes and two catapults to protect them in the air.

New Spanish Cabinet

Senor Chapaprieta, late Finance Minister, has formed a Cabinet composed mainly of Radicals, Catholics and Agrarians. Senor Chapaprieta, who is an Independent, takes Finance, in addition to the Premiership, Snr. Lerroux. Foreign Affairs and Snr. Gil Robles, the War portfolio.

War in Ethiopia

Hostilities broke out between Italy and Abyssinia with the aerial bombardment of Adowa and Adigrat by Italian planes. Italian troops advanced on two fronts—from Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. They have captured Adigrat and Adowa after severe bombardment. The holy city of Aksum has also fallen and with its fall the Italians have established the line connecting Aksum, Adowa and Adigrat, 70 miles long. In the eastern front, continuous guerilla warfare is stated to be going on near Ogaden. Wal Wal is reported to have been captured by the Ethiopians. The Abyssinian Commander, Dedjasmatch Ayelu, is steadily advancing to Eritrean territory to the Italian left flank, according to unofficial messages, while Ras Kassa at the head of an army of 80,000 is moving against the Italian right flank in the neighbourhood of the River Setti. Ras Seyoum, who is meeting the Italian advance, claims that he has captured an Italian Colonel and 30 officers.

Italy GUILTY

By a unanimous verdict of the League Council, Italy has been morally outlawed from the comity of civilized nations and declared to have had recourse to war in violation of her most sacred engagements. The other members of the League are pledged, ultimately, to the severance of all trade or financial relations and to the prohibition of all intercourse with the Covenant-breaking State. With a vital amendment, naming Italy the aggressor, the Council has approved the report of the Committee of Six. It was the first time in the history of the League that the Council decided to apply Article 16 and this against one of the founder-members of the League. The next step will be for the Assembly to associate itself with the decision of the Council and a co-ordination committee will be appointed to

deal with the economic measures necessary to take as sanctions. The committee's first duty will be to prepare a plan of economic sanctions. It will probably include the interruption of diplomatic but not consular relations and probably the removal of the arms embargo as regards Ethiopia. The question of a blockade is not likely to arise immediately but no doubt it will be considered if more moderate means fail.

American Embargo on Export of Arms

President Roosevelt has issued a proclamation announcing the existence of a state of war between Italy and Ethiopia, thereby automatically bringing into force the embargo on the export of munitions to both the belligerents under the Neutrality Act. The embargo is confined to actual munitions and does not extend to raw materials.

Martial Law in Bulgaria

Martial law has been proclaimed all over Bulgaria following the discovery of an alleged plot to overthrow the Government and force the King to abdicate. Many arrests have been made including Colonel Damian Veltcheff, leader of the movement to restrict the powers of the King and M. Todoroff, ex-Finance Minister. The assassination of King Boris, Queen Joanna, Ministers of State, forty officers and numerous civilians was the aim of the conspirators in a plot to overthrow the Government, according to the Prime Minister, M. Tisheff, who, in a broadcast address, described the conspirators as ambitious and harebrained.

Herr Von Papen's Mission

The German ex-Chancellor, Herr von Papen, is once again the central figure in a political manoeuvre behind the scenes which may have repercussions in the whole of Europe. Under Herr Hitler's special orders he is understood to be making all efforts to bring about a *rapprochement* between Austria and Germany to end the three years' acute tension and offer a non-aggression pact for five years. The plan has been greatly advocated by General Gombos whose recent visit to Berlin was closely connected with the questions and was approved by Dr. Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor. Strong opposition will come from the Vice-Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg, and the Heimwehr whose influence would considerably weaken such a pact. German official circles describe the report of the non-aggression pact as without foundation.

Enquiry into Cost of Kenya Administration

Sir Alan Pim, who was formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service and for some time the Finance Member of the United Provinces Government, has been appointed as commissioner to inquire into the whole field of Governmental expenditure in Kenya, particularly the cost of the administrative and technical services. Mr. S. Milligan, formerly Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, will be adviser with respect to the agricultural and associated scientific services and Mr. C. H. Hartwell of the Ceylon Civil Service will act as Secretary to the Commission.

Japan and Sanctions

Although well informed circles do not expect Japan to participate in sanctions, it is believed that she will ban war supplies to Italy. It is presumed, however, the normal non-military commerce with Italy will be maintained. Japanese export, especially of silk rayon, is expected to increase to all parts of the world owing to Italy's preoccupation with Abyssinia.

Memel Election

An approximate estimate of the result of the Memel election gives the German list between a million and half a million. 1,600,000 votes from a total of 1,912,000 were cast. Each voter voted for twenty-nine Deputies. German parties appear to have obtained 24 seats.

Mr. Lansbury Resigns

Mr. Lansbury has resigned the Chairmanship of the Parliamentary Labour Party which has been accepted by the Party with profound regret. Major Attlee has been unanimously elected chairman.

Britain's Reply to French Enquiry

The British reply to the French enquiry with regard to the future British attitude in respect of the effective application of sanctions provided in Article 16 of the Covenant, in the event of a violation of the Covenant and resort to force in Europe, is contained in a note handed to the French Ambassador. The reply refers to and largely recapitulates the outstanding points of Sir S. Hoare's speech in Geneva on September 11 and asserts that Britain's intention is to fulfil their obligations under the Covenant. The idea is that the Covenant has become part of the national conscience. Nothing is further from the truth than to insinuate that British policy is peculiar to the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. Sir Samuel Hoare emphasises again that the League stands, and Britain with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and (the following is underlined) particularly for steady and collective resistance of all acts of unprovoked aggression. The reply proceeds: No League member will be able to lay down policy with greater clarity of decision in advance of any particular case. It is also reported that Britain has asked France what her attitude would be in the event of a sudden attack by the Italian fleet on the British fleet.

American Arms Embargo

President Roosevelt has issued a proclamation giving a list of implements of war for which export licences must henceforth be obtained and which could be banned entirely in the event of war. Raw materials suitable for manufacture into munitions are not included in the list, which comprises rifles, machine-guns of all classes, ammunition of all types, war vessels including aircraft carriers, submarines, aircraft assembled or dismantled

designed for fighting, or utilising guns or bomb dropping, aircraft engines, mustard-gas and flame-throwers.

America to adhere to Naval Treaties

Wide prominence is given by the Press in United States to President Roosevelt's statement re-affirming American adherence to the naval limitation treaties. Speculating why President Roosevelt has made such a statement at the present time, "The Herald Tribune," New York, thinks that his purpose probably is to get Britain to think twice before launching on an enlarged naval building programme.

Herr von Ribbentrop's Secret Visit

Interest has been aroused by the mysterious visit paid by Herr von Ribbentrop to Brussels last week. It is stated in official circles that the visit was purely private but the rumour is widespread that Germany has offered a non-aggression pact to Belgium and it is revealed that Herr von Ribbentrop saw the Premier in his brief visit.

Germany's Arrears to the League

Unless Germany pays the League of Nations five million gold francs before October 20 which is the second anniversary of her notice of withdrawal she will be obliged to remain a member of the League. The sum represents her unpaid contributions and the Budget Committee has endorsed this view when it adopted the reports of the Committee of Contribution in Arrears.

Contributions to the League reduced

The League Commission Control has decided to reduce by seven per cent. the contributions of all States Members of the League. This is as the result of the French proposals for a ten per cent. reduction.

Germany's New Submarines

The German Navy's first submarine flotilla commissioned in Kiel consists of six U boats and also a surprise ship named after Commander Weddigen, who in the World War sank British cruisers at Aboukir, Hogue and Cressy.

League Resolution on World Trade

The Second Commission of the League Assembly adopted last week a resolution recommending the Governments to conclude bilateral agreements based on the most favoured nation clause with the object of encouraging free trade, subject, if necessary, to the provision that in the event of large variation in the rate of exchange between the currencies of the contracting parties, agreements may be revived at short notice. The preamble

recognises as an ultimate objective the return to an international gold standard but points out effective measures to remove impediments. World trade need not wait on the restoration of the gold standard.

The American Budget

The improvement of economic conditions was emphasised by President Roosevelt, when reviewing the budget. He declares that output and trade are expanding and that no new taxation will be required in the coming year. He anticipates a deficit for 1935-36 of 3,281 million dollars which is three hundred million below that for the previous year. The deficit is due entirely to emergency expenditure. The underlying rate of recovery points to a speedy decline of such expenditure. The President forecasts a revenue of 4,470 millions and an expenditure of 7,752 million dollars.

The World Around

The latest census taken in Germany records 1,845,837 more women in that country than men.

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An amphibian motor car has been put on the market in Soviet Russia. The reason—there are comparatively few bridges across rivers in Russia.

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Europe seems to have dropped back into the muddle ages.

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The largest valley in the world is the Great Rift of Africa which stretches for a distance of 5,000 miles.

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Just prior to the adjournment of Parliament a bill was passed vesting in the Government all property rights to petroleum or natural gas that they may be found anywhere in the United Kingdom. The conservatives entered a protest under the plea that it was a "gift to socialism."

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The total world supply of radium is said to be 700 grams only, but each gram is now worth only about one and one half lakhs of rupees, less than half its cost a few years ago. A new source of supply is reported to have been recently discovered in Bulgaria, which promises to still further reduce the cost.

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During the great financial depression, while there had been a widespread epidemic of bank failures on the Continent and in the United States, there had not been a single run on the 11,000 bank branches in England and Wales nor on the 1,700 branches in Scotland. This is excellent testimony for the British banking system. Tradition forbids commercial banks in Britain to engage in investment speculation—bank directors who are so inclined are forced to resign.

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Roscoe Turner, one of the successful competitors in the London-Melbourne air race, who in 1929 brought safely to the ground a stalled 2,800 pound airplane by a giant parachute, is about to make a similar attempt with an airplane twice that weight. He claims that before long every airplane will be equipped with this added means of safety.

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According to an unofficial survey, there are 12,000 airplanes and 18,000 air pilots available in the United States of America for military service in case of national emergency. All types of aircraft, civil and military, and all classes of pilots are included.

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German citizens living in foreign countries are liable to conscription, according to the new army-conscription law.

It is said on good authority that there are forty million unemployed in India, a figure that makes America's ten million look rather insignificant.

Statistics show that tall men live longer than short men ; thin men longer than fat men, married men longer than bachelors, and vegetarians longer than "carnivorous" men, according to *Pathfinder*.

"Plain food and very little of it," is said to be the self-made diet-rule of H. H. The Prince of Wales. This doubtless has much to do with his perennial youthful air. In this H. H. sets an example to the Empire that is worth following.

The first successful loan floated by the Soviet Government outside her own borders was made recently with Czechoslovakia—a loan equivalent to Rs. 275,000,000 to be used in buying goods made in Czechoslovakia, chiefly war material from Skoda.

Of the 16,000,000 Jews in the world, 11,000,000 of them live in United States, 6,000,000 of them being in New York City. Germany had only 600,000 before her recent drive against the Jews began. It is impossible to say how many of them are left.

It is reported that Lawrence of Arabia, recently killed in his motorcycle accident, has left an autobiography of his service in the Royal Air Forces, but because of his drastic comments on the Air Force it will not be allowed to be published before 1950.

Motors along the Yellowstone Highway in Northwestern America have been insured against punctures by an interesting device. A giant electric magnet, suspended from a motor lorry is carried along the highway drawing all iron bits to it. Recently one such lorry gathered 603 pounds of nails and other metallic objects on one trip. As we remember unfortunate experiences with nails and bullock-shoes, we suggest this as a good idea for India.

We got a United States tax measure that openly proposes to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor. Mississippi has a law that taxes the poor for the benefit of the rich.

Isn't the white fleet having a lovely time running about the blue ocean, spending America's money and practising how to spill good, red blood ? Ain't that the life ? Three cheers for the red, white and dumb.

San Diego, Calif., is preparing to accommodate 10,000,000 visitors to the California Pacific International Exposition which is to remain open until Nov. 11. Among the special features of the fair will be a reproduction of the Globe Theatre of Queen Elizabeth's day, in which Shakespeare's plays will be presented, and Gold Gulch, an exact replica of a mining town of the really Wild West of 1849.

Under the Friedrichstrasse station in Berlin are public baths which are open to travellers all night. A platform ticket costing 3 cents is all that is needed for admittance.

When the new palace of the League of Nations at Geneva is completed in the autumn it will also serve as a museum of international art. Murals and decorations representing the artistic genius of all the member nations will adorn its rooms and halls.

London now has 10,000 safety lanes for the protection of pedestrians. Since last June the authorities have replaced the lines of white paint formerly used by rows of metallic studs.

The gregarious Nazis will begin construction in the autumn on the largest hall in the world at Nuremberg. It will accommodate 60,000 people, and there will be room on the platform alone for 5,000.

William M. Finders-Petrie, famous 80-year-old British archaeologist, recently announced his conclusion that the cradle of civilization is buried within or near the "fertile crescent" that begins at the head of the Persian Gulf, curves north-west with the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to the plain of Aleppo, thence south-west along the coast of the Mediterranean.

Moscow's new subway, called the most beautiful in the world, was opened to traffic on May 15. The stations are especially impressive with their checkerboard pavement, marble columns and colourful mosaics.

In an American telephone directory the most common names are Smith, Brown, Jones, Johnson and Cohen. In the Shanghai directory the most common are Chen, Wong, Woo, Koo, Ding and Dong. There are also many subscribers named Ah and Oo.

At Orebo, Sweden, is a clock that has run for nineteen years without winding. Its motive power is furnished by changes in atmospheric pressure, but it is so constructed that it can run for a year without a change in the barometer.

The oldest newspaper in the world, the *Peking Pao*, recently ceased publication after a career of four centuries. It was originally printed on strips of yellow silk and became a daily in 1800.

Abstract

SANCTIONS MEAN WAR

The Abyssinian affair has brought the League of Nations almost to a point of crisis. When the League of Nations was first founded, the prevalent view seems to have been that the universal promise to use sanctions against the aggressor would itself be sufficient to prevent war. But *The Round Table* in an interesting article, "Neutrality and Sanctions" shows that to inaugurate sanctions against the aggressor country means to take recourse to arms against her.

The purpose of such a device is to prevent war, by making war unprofitable, but at the same time to avoid committing third parties actually to go to war. It must nevertheless be clearly understood that such qualified neutrality might involve us in war. It would, in fact, be wholly emasculated as a deterrent unless we were prepared in the last resort to go to war; for otherwise the aggressor could compel us to desist from discriminating against him simply by threatening war against us. It might suit his book to treat such discrimination as itself an act of war. To say that every exercise of discrimination, from unilateral stoppage of arms supplies to a complete economic embargo, must inevitably drag us into war would, of course, be absurd. In the majority of actual conflicts, perhaps, we might be able to maintain partial neutrality, reinforced by economic sanctions of varying severity, for an indefinite period of time. But among the fateful minority of conflicts, in which we might have to prove our willingness to back our action by the final sanction of armed force, would be numbered all those occasions on which a strong nation had deliberately decided upon a course of power politics—that is to say, gaining its national ends by war or the threat of war. And these are the critical cases for the collective system.

It is well to insist upon this, because coercive neutrality and economic sanctions are often put forward by pacifists as an alternative to the use of military sanctions. They are so only if the aggressor is prepared to submit to them; if he is not, his readiness to go to war will always overtrump the neutrals' unwillingness to go to war. Moreover, if only some of the chief "coercive neutrals" were unwilling to go to war, the aggressor could divide and rule.

Still less can we base our policy upon the assumption that the mere threat of economic sanctions will be enough to prevent war. The determined aggressor then has two bets, one of which he can feel pretty certain will prove right—that when he actually goes to war we will not impose the threatened sanctions, or that, if imposed, they will not be rendered effective by our readiness to go to war if we are pressed. Bluffs are unreliable gambits in democratic politics; in the presence of megalomaniac dictators they are positively dangerous to ourselves as well as others.

This being so, is there not much to be said for the argument that instead of slowly becoming involved in an ever-spreading war, in which the aggressor alliance would always have the great strategic advantage of deciding the time and occasion of conflict, we should be prepared immediately to exert to the full all our coercive powers against the aggressor—diplomatic, financial, economic, military? In fact, should we not recognise

our international duty by being ready to go straightaway to war with the breaker of the peace?

This would be the perfect, in fact, the only plausible, solution in a world in which all the great Powers were solidly united in their readiness to uphold the collective system, not merely negatively by renouncing war and threats of war for themselves and by denouncing them in others, but also positively by allowing necessary changes to take place in the international order by peaceful means.

THE MILITARY TIME-TABLE.

The same paper forecasts in an article of highly political interest the inevitable corollaries of different pacts and treaties resulting in future wars and political disturbances:

The central problem in foreign policy to-day is to find a new foundation for stability in the world as a whole—a new foundation for a world "pax." Though there is no sign of any abatement in the passion for national sovereignty, it is becoming clearer every day both that isolation is an impracticable policy for any great Power and that even regional arrangements are of limited value so long as they are liable to be swept aside by events in the world as a whole.

In our view, the nature of the problem that confronts us can best be realised by a consideration of the issues raised by the recently signed Franco-Russian treaty of mutual assistance. When the post-war French system of "pacification" broke down through the rearmament of Germany, the reply of President Doumergue and M. Barthou was to substitute a Franco-Italian entente for the old rivalry and suspicion between the two Latin countries, and to bring Russia into the League of Nations in order to include her in the anti-German combination, with the purpose of maintaining a military preponderance against the possibility of German expansion by force of arms. Up to the present, so far as we can ascertain, the treaty is in the main a moral gesture. It has not yet been supplemented by a precise and automatic Franco-Russian military convention. If ever such a military alliance comes into being as a permanent element in the European system it will drag almost the whole world into a new alliance system, and destroy all hope of reconstructing the League, so long as it lasts. For its certain result must be the reappearance of that famous Schlieffen plan for the strategic defence of Germany which came into existence after the conclusion of the first Franco-Russian alliance of 1892. This will happen, not because of any malignity on the part of Germany, but because directly it becomes clear that if any Russo-German conflict breaks out (whether it be provoked by Germany or by Russia or arises out of some Balkan quarrel), Germany will have to face a simultaneous attack on both fronts, she must make military preparations to protect herself. And those military preparations are bound to take the form of a military plan for throwing her whole strength first against one of her enemies and then against the other, so that she may, if possible, have a superiority at the moment of battle against each. No soldier would divide his forces and either simultaneously attack or await the simultaneous onset of two armies together superior to his own.

A Schlieffen plan, therefore, involving an attack by the whole strength of Germany first on France and then on Russia, or the other way about,

directly war breaks out, is an inexorable corollary to a Franco-Russian military alliance. And there are four other equally inevitable corollaries. The first is that Germany's eastern neighbours, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, will have to join one or other of the two systems—the one that on the whole promises them the greatest security. Indeed, it is already clear that, if it comes to such a decision, Poland is likely to ally herself with Germany, and that Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania will ally themselves with the Russian-Italian-French combination. When that happens the so-called 500-miles barrier between Germany and Russia will have disappeared. The second corollary is that Germany will ask Great Britain whether in the event of a Russo-German conflict in the east of Europe, whatever its origin or purpose, she will automatically be drawn in through her engagements to France under the Locarno or any other treaty. If the answer is "Yes," Germany's inevitable reply will be to denounce the German-British naval agreement, which assumes peace between the two countries on the Locarno basis, in order to be able to defend herself in the event of war by threatening British security from the sea. The third corollary is that Germany will endeavour to balance the Franco-Russian-Italian combination by making an equivalent alliance, if she can, with Japan, in order to weaken or immobilise Russia, who will then herself have to organise her defence on Schlieffen principles—this in addition to Germany's search for allies among the dissatisfied smaller Powers of eastern Europe. The fourth corollary is that when all these alliances are complete, and when the armies, navies, and air forces are as large as each nation can afford to make them, and are prepared to the last button to move with instant speed, the military timetable will come into operation. For victory or defeat in the event of war will largely turn then on speed in mobilisation, since he who hesitates or moves slowly will be caught unmobilised and annihilated before he can defend himself or strike back. And then the issue of peace or war will pass out of the hands of statesmen into the hands of accident, knaves or fools; for the first State, large or small, that orders a mobilisation or drops a random bomb will set the terrible military mobilisation scheme in motion, and mankind will stumble blindly into another orgy of universal carnage—a conclusion that no nation really seeks, as no nation really sought it in 1914.

SYLLABUS OF STUDIES FOR INDIAN MILITARY CADETS.

St. Nihal Sing in an article in *The Modern Review* gives valuable suggestion for including various subjects in the curriculum of studies for Indian cadets. He observes:

The teaching of English—especially as it is spoken and written by the military—receives considerable attention at the Academy. Some of the time and energy devoted to this language could, in my judgment, be profitably diverted to other subjects of much more vital importance—the social sciences, economics, civics, psychology and the like.

Great emphasis is also laid upon "Empire study." I expected that this would be the case at an institution created and conducted, not by Indians for themselves, but by Britons for them. Nor can anything but good result from such a study, provided it is made intelligently and at the feet of men with wide knowledge and liberal instincts.

I lay special emphasis upon the latter phrase. If such instincts are lacking, the insistence upon such a study can only lead to the introduction through a back door, of politics into the Academy and politics of a narrow and even jingoistic kind. (And politics of all kinds should, in my judgment, be severely excluded from such an institution.) I hope, therefore, that "Empire study" is entrusted to officer-instructors with wide sympathies and knowledge, preferably knowledge gained through residency in some portion or portions of Britain overseas not governed from London.

There is one suggestion that I should like to make in this connection. The expansion of England (I use that term instead of the United Kingdom, for historically the expansion began prior to the Union) is an important Empire phase and a phase upon which Englishmen who otherwise are tongue-tied can be eloquent. Expansion in terms of territory is, however, by no means the most significant fact about the British Empire.

The transmutation of a part of that Empire into the Commonwealth of Nations (I omit the usual prefix "British" for the Irish Free State, Canada and South Africa are not exactly, or at least wholly, British) is a development of the greatest significance. The creation of Dominions that are in no way subordinate to Britain in any aspect of their domestic or foreign affairs and whose association with Britain (not even the mother-country of them all) is entirely free in character, constitutes a landmark in human evolution.

Of this phase little is known in India—and even in England or in Britain, outside a limited intellectual circle. Since, however, the concept of our country having a Dominion Army has found expression in at least one publication issued under the authority of the Government of India and more recently statements have been made—haltingly—by responsible British statesmen that they were directing India, however slowly, towards the Dominion goal, it is but meet and proper that the young Indians at the Indian Military Academy should be given, through the Empire study class, precise and somewhat detailed information regarding this particular phase of Empire development.

I have another suggestion to make, in respect of this aspect of the subject. Such study should be supplemented with the teaching of Indian history and the evolution of the national consciousness in our country. Instruction in Indian citizenship or (if a wider subject be preferred) civics should be imparted by competent instructors, preferably civilians. The need for such studies is so obvious that I shall not labour the point.

I may, however, express the hope that means may be found to teach Hindustani, which, despite the "so-called" Skeen Committee's recommendations, has been left out of the Military Academy syllabus. This omission needs to be made good—and at the earliest moment.

Some of the time now devoted to the cultivation of English might be easily utilized for those purposes.

LORD LOTHIAN'S FOUR OBJECTIONS TO THE NEW INDIA ACT.

Lord Lothian is one of the British Liberals who, as a rule, has not supported all the various proposals embodied in the new constitution. In an article to *The Hindustan Review* the editor of *The Tribune*, Mr. Kalinath Roy, has given his dispassionate consideration to the views of

Lord Lothian where the latter appears in the role of a supporter to the new constitution. Mr. Roy observes:

The four main grounds for opposition in India to the new Act, according to Lord Lothian, are (1) objection to federation with the Princes; (2) objection to the Communal Award; (3) objection that the new constitution unduly entrenches the vested interests of property; and (4) the objection that the Act leaves India so fettered with safeguards that responsible progress on her own lines will be impossible. This statement of India's objections to the new Act is by no means complete. It is strange that Lord Lothian does not refer to three of the main defects of the Act, two of which the British Liberals themselves along with the whole of political India have strongly condemned, namely, the substitution of indirect for direct election in the case of the Federal Assembly, the omission to lay down full Dominion Status as the objective of British policy, and the absence of any provision for automatic progress to that objective. As regards the first, he only says:—"Admittedly the composition of the federal centre is highly anomalous. But the dangers to the unity of India which would spring from attempting to launch self-government on anything but a federal basis are immeasurably more serious." To say this is obviously to forget that self-government on a federal basis does not necessarily mean a federation between the Provinces and the States, and that what the overwhelming majority of Indians desired, and would have immensely preferred, was a federation of the Provinces alone at the outset, with the option to the States to join it on reasonable terms at a later stage. Such an arrangement would have involved no dangers to the unity of India, certainly no greater dangers than what exist at present, and it would have made it impossible for the Princes to demand, and for the British Government itself to concede, the extravagant and fantastic terms embodied in the new constitution, of which the only possible effect would be to destroy the basic purpose of all Reforms in India.

Lord Lothian's treatment of the second objection is still more unsatisfactory. "The entrenchment of the system of separate electorates in the new constitution," he says, "is a serious impediment to the smooth working of the system of responsible government." Is Lord Lothian unaware that separate electorate are not only a serious impediment to the smooth working of responsible government, but are utterly and absolutely incompatible with any form of democratic self-government, the essence of which is that the Opposition should be able to change places with the government and that no section of the people should be in a permanent minority? Continuing, Lord Lothian says that "the Communal Award was only given after every effort at agreement between the minorities had failed, because it was the only condition upon which the development of an Indian constitution could be continued." But what is the use of continuing the development of an Indian constitution on a basis which necessarily precludes the growth of both nationality and self-government? If, as Lord Lothian tells us, the minorities had failed to reach a solution of the common problem on which alone national self-government could be based, then clearly it was the duty of the British Governments as the party in power, to do one of two things. Either it should itself have proposed a solution on which national self-government could securely be built, or it should have told the various parties that the question of constitutional development must remain pending until they have evolved the right solution of the communal problem. The last argument of Lord Lothian is the worst. "Communalism," he says, "is a political factor for which a place

must be found unless worse evils are to befall." From the point of view of those who have been fighting for national freedom no evil can be worse than the entrenchment of communalism. But apart from that, is the institution of separate electorates the only way to give the political fact of communalism a constitutional recognition in the constitution? Is that the way which Britain herself adopted in those days when communalism was as much a political fact in that country as it is in India to-day.

"It may well be," says Lord Lothian finally, "that a system whereby communal issues are dealt with by responsible men and women in the Legislatures and ministers instead of being used as the material with which to inflame electorates may enable India to avoid disasters to its unity, and gradually to move towards organic unity as minorities come to trust majorities not to abuse their power." The exact reverse of this is likely to be the case. The so-called responsible men and women in the Legislatures and ministers, as long as they are returned by separate communal electorates, will look at every matter capable of being looked at from a communal angle of vision from that angle and no other. That is what has happened already, and the future is sure to be worse than the past. Communal fanatics will make it their principal business to inflame the electorates, because that is the only way in which they can prevent the return of men of comparatively sane and moderate views, and the electorates themselves, divided by the constitution into separate communal camps organised against each other, will be peculiarly susceptible to such appeal. So far, therefore, from moving towards organic unity the country will under this anti-national system move progressively towards national distintegration, and in the more extreme cases towards perpetual civil war.

As regards the third objection, Lord Lothian's optimism is equally unfounded. He admits that vested interests are strongly represented in the new constitution, but thinks that "the ultimate political leverage will rest in the hands of about 35,000,000 electors who will comprise over 43 per cent. of the adult population." "Unless all democratic history is wrong," he adds, "these electors will gradually learn how to protect themselves." The falsification of this prediction would not mean the falsification of democratic history, because in no country has an experiment in democracy been made under such democratic conditions as is being made in our case. In the first place, the 35,000,000 electors will have nothing in a direct way to do with the Central Government. Secondly, these electors will be so divided on a communal basis that it will be impossible for them in any matter of serious moment, to act unitedly. Thirdly, and above all, unlike other democratic constitutions no ultimate power is left to the electors in this case. Whenever the vested interests will find themselves in difficulty, they will be able to appeal to an extraneous authority over the heads of the electors, and that authority itself will have it in its power to decide the issue in their favour without reference to the electorate. To quote the authority of democratic history in such circumstances is a palpable absurdity.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to culture and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and outside.]

Congress of Universities of the Empire.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, has been nominated by the Syndicate of the University as a delegate to the Quinquennial Congress of Universities of the Empire to be held at Cambridge in July next.

Annamalai University Convocation.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, has delivered the address at the Convocation of the Annamalai University.

International Zoological Congress.

Dr. B. K. Das, D.Sc. (Lond.), Professor of Zoology of the Osmania University, has received an invitation to attend the International Zoological Congress to be held at Lisbon. The Nizam's Government have deputed him to attend it. Dr. Das will read papers and will also lecture on the Hyderabad State, its Fauna and the Osmania University. He will be back by the first week of November.

Dr. Arundale's Address at Benares.

Dr. George S. Arundale, president of the Theosophical Society, while delivering a public lecture on education on the occasion of the North India Theosophical Conference at Benares, said that education stood for evolution for kinship so that each individual might become full of power, full of wisdom, full of truth, full of love and full of activity.

Speaking on the purpose of education Dr. Arundale said that when an individual was released from a school, a college, or a university he ought to be equipped to face life's troubles and difficulties. The purpose of education was to have courage, enthusiasm, eagerness to know, to become dauntless in the face of obstacles.

He observed that teaching should be a vocation and not a profession. The teachers whom they saw in schools and colleges were not really teachers. They were there for the simple reason that there was no other profession open to them.

Ladies appointed Professors at Nagpur University.

Mr. M. B. Niyogi, Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University has appointed the following three ladies to be the heads of the department of studies noted against their names with effect from 21st October, 1935. The appointments have been received with satisfaction in Nagpur and elsewhere since this is the first time that ladies have been appointed to such responsible posts in the University.

1. Miss K. S. Ranga Rao, M.A., L.T., F.R.C.S. (Geography). 2. Mrs. Comolata Dutt (Music). 3. Mrs. Ramabai Tambe (Domestic Science) B.A., T.D. (London).

Benares Hindu University.

It is understood that the annual meeting of the court of the Benares Hindu University will be held on December 14 and the convocation for the conferment of degrees on the following day.

University Reform League.

With a view to agitate for bringing about comprehensive and all round reform in the various Universities of India, an Indian University Reform League, with Mr. S. G. Warthy as General Secretary has been formed in Bombay. The League aims at examining the present University system of education and administration in each University centre in order to study its shortcomings and remove its defects, creating vigorous public opinion in favour of reforms, moving in the Legislatures as also in the Senates of Universities to pass and adopt the reforms advocated by the League, and, in general, undertaking any legitimate activity to further the cause of reform.

Houses for Corporation Schools at Madras.

To consider the question of raising a loan from the Government for the construction of Corporation school buildings, a meeting of the Standing Committee (Education) of Corporation of the Madras was held, on 23rd August. The Committee approved the proposal for raising a loan of Rs. 16 lakhs.

The proposal is to construct eight buildings every year at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs, spreading the proposed loan amount over eight years. The Educational Department of the Corporation consider, that lack of sufficient accommodation adversely affects the progress of compulsory elementary education.

The Nagpur University.

It is interesting to note that the executive council of the University has undertaken the responsibility for arranging an academic programme of broadcasting extension lectures, adult education and some items of entertainment, undertaking further to contribute to the expenditure incurred on the purchase of receiving sets by Colleges and High schools. This question has not yet been finally decided in view, perhaps, of the fact that a comprehensive scheme for broadcasting in India is being considered by the Government of India.

University for Assam.

The agitation for the establishment of a separate University for Assam is getting stronger every day.

An unconfirmed report says that the Government of Assam have decided to depute one of their officers to tour Europe and visit some of the universities on the Continent and that as much as Rs. 40,000 will be allotted for the purpose.

Relief Plan for Educated Unemployment at Bihar and Orissa.

The Government have created a department with the object of absorbing educated unemployed young men in the non-official industrial concerns of the province.

It is understood that the Government have created the post of an Intelligence Officer for the purpose and established an information Bureau where a register is maintained of the prospective candidates with a science or technical degree or diploma, with details of their qualifications and experience.

Teacher's Convention of America.

This year the convention was held in July last at Denver and was attended by 10,000 delegates.

Dr. Agnes Samuelson, Iowa State, Superintendent of Public Instruction, has been elected the next president of the Association. It is stated that "the school house as a service station for the entire procession of humanity at all ages and levels" is the aim towards which she will work during her term of office. "She has called upon her colleagues to use a microscope to re-examine the procedures of education and a telescope for a clearer perspective of their goals.

Academic Freedom of Speech.

Mr. H. D. Dickinson of Leeds University delivered an antiwar speech in August last at Auckland University, New Zealand. This speech caused some press comments and disciplinary action was demanded by a member of the New Zealand House of Parliament. But the Council of Auckland University College, not only refused to censure Mr. Dickinson but passed a resolution affirming their support of the right of free speech for University teachers.

This event had caused some sensation in England as at that time the question of academic freedom of speech was being discussed in connection with Prof. H. J. Laski's case. Then instantly a provisional committee was formed and at one of its meetings a congratulatory letter was sent to the Council of Auckland University on its "timely pronouncement on a subject of such fundamental importance."

Hence it is that coincident with the different world gatherings at Oxford, a conference was set on foot under the guidance of Prof. J. L. Myres to form a movement to defend the liberty of professors and teachers. It was decided to mobilize university men and teachers and a standing committee was formed to give a permanent character to the protest against any infringement of the rights of academic freedom.

Co-ordination in Education.

The main problem of Education is one of co-ordination from centre to circumference, writes Prof. S. R. Sharma, M.A., of Fergusson College, Poona, in an article contributed to the *Hyderabad Teacher*.

He writes "The child's mind is to be gently led from the known to the unknown. This is a fundamental axiom. It involves the co-ordination of ignorance with knowledge ; but it is not like the filling of an empty bag. It is more like the nurture of a live seed.

Next, the educationist has to deal with a variety of subjects which are to be imparted to children, not merely with varying degrees of intelligence but also with a variety of inherited tastes. Intellectual or rather cultural conscription is more undesirable than military conscription. The richness of a culture will depend upon the freedom that its recipients enjoy in imbibing and enriching in return. There is to be, therefore, a delicate co-ordination, or call it synthesis if you like, of all branches of knowledge.

Again, the human child is not at all intellect. It has physical as well as emotional and spiritual faculties to develop. In a country like ours, with its baffling variety of religions and sects the task of co-ordination in this direction becomes peculiarly difficult. The statesmanlike educationist will emphasise the harmonising affinities instead of the discordant differences.

To make the task more difficult, there are innumerable other factors and aspects that ask for correlation. For instance, we have the interplay of the East and West in our modern life to harmonise, various educational theories and methods to reconcile with one another, the home and the school, and the school and the larger society to be co-ordinated, etc., etc. And not the least important of our problems, the relations of the sexes are to be determined and defined. All these complex problems call for a solution at the hands of the educationist, for he holds the key to the well-being or otherwise of each and succeeding generations.

Bombay Governor on Universities and Unemployment.

" Raise the standard of your degree examinations. Make your degree the hall-mark of learning and scholarship and not merely a certificate that a young man or young woman has read a specified number of text-books," said Lord Brabourne, Chancellor of the Bombay University, addressing Bombay University Convocation on 20th August at the Convocation Hall.

Referring to the unemployment problem. His Excellency said that the syllabus of secondary education should be carefully thought out and adjusted as to meet the needs of the average boy about to enter life, irrespective of whether he entered a college or not. Although the University ceased to have any direct connection with its graduates and those who failed to become graduates once they went down, it could not be indifferent to their subsequent careers. An unfortunate and most noticeable feature of the present conditions was the number of unemployed graduates. The great bulk of those took their degrees with some idea that it could be easy thereafter to enter Government service. In the past, when B.A.'s were few, that was a reasonable hope. At the present day, only a minute percentage could be so employed. As for industry, employers would, in most cases, prefer men with practical training in the West. A few graduates were required in industries not for their degrees, but for the wider mental outlook possessed by the cultivated mind. The value of such men should be brought out to the notice of business magnets. Even so only comparatively few men would be absorbed in this way and a large number of graduates would remain without occupation.

His Excellency continuing said that the man who had taken a university course in this country was usually unwilling to take any but clerical work. Even Bachelors of Agriculture, more often than not, turned away from agriculture. It was obvious too that when a B.A. was compelled by necessity to undertake work, that was done equally well by those with no university training. The time and money spent on that training had been wasted. Thus private money which might have been used for apprenticing the boy to a trade or starting him in agriculture and the University and public funds, which might have been used to better advantage, were spent in a way which increased unemployment. The plain fact was that it was a waste of money to give University education to boys equipped with less intellectual ability than would ensure a reasonable chance of employment in occupation demanding graduate's training.

Mr. H. R. Mills on the Aim of Indian Education.

Presiding over the Annual meeting of the Cochin Teachers' Association, Ernakulam Group, H. R. Mill, M.Sc. (London), Principal, Maharaja's College, observed:

A teacher renders far more valuable service than a priest as the former had to make a soul while the latter only enriched it. The teacher had to instill and create a soul in the small personality he was dealing with, to enable the pupil to realise himself and to convert him into a rational, social being. They had to accomplish this by making the school far more interesting than it really was. The teachers and students were now anxious to rush out of the school as soon as they could, and this was just because the school was not made sufficiently romantic or interesting. The boy had a life of his own, he had to commit many follies and pass through that sequence of events which the elders themselves had to cover in their earlier life.

He said that they should try to infuse more of the co-operative spirit in their schools. He referred to the system obtaining in the public schools in England and dividing the class into a number of houses under distinctive names, and each section being self-contained, the whole atmosphere being one of intense activity, the students participating in their studies with joy and enthusiasm. They had also to breed a moral or religious atmosphere in the schools. Religion was essentially not taught but caught. Religion and morals constituted a kind of inward discipline. The teacher had to be the friend, philosopher and guide of the student and he had to do much to influence his life.

The teacher, he added, should never despair even if he had to toil hard with the same batch of pupils for several years. They should not look for immediate rewards and they should never despair. The unification of India into one common bond of fellowship and brotherhood should be the aim of Indian education.

Orissa's Claim for a University.

"Apart from Oriya literature, the history of Orissa and Kalinga, we have the most important and interesting subject of architecture, wherein our ancient record is very high. I have the ambition that the first Nautical College and Marine Engineering courses should be first started in Orissa University to bring back the ancient glory of Kalinga Seamen. We have so much to give to India in the shape of our ancient culture that we feel keenly the necessity of a university to serve as the medium and focus," said the Raja of Khalilkote in opening the conference convened at Berhampore under the presidentship of Mr. B. Das, M.L.A., to draft a scheme for a separate university for Orissa.

Continuing the Raja of Khalilkote said that provincial autonomy without a university has but a limited meaning. There was no disagreement in Orissa over the question of a separate university to foster Oriya culture to carry on research in Oriya art, history and literature. The strength of the feeling for a separate Orissa University was also recognised by the Orissa Administrative Committee of 1933. But they wanted the people to find the necessary finances to the tune of about Rs. 20 lakhs to start the university. "This is almost an impossible condition," continued the speaker, "and I am not aware of any instance where a university has been started solely with donations from the public except the single instance of the Annamalai University which owes its inception and existence to the

munificence of the Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad." He did not mean by this that the people should not shoulder the responsibility of developing a University when one is started, but to ask them to be initiative and raise a large amount is indeed a very large order.

Continuing the speaker said, "I earnestly hope that the proceedings of this conference will impress upon the Government the urgent necessity of including the initial cost and recurring expenses of a university in a lump sum grant as part of the initial cost of the formation of the province, or, so fix the subvention to Orissa that the establishment and upkeep of the University is provided for therein. It is our duty as the representatives of the people of Orissa to place our case for an increased subvention on the basis of having a university and High Court from the very beginning before Sir Otto Niemeyer who has been entrusted with the task of enquiring into the financial position of the provinces and the centre and for recommending suitable adjustments."

Referring to the criticism that Orissa does not require a University because of the deficit nature of its finances, the Raja observed, "it is not a mere question of money. It is a national need in the satisfaction of which the considerations of finances should, at all events be subordinated." He then cited the example of Assam "which is perhaps financially worse than Orissa can ever be." The Government of Assam at first discouraged the idea of a separate university for that province and now at last they were forced to accept the resolution of the Legislative Council and appoint an expert to draft a scheme to be placed before Sir Otto Niemeyer. When Assam can have a university, he did not see any reason why Orissa should not have one of its own.

The conference then appointed an influential sub-committee to draft a scheme for a separate university, and to represent to the Governments concerned and give evidence before Sir Otto Niemeyer about this essential and primary need of the new Orissa province.

New Orientation in Education.

Mr. B. Ramchandra Rao, M.A., L.T., Principal, Hindu College, Guntur, writes:

Education has a twofold function to perform. It should not only bring about a nice adjustment of the individual to his environment but secure a fuller growth of his intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties. The former is mutable in scope and content as human societies evolve new aspirations and conditions of life from time to time. The latter is almost static as it addresses itself to the eternal verities of life. The individual's environment is partly national and partly international and this has been varying from time to time. Accordingly the content and method of education employed to secure adjustment of the individual to his environment have been undergoing revolutionary changes. The World-war of 1914 has completely changed the world ethos and has induced a new outlook in education. Thinkers like H. G. Wells are preaching a new ideology in education which is intended to impress upon the young, placid minds of scholars that this world is the heritage of man and that every race or nation while manifesting its own individual excellences in thought and art should realise that all races and nations have their own contributions to offer for the common happiness of mankind and bring about with the procession of the suns, the Parliament of man and the Federation of the world. H. G. Wells propounds the new Ideology in Education in his book "The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind" and thus discusses,

its three facets. "First there is the idea of man's history as one whole. A child has to be guarded against early infection by picturesque, false, and short-sighted national traditions. The effectual exorcism for that sort of thing is the plain, straightforward teaching of human history as one progressive adventure in which all races have helped and all have sinned. Picture, book, story and lecture, cinema and school museum must converge upon the rational presentation of man's collective life. And secondly, the citizen of the world must have a sound conception of the evolution of life and its nature, that is, he must have learnt elementary biology thoroughly. Thirdly, he must learn geography and economic layout of the world as one co-operative field of enterprise. These are the three pillars of a modern ideology, the three branches of knowledge which constitute the 'New Education.' This is the essential instructional material for a modern World Vision. All the rest is training and equipment."

Such an ideology should permeate every stage of educational ascent, elementary, secondary and collegiate. While each stage may be complete in itself fulfilling a well-defined purpose it should undoubtedly serve as a stepping stone to the next higher. The present system of education, while it has merits many and varied, has served to disaffiliate the placid minds of the pupils from what is best in Indian thought and culture and induce a narrow outlook on life.

Sir Patrick Geddes' Educational Advice.

Mr. P. L. Boar while ennm paying a tribute to the memory of Prof. Geddes, the Scottish biologist, city-planner and sociologist and Darwin's favourite pupil, says in *The Commonwealth*:

Professor Geddes had three children, but unlike Rousseau he accepted the task of bringing them up himself. He regarded the tendency to let nursery school and kindergarten assume all responsibility for the young as evidence of the increasing uselessness of the American home. He firmly believed that in any nation in any age the home has inevitably the first duty and the first privilege in education.

He wanted them to grow up with a first-hand, accurate knowledge of the world's of nature and of man; he wanted them to develop an unspoiled appreciation of life in all its manifestations, in the laws and beauty of the physical universe, in the human mind, in whatever lay beyond and above. Consequently, he replaced the elementary instruction of the three R's with a procedure which he called the three H's.

First, the heart. By this he meant that the first approach to learning should be through the emotions; for example, the affection and interest which are so vital as a baby learns to talk. Likewise he put the child's first contacts with environment on an emotional basis; from physical enjoyment of fresh air and sunshine to simple wonder and delight at the beauty of nature.

Next came the hand. As his children grew older Professor Geddes led them into physical experience with the world around their home. From mere toddling in the gardens they came to perform task of cultivation while their play expanded into more and more systematic explorations of the surrounding countryside. By way of introduction to the world of mechanics and trades they made boxes, not only to increase manual skill but to contrive some useful object.

And then the third H, the head. Geddes always claimed—and proved

in his own family—that the natural result of emotional experiences, of whole-hearted work and play, was tremendous mental activity.

The significance of their training, as I see it is this. Public instruction in every country, whether of 1900 or 1950, is satisfied if pupils can spell "olive tree" or any other word correctly. Yet it cares nothing about those vital experiences which Geddes gave his children. They could spell "olive tree" but they also knew what such a tree was biologically, historically and in spiritual significance. They knew why it was the symbol of peace, of agricultural prosperity, and incidentally they learned much of Mediterranean geography, history and culture.

Secret of True Education.

The Rt. Hon'ble Lord Eustace Percy says :

My business is to talk about Freedom from the point of view of education. My trouble is that as I set out to do this I have an uncomfortable feeling. I feel I am going to be an intolerable prig.

Freedom is like air. It is necessary to human life. But imagine a bed-ridden man. He has to live in one stuffy room. I visit him and explain what a blessing the air is to him. His reply is: 'A blessing? Compare me with yourself who can walk where you will, on the mountain tops or in the valleys. It is you that enjoy the air, not me.' Can I be prig enough to reply: 'You do not know your blessings and you exaggerate mine. We both breathe about the same quantity of air every minute, and the air of the House of Commons is, if anything, worse than the air of your room. Be thankful you can breathe at all!' Would he not tell me to go to—the House of Commons?

Freedom in education is rather like that. The question is: how are we to train children in order that they may be free men and women? And the first answer, to my mind, is that parents must be free to entrust the education of their child to any teacher who, they think, can do him good. And the teacher must be free to teach the child as he thinks best. In other words, free choice of school for the parent; freedom of thought and action for the teacher. These are the principles which we recognise in this country. Our law require only that every child between the ages of five and fourteen shall receive efficient instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. Provided this minimum is satisfied, any man or woman can teach anything to any child in any school to which the child's parents may send him.

But more than nine-tenths of the parents of his country have, in practice, no choice but to send their children between these ages to the public elementary school. In rural districts, this usually means no choice of school at all; in towns it means at best a choice between one Council school and one Church school. And this choice is being narrowed as our educational system becomes better organised. How easily may these parents ask: 'What good is your pretty principle of freedom to me?' How difficult it is for me to reply: 'Look at Germany, and thank God on your knees for your freedom.'

And yet it is true. The very fact that we recognise the principle of free choice and free teaching affects the whole character of our schools. The parent may in practice be tied to one school, but for that very reason the teacher feels instinctively that he must adapt himself to the parent, and the local authority and the school managers feel instinctively, that they must leave the teacher free to do so. I must not exaggerate.

State schools, here as elsewhere, are always in danger of hardening into official machines. We have to be daily on our guard against this tendency, but we shall only be on guard against it if we realise the value of the freedom which, in spite of appearances, we do really enjoy.

My first conclusion, therefore, is that we should hesitate long before we limit in any way the freedom of any man (or woman) to earn a living by running a school and teaching in it according to his (or her) best judgment. Such freedom may seem to benefit the rich more than the poor and therefore to accentuate inequality between social classes; but let us remember that when the German Republic tried to force all German children into the same primary school it prepared the way for Hitler.

But of course, this is only the first step along the road of freedom in education. This vital question remains: how is any school to teach men to be free? There are, I think, no answers. The school can, in one measure at least, teach a man to work for himself and to think for himself.

Work for himself? Again, this seems at first sight a mockery. In the modern world it seems to be the one thing that few men can hope to do. A century ago, in the early years of the industrial revolution, Samuel Smiles and others preached to the world the doctrine of self-help, but in fact, the industrial revolution seems to have made it impossible for any man to help himself. In order that he may work at all, thousands of pounds of capital must be brought together, and work of manufacture must be split up among large groups of men under the control of the owners of the capital. It does not matter much, for this purpose, who owns the capital: whether the State owns it or a joint-stock company, the fact remains that a man is dependent on his fellow-men and on his employer for the chance of earning his livelihood. And, in this respect, apart from one or two professions, like the law or medicine, the better-to-do members of the community are not much better off. The State servant, whether civil or military, is not much more independent, sometimes he is not much more secure in his employment, for navies and armies get axed. Commercial offices are hardly less highly organised than factories. In these circumstances, what use is it to talk of a man working for himself.

Miscellany

TOENNIES AND THE NEW SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is much too popular a category in present-day world-culture. Unluckily, however, this category has as many contents as there are sociologists. And it is very interesting that the category was unknown until 1842 when Comte used it in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, Vol. IV. Up till then he had been using in stead the category "*physique sociale*" (social physics). But in view of the fact that the Belgian statistician Quetelet employed it to describe the researches in anthropology and demography Comte considered it prudent to replace it by a new word, "sociology."

But since Comte's days the subject matter of sociology has changed so much and so often with researchers that today it is almost impossible to describe what this discipline is and what this is not. For instance, the "classical sociologists," Comte, Spencer and Schaeffle, three of the founders of this science, however much they differ in methods and messages, belong to what Carli in *Le Teorie Sociologiche* (Padua, 1925) calls the historico-encyclopaedic school. They seek to explain history, point out the processes of evolution, and suggest the future lines of advance. On the other hand, the founders of "new sociology," Toennies, Tarde, Durkheim and Simmel, for example, among the continentals are interested in the analysis of forces, facts, groups and relations. The American and British sociologists like Small, Ross, MacDougall, Wallas, Cooley, Ellwood, etc., belong to this class which is generally known as the school of "analytical" or "formal" sociology.¹ The first or the classical school may also be aptly described as culture-sociology.

To understand a bit of this diversity in the concepts of sociology let us take Toennies, whom v. Wiese calls the pioneer of contemporary German sociology. In 1887 Toennies published his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society).² A student of classical, encyclopaedic, historical or cultural sociology would perhaps hardly recognize any sociology in Toennies's work. Here we are introduced to an examination of all those human connections or relations with one another which are cementing forces and to the conclusion that they fall inevitably into two groups. First, they are derived from the "natural," "instinctive" and allied activities of man. In contrast with such activities can be discovered, secondly, those which are due to the "artificial" attempts to pursue or serve some ends although the natural feelings may be opposed to such activities. The "community" is based on the natural, the "society" on the artificial cementing bonds. There is privacy, personal intimacy in the community. In the society, on the other hand, the predominant atmosphere is that of business, law, public life.³ This distinction between natural and artificial group-persons, between feeling and intellect among social forces, is but one of the many new topics with which this science has been enriched in recent years. But, on the other hand, the encyclopaedic, historical, evolutionary or cultural sociology has not all disappeared.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

¹ L. von Wiese, *Soziologie* (Berlin 1931), pp. 45-49, 109.

² G. Richard, *La Sociologie Générale* (Paris 1912), pp. 21-32.

³ Rumpf, "Von rein-formaler zu typologisch-empirischer Soziologie" in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, Leipzig, 1924.

THE AGES OF INTELLIGENCE FROM COMTE TO BRUNDSCHVIGG

Three large "mental stages" characterize, according to Comte, as is well known, the "functional" evolution of mankind. The first is the "theological" stage represented by fetishism, polytheism, monotheism, etc. The second stage is known to be "metaphysical." The third is the "positive stage" and is the "age" of speciality and of generality. The theological stage is described as being dominated by "warriors," the metaphysical by legists and "jurisconsults": while the "scholars" lord it over, so to say, in the *état positif*. The reign of "imagination" is supposed to be the characteristic of the theological stage that of "reason" of the metaphysical, and finally, the *état positif* is marked by the reign of "experience." In Comte's judgment humanity has been marching towards a stage in which positive knowledge or scientific experience is dominant.

It is simply the Comtian association of scholarly brains, exact knowledge, experience or experiment, generalization, specialization, science as antithesis of religion, etc., with positivism that it may be reasonable to accept in a general manner. But Comte's analysis of the "mental stages" in evolution or "ages" of the human mind is hardly tenable. It cannot be accepted as an objective exhibition of the dynamics of culture-history. For, it is not possible to demonstrate any stage in which reason rules to the exclusion of imagination or experience, imagination to the exclusion of experience or reason, and experience to the exclusion of the other two. Nor is it demonstrable anthropologically or psychologically that imagination belongs to the primitive mind and precedes ratiocination or concrete experience.

According to Worms,¹ the "intellectual" or "scientific" interpretation of history, as presented by Comte, is as fallacious as the "economic" interpretation of Marx. Further, it is to be observed that primitive mind instead of being imaginative is strictly speaking very concrete and realistic.

Brunschvigg in *Les Âges de l'Intelligence* comes to the same view as that of Worms. In his analysis the primitive is, like the child, a "realist without reserve" and without second thought and adheres with entire faith to an object which occupies his mind. But this objectivity or realism is not to be understood in the modern sense, as Lévy-Bruhl makes it clear in *La Mentalité Primitive*. It is devoid of discrimination, judgment and criticism. The realism of the primitive mind is, in one word, "pre-critical" or "pre-logical."²

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

¹ *La Sociologie* (Paris 1926), pp. 80-81, 117-118.

² Brunschvigg, *Les Âges de l'Intelligence* (Paris 1934), pp. 18-23.

Reviews and Notices of Books

A Book of English Verse for South African Readers, compiled and edited by W. S. Mackie. Published by Macmillan & Co., pp. 190.

This is an anthology of short poems, selected from the whole range of English Literature. It leaves out many of the best specimens of English poetry and the compiler tries to justify the omission on the ground that "a new anthology must have some freshness of selection." It, however, includes translations of a few Old English lyrics and Middle English poems. Though not voluminous, the compilation thus attempts to illustrate the "range and variety" of shorter English poems.

The arrangement of the poems is, as the Preface states, according to theme. This is interesting and useful in one sense. Poems on the same topic by different authors, when put side by side, show pointedly the difference between their outlooks and methods of treatment. Reference may be made to Keats's Ode to Melancholy and Shelley's Remembrance, as well as to Wilfred Owen's Dulce et Decorum Est and Sorley's Marching Men in the present Collection. The Table of Contents, however, should have indicated the method of arrangement followed and the titles of the poems should have been grouped in it under the heads suggesting the topics—Poetry, Romance, Love, Death, etc. In the body of the book too, a separate section should have been given to the poems on each of the different themes.

As the title of the collection might be misinterpreted, the compiler explains why he calls it *A Book of English Verse for South African Readers*. Ordinary anthologies of English verse are not, according to him, altogether suitable for South African youths who have just commenced the study of English Literature, for they naturally "include many poems so characteristically English in sentiment, scenery or allusion that they merely bewilder Young South African readers." He has, therefore, included in this collection "poems that are easy to understand, and that require only a little knowledge and the exercise of a little imagination in order to be appreciated," besides a number of poems upon South Africa and some of the best poems written in English by South Africans. Undoubtedly, the compiler has earned the gratitude of the young learner of South Africa whose difficulties have been amply met in the book, whatever might be its value to the general reader. One only wishes that the principles of selection here followed were kept clearly in view by scholars who prepare anthologies meant to be used in Indian schools and colleges.

Poems by the South African authors are, however, the speciality of the book. That vast, unexplored and mysterious land looms large in the reader's mind as he goes through these few pieces. It is difficult to express what South Africa stands for, what its attraction is, what it whispers in silent tones to the wondering traveller or what secrets it promises to unroll to the enthusiastic explorer—

To men in far old cities, scanning the curious chart,
Her voice would sound at midnight, like music in the heart ;
Across the wrinkled parchment a glory seemed to fall,
And pageants pass like shapes of glass along the pictured wall,

She led the sails of Lisbon beyond the Afric shore,
 Winning a world of wonder by seas unknown before;
 She watched the sturdy Captains of Holland's India fleet
 Planting their post on that grim coast where the two oceans meet.

* * * *

We seek her by the valley; she moves upon the height :
 The rainbow stands athwart us to blind her from our sight.
 Along the sea-bound bastion her steps are hid in spray,
 And though we dream, with morning gleam the lustre dies away.

The difference between the English countryside and the vast stretches of land in South Africa are patent. The quiet beauty and peaceful atmosphere of the one are to be contrasted with the "throbbing of African air," the glare of the sun and the sand. Vastness of dimension is one of the characteristics of things African. The mountains are colossal, the rivers shoreless, the trees gigantic and forests unending. Beside them man sinks into insignificance and traces of human civilisation are lost in the magnitude of the natural objects. The result is that a wild beauty seems to amaze the visitor and to the roar of the lion, the flashing scales of the python, the savage sparkle in the eyes of the panther, the moaning of the midnight wind and the thunder of the cascade make their contributions. Nature does not refresh or heal man's spirit but is thrilled with a savage energy which kindles in man a lust of adventure, the desire to conquer, exploit and dominate. Sings William Hamilton—

I have seen the cliffs of Dover
 And the White Horse on the hill;
 I have walked the lanes, a rover;
 I have dreamed besides the rill :

I have known the fields awaking
 To the gentle touch of spring :
 The joy of morning breaking,
 And the peace your twilights bring.

But I long for a sight of the pines and the blue shadows under;
 For the sweet-smelling gums, and throbbing of African air;
 For the sun and the sand, and the sound of the surf's ceaseless thunder
 The height, and the breadth and the depth, and the nakedness there.

* * * *

— I pine for the roar of the lion on the edge of the clearing;
 For the rustle of grass snake, the bird's flashing wing on the heath;
 For the sun-shrivelled peaks of the mountains to blue heaven rearing;
 The limitless outlook, the space, and the freedom beneath.

(The Song of an Exile.)

The compiler deserves congratulations for the selection and the inclusion of poems by South African authors. The explanatory Notes will be helpful like the Glossary to students. Mention should also be made of the Index to First lines.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJI

Report on the Bihar Earthquake, by W. B. Brett, O.I.E., I.C.S., Relief Commissioner, Bihar and Orissa. Published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Patna, 1935. Price Re. 1-12 as.

This is the B. & O. Government report "on the Bihar Earthquake and on the measures taken in consequence thereof up to the 31st December, 1934." It is a comprehensive document, carefully going over the grounds, the area affected with a detailed description of the damage done, and the measures adopted by the Government to repair it as far as possible. There are beautiful maps and illustrations and the reader will be successful in forming an estimate of the terrible devastation. In this respect there is no doubt it will do credit to the list of official publications in which it is included. The balance sheet of His Excellency the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund, B. & O. Branch, will be much appreciated.

One feels disappointed, however, in finding no mention of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Chapter XX when the work of the different Relief Societies is detailed. Pandit Jawaharlal, spade in hand, stood as a symbol of self-help in the task of national reconstruction the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. He certainly deserved an honourable mention in this connection and it would not have affected in the least the official contribution to the earthquake relief.

House construction after the quake has been a problem and the report deals with it in Chapters XVII and XVIII. The subject has been treated scientifically and in detail in a book, *Earthquake and Design of Structure*, by Mr. J. Baksi, an Engineer in the service of the Government. It is strictly important for the Government to attend to this item, and though we may not hope to reconstruct as successfully as the Japanese, their lines of work may give us the cue for useful schemes both as regards house-building and town-planning.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Readers' Forum

[Our readers' guide to good books, reproduced from the writings of various authorities.]

In Praise of Idleness and Other Essays by Bertrand Russell, La. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Bertrand Russell is always provocative, and usually very witty. This collection of essays gives him plenty of scope for using his particular gifts. *In Praise of Idleness*. How we shall all enjoy reading this! How satisfactory it will be to have, at last, a really brilliant defence of what at the bottom of our hearts most of us cannot help regarding as a vice, though a pleasant one! Other subjects treated here are "Useless Knowledge," "The Modern Midas," "Why is Modern Youth Cynical?" "Man Versus Insects," "Stoicism and Mental Health," "On Comets," and "What is the Soul?" Merely to read the list of these titles whets our appetites. What, for instance, has Bertrand Russell to say on "Stoicism and Mental Health?" Does he believe in Stoicism, or is he of the opinion that it leads to insanity, and that our one safeguard is to cry out when we are hurt? But whatever are the views he expresses, they will certainly be unexpected, original and exciting. This is indeed a book that all intelligent people will look forward to eagerly.

African Negro Art edited by James Johnson Sweeney, Cr. 4to. 12s. 6d.

The artistic importance of African Negro art was discovered thirty years ago by modern painters in Paris and Dresden. Students, collectors, and art museums have followed the artists' pioneer enthusiasm. This volume contains one hundred plates reproducing sculptured figures and ceremonial masks in wood, bronze, and ivory; descriptions of six hundred works of art and an introduction by the director of the exhibition.

Bernard Bosanquet and His Friends edited by Professor J. H. Muirhead. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

"Dr. Muirhead's collection of the letters written by Bernard Bosanquet to his friends ... is a welcome supplement to our knowledge of him... In Bosanquet's correspondence there is the same serenity of spiritual posse, the same tranquillity in facing a host of contradictions and assailing doubts that we find in his books."—*Times Literary Supplement*.

Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, D.LITT., PH.D., F.B.A. With Illustrations and Map. 8vo. 25s. net.

During the seventies British public opinion was roused to fever heat over the Eastern Question: the nation as a whole, and many private families, were divided between Russophiles and Turcophiles, and were more than once within an ace of war with Russia. Brilliant sidelights have been thrown upon this controversy in the biographies of Disraeli and Salisbury: but this book contains the first attempt to place all the characters concerned in their true perspective. Thus instead of a single "star" dwarfing all the others, the centre of the stage is occupied by five principal figures—Disraeli, Derby, Salisbury, Gladstone and the Queen—while at their side stand the sovereigns, foreign ministers, and ambassadors of Europe, the leaders of the Liberal Opposition, and the makers of press opinion.

It may be claimed that the book throws entirely new light upon the policy of Disraeli and Derby, upon the role of Layard at Constantinople, and of the Liberal Opposition at home, upon the Cyprus Convention, and the settlement of Berlin.

The Two Sources of Morality and Religion by Professor Henri Bergson. *English translation by R. Ashley Audra and Cloudesley Brereton, with the assistance of W. Horsfall Carter.* 8vo. 10s. net.

The bold and original philosophy first outlined in *Creative Evolution* has since been confirmed by a host of biological experiments. It has also, incidentally, exercised a direct influence on many of the best-known writers and thinkers of our generation. In his new book, which is the fruit of a life's work, M. Henri Bergson directs us once again to the spectacle of the interplay of instinct and intelligence, each of these two forms of consciousness playing its appointed part in the formation of social morality and what he calls static religion. But he shows us too that the true significance of both morality and religion can only be apprehended by that intuitive sense which is the special property of Life itself: for "all morality is in essence biological."

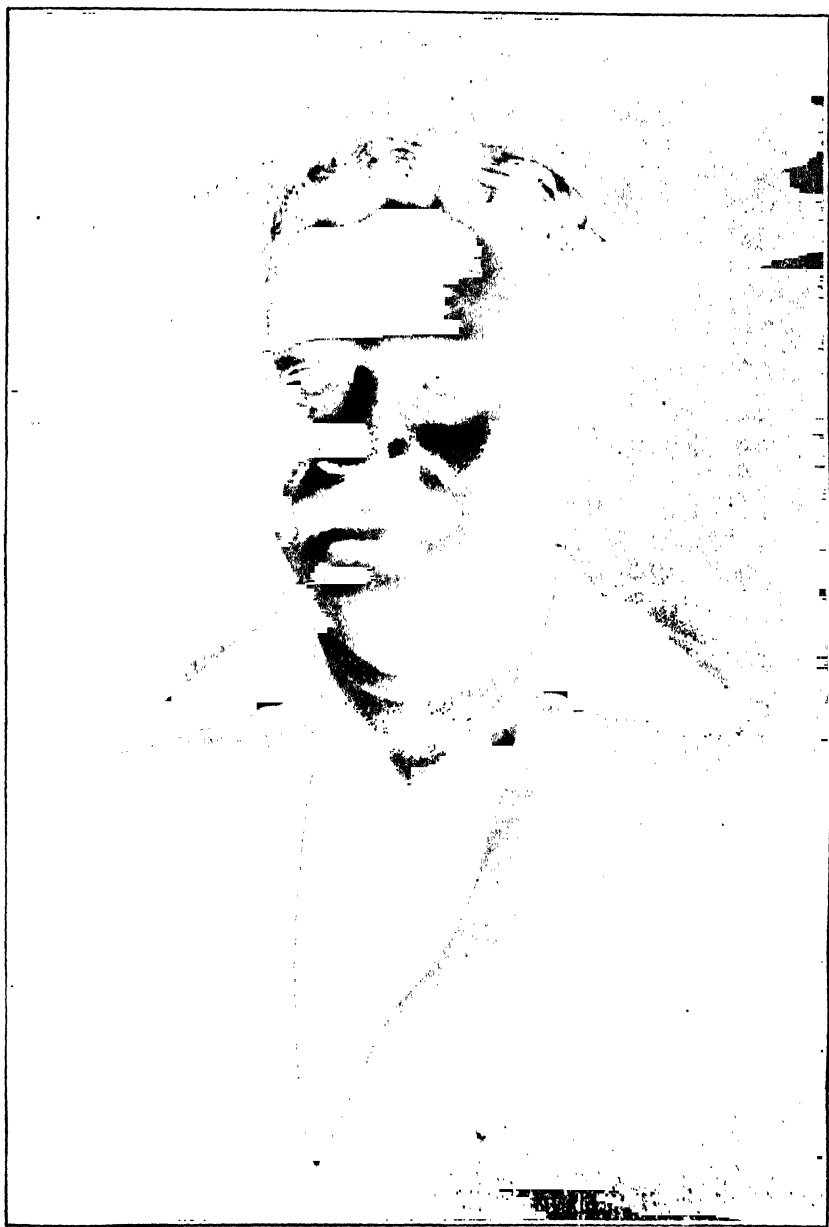
After a masterly exposition of the nature of obligation and the foundations of morality the author describes in their distinctive functions static and dynamic religion, the word being used not of any dogma or metaphysical attributes but in a frankly mystical sense. And he concludes with a remarkable *aperçu* of the essential link between mysticism, with its appeal heavenwards, and our mechanical civilisation. The reader will find in *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* not merely stimulating but really exciting adventures in the realm of thought; he will also come across the shrewdest of commentaries on our present discontents, on the sentiment of patriotism proper to the closed society and the dream of an all-embracing humanity peculiar to the saints and sages of every generation, the bearing of this fundamental difference on the problem of war, etc. That the philosopher of Movement and Feeling should conclude with a plea for asceticism and a science of the spirit as the necessary counterpart to centuries of material "progress" is not the least piquant feature of a truly epoch-making book.

Civilisation and the Growth of Law by William A. Robson, PH.D., B.Sc. (Econ.), author of "*Justice and Administrative Law*," etc. 8vo.

This book is a sketch of the relations between people's ideas about the Universe and the institutions of law and government. It covers ancient and modern times, and deals with both civilised and primitive communities.

Dr. Robson shows the way in which law and the institutions of government have been influenced successively by magic, superstition, religion and science; and how law has in its turn influenced these great forces. There are three parts.

The treatment is realistic throughout. It definitely avoids the metaphysical or abstract philosophical approach. It is a border-line study between Law and the other social sciences. It is a book not only for the specialist in law, politics, or sociology, but also for the intelligent general reader.



THE LATE DR. J. N. MAITRA, M.B.



THE LATE CAPTAIN J. N. BANERJEA,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW

Gurselves

[I. *The Late Rai Saheb Isan Chandra Ghosh.*—II. *The Late Captain J. N. Banerjee.*—III. *The Late Dr. J. N. Maitra.*—IV. *The Late Prof. Sylvain Lévi.*—V. *Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer for 1936-37.*—VI. *Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Science, 1935.*]

I. THE LATE RAI SAHEB ISAN CHANDRA GHOSH

We mourn the death of Rai Saheb Isan Chandra Ghosh, M.A., a veteran educationist, who, though not directly connected with this University, had many a link of association with it. A brilliant alumnus of the University, Rai Saheb Isan Chandra Ghosh, who died at the ripe old age of seventy-five, had a distinguished career, first as a journalist in the early eighties of the last century, and then as a teacher and educationist. He was a self-made man and rose to eminence by dint of industry, single-handed in life. He made his mark as Head Master of Hare School, Calcutta, having previously served with great success the Government Education Department as an Inspecting Officer and as Assistant Director of Public Instruction, being the first Bengali to hold that appointment.

A man of versatile ability and varied interests, the late Rai Saheb made a distinct contribution to Bengali Literature by his valuable translation into the Vernacular of the entire corpus of the Pāli Jātakas, which will ever be cherished as his *magnum opus*. A prolific writer of informative works on History and Literature, he did not confine his knowledge within the bounds of his country but, like a true scholar, he dived deep into the works of Thucydides, Xenophon, Tacitus and a host of luminaries of other climes. With a definite academic learning he possessed also a keen business sense and had the singular good fortune, so uncommon to scholars, of knowing what sufficiency means in this work-a-day world. A philanthropist in the true sense of the term, he never advertised his charities. Among the many institutions to which he made endowments are, to mention only a few, the Pasteur Institute at Kasauli and the Tuberculosis Hospital at Jadavpur. His life will be a beacon light to many a toiler in the difficult track of Knowledge.

We shall always cherish his memory with veneration,—a memory which his worthy son, Professor Praphulla Chandra Ghosh has already taken steps to perpetuate by the endowment of a Translation Fund in this University.

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II. THE LATE CAPT. J. N. BANERJEA

We deeply regret to announce the death at the ripe old age of seventy-six of Captain Jitendra Nath Banerjea, a Fellow of this University and a redoubtable champion of physical culture in this country.

By the death of Captain Banerjea, Bengal has lost an apostle of physical regeneration. At a time when we hardly possessed any organisation for physical culture, he it was who first preached the inspiring message of physical regeneration even as his elder brother, the great Surendranath, was thundering his message of nationalism in this country. A man of Herculean strength and vigour, he had not only made a name for himself during his stay in England where he had been in early youth to qualify as a Barrister-at-Law, but also raised the reputation of his country which had hitherto been known to Europeans as a land of helpless weaklings. On his return from England he worked hard to enthuse his countrymen with his own spirit and subsequently found his labour crowned with success. The generation of sturdy Bengalees that we now find around us has grown no doubt by a thorough assimilation of the principles of physical culture inculcated by this gallant son of Bengal half a century ago. There is no institution of physical training in Bengal with which Captain Banerjea was not connected directly or indirectly. His donations in the cause of physical culture knew no bounds.

In 1906 he had enrolled himself as a Private in the Presidency Volunteer Rifle Battalion and was successively promoted to the ranks of Lance Corporal, Sergeant and Captain, and he was the only Indian to enjoy that honour. He fought hard for the Indianisation of the Army. He was President of the Ripon College Council, having previously served as a Lecturer for several years at the Ripon Law College, Calcutta.

Captain Banerjea died a bachelor.

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III. THE LATE DR. J. N. MAITRA

The news of the death of Dr. Jatindra Nath Maitra, M.B., at the comparatively early age of 55 has come as a great shock to this University. He was a Fellow of the University during the years 1922-27 and again from 1932 till his death. He had also served as a member of the Syndicate some time ago.

The late Dr. Maitra, who was a self-made man, had distinguished himself as an eye-specialist and as a Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation. He was a man of varied interests and was connected with many an institution run on humanitarian lines. His charity was unbounded. As a public man and philanthropist he will be remembered for a long time to come. We deeply mourn his loss.

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IV. THE LATE PROFESSOR SYLVAIN LÉVI

As we write comes the stunning news of the death of Professor Sylvain Lévi. With his death has passed away the last great figure in the field of Indology.

Born in Paris in 1863, the late Professor Lévi was appointed teacher of Sanskrit in the Sorbone at the early age of 24. He was raised to the post of Professor of Sanskrit in the College de France in 1894, a unique position which he held for the last forty-one years. He carried on the glorious traditions of Eugène Burnouf and Abel Bergaigne for nearly half a century. His career was brilliantly inaugurated in 1888 with the publication of *Theâtre Indien*, a book still unsurpassed, and it was full of intense activity in various domains of Indology,—Indian history, geography, religion, philosophy, literature, philology, and so forth. He alone after Burnouf had realised that the problems of Indian history cannot be properly treated with the help of Indian materials only. Thus he came to specialise in Tibetan, Chinese and some of the ancient languages of Central Asia and discovered the forgotten Kuechan language from the documents brought from Central Asia by Professor Pelliot. He was entrusted with a scientific mission to the East in 1897-98, visited India, stayed in Nepal for the study of the antiquities of that country, and went to Indo-China, China and Japan. The outcome of this mission was the publication of his famous *Le Nepal* in three volumes and various other works. He was Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the American Oriental

Society, President of the *Société Asiatique*, Member of the *Institut de France*, and President of the *Association de l'amis de l'orient*.

As early as 1914 he was invited by the Calcutta University to deliver Readership lectures, but on account of the breaking out of the War he was unable to accept the invitation. At the request of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore he came to India for the second time in 1921, delivered lectures in the *Viśvabhāratī*, and being then invited by the Calcutta University delivered his Readership lectures. It was at this time that the Calcutta University honoured him by conferring on him the Honorary Degree of D.Litt. In the same year he presided over the second session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held under the auspices of this University. Before returning to France he visited Nepal, Indo-China, China and Japan. In 1926 he was deputed by the French Government to lay the foundation of the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* in Tokyo, and organise a school of combined research work. The first signal service done by this Institution is the publication of the Buddhist Encyclopaedia called *Hobogirin* under the joint editorship of Profs. Lévi and Takakusu. He visited India for the last time in 1929 on his way back from Japan.

His association with our University has been long, and he was no doubt one of our truest friends. In 1923 he wrote to Sir Asutosh: "Allow me to tell you simply and frankly that though I had only a few opportunities to meet you, I keep and cherish a deep impression of your powerful personality and that I follow with a loving admiration your noble struggle for the liberty of this University to which I am proud to belong and which as a real and not nominal university is entirely your work" (CAL. REV., 1923, p. 552). On the death of Sir Asutosh he sent a letter to the University in which he requested the Vice-Chancellor to tell his colleagues of the Calcutta University that their loss was his loss and that their sorrow was his sorrow.

The void which Professor Lévi has left will be difficult to fill. We deeply mourn his loss.

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V. STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSH LECTURER FOR 1936-37

We understand that the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecture-ship for 1936-37 has been offered to Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.LITT., Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University. Though engaged

at the moment outside Bengal, Sir Sarvapalli is a member of our Senate and as such is regarded by this University as its own. Amongst philosophers, his is a name to conjure with. If he accepts the invitation of this University, a great opportunity will be afforded to many for renewing old associations with a master mind and listening with profit to his discourses on Comparative Religion, which cannot but be brilliant and edifying.

* * *

VI. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER IN SCIENCE, 1935

We are glad to announce that Professor Satyendranath Bose, M.A., of the Dacca University has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer (in Science) for the year 1935. The subject chosen is "Recent Developments in Nuclear Physics." Professor Bose needs no introduction. Suffice it to say that amongst physicists his name is uttered in the same breath as that of Professor Einstein. His appointment is bound to give satisfaction to all lovers of Natural Science.

* * *

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1935

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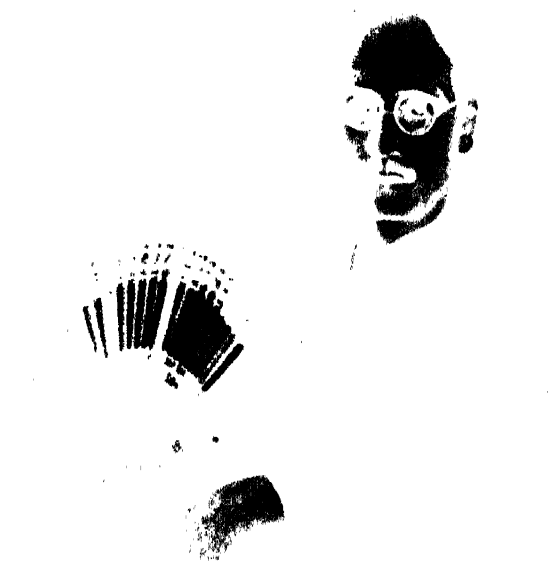
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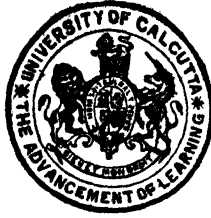
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1935

WAR AND WOMEN

MADAME ELLEN HÖRUP

Secretary, The International Committee for India, Geneva.

WHAT is the attitude of mankind to war ? Are there now more who support edifying, productive peace instead of destroying, killing warfare ? It does not seem so. All big nations are trained for warfare. In Germany, Italy and Japan all endeavours for peace are suppressed. Those who do not want war are traitors to their country. War is the national aim.

In other countries they are still allowed to prefer peace. But there are no countries to be found who are not preparing for war. Some want it now, others want to wait, and those people who want it under no circumstances become fewer and fewer, except among the women.

Women look differently upon war. They have always done so. The old outworn ideas about the field of honour, heroic deeds and decorations for bravery can be glorified for ever in the eyes of men. But women do not forget the other side. They see their husbands and sons maimed or dead. They see despair, privation, and a life of continuous toil, hunger and need for them and their children. And they see how the field of honour grows and spreads so that it will soon encompass the whole earth. The field of honour is no longer

reserved for their sons and husbands. Their little children, their old parents, their sick and helpless are all included. The honour and glory in the coming war will be in striking more of them than the enemy succeeds in hitting in one's own country.

There used to be many who looked at war as women look at it. The entire social democratic labour party knew that it had nothing to gain by an imperialistic war. In August 1928 socialists and workers held an International Congress under the presidency of Henderson. In a resolution that was passed unanimously, it stated among other things: It is the duty of all labour and socialist parties.....to ensure the exercise of the strongest possible—even the most revolutionary—pressure from the side of masses upon every government that refuses to recognise or respect arbitration in an international conflict and resorts to war.

In 1928 social democracy had not yet omitted the general strike from its programme. Since then however it has changed the signals.

The English Labour Party for example writes in its official organ "War and Peace": "The foreign policy of the party is based upon the system of collective peace. This system means the League of Nations along with co-operation between the League and the states outside it." And the leaders of the party declare that they will support every war recognised by the League of Nations and, as the Independent Labour Party says in its paper "The New Leader," this is the same as saying that the Social Democratic Party will support the next war upon which the English Government enters. The ruling of the League of Nations will hardly go against England. Thus, if they are asked and allowed to answer they will scarcely hesitate to declare England's war to be a just war, necessary for England's defence.

In France, where the socialists and communists form a united front, the leader of the Social Democrats, Leon Blum, declared in favour of national defence. In Belgium, Vandervelde is willing to co-operate with government for national unity and safety.

In the manifesto of the Social Democrats of Czechoslovakia that was passed at the congress in April, the policy of the League of Nations was approved and the party assured the government of all necessary support for national defence. In Switzerland the Socialist paper "Le Travail" writes that there is nothing else to do than to look to the League of Nations: "It is dangerous merely to lean out

of the window of the League. One risks causing the whole to fall to pieces."

Social democracy no longer sees the enemy in its own country. It has shifted him into that of its fascist neighbour. It has put "national" upon its flag instead of "international." Where they have not passed resolutions agreeing to relinquish the general strike as a means of preventing war, they have done so by gathering round the League of Nations which represents a dictatorship of imperialist governments whose interests are the direct opposite of those of social democracy.

What for example has the Great Powers' latest slogan "collective security" to offer the workers? It was this security they had in the League of Nations' Pact, and that, in spite of all other talk about security, was the only place where it had ever been found. It meant that they all stood together against that Power which broke the pact. According to Article 11, all members of the League are to regard themselves as at war with the law-breaker. All connections, diplomatic, commercial, and private, are to be broken. A boycott is to be attempted. If that does not help, then the mouths of cannon are to be turned towards her in the defence of peace. Such was collective security. With its help war would virtually have been precluded. No Power could have fought against the combined armed forces of the others and by reason of this it would have been possible to begin collective disarmament.

What the Great Powers now mean by it is nothing but nonsense. There can be no security in conditions which change from one day to the next. Some months ago it was France, Italy and England who represented the collective security but that was only up to the time of Stresa. There France and Italy left the security in the lurch and haggled about Abyssinia independently of England, and after the negotiations of the three Powers had failed, France could find neither collectivity nor security and ended by sticking to the strongest, England. That is what collective security is worth.

So when, following on this, the Soviet concluded a treaty of defence with France, one saw the opposition to the imperialistic war slowly but surely evaporating. The communist battle-cry in the event of war was to "turn the bayonets in the right direction." In a discussion between the leader of the Independent Labour Party, Fenner Brockway, and the communist Rust, the latter said: "The battle-cry

(in France) must be: 'For war, for the overthrow of German fascismcoupled with opposition to the imperialist aims of the French government!' " But a bayonet cannot be pointed in more than one direction at a time.

Whilst thus the great political labour parties have for the moment renounced international co-operation and no longer have the fight against war and fascism on their programme, the word 'war' having been rubbed out, both women and intellectuals have underlined it.

In Sweden for example a movement has been started: The women's unarmed revolt against war. Its first move is directed towards protection from gas. Here it has taken up the only right standpoint on a humane basis: We will not be protected if all cannot be protected. "If we save 50 out of a hundred we are plentifully rewarded for our trouble," says the French General Superintendent for the protection of French land. But which 50 shall be rescued and which sacrificed? War is the most palpable acknowledgement of the rights of the strong and the power of money. And ought those then who are opposed to both parties, recognise them when it is a matter of saving themselves? So they let the poor and defenceless be sacrificed whilst the rich save themselves.

The movement is to include all women who not only demand peace but also "another system for co-operation between peoples and something to replace the old form of defence which," as the excellent Swedish paper for women "Tidevarvet" says, "is not even in a position to defend itself."

The French intellectuals place themselves even more directly in opposition to the above-mentioned movement in the social democratic parties. In the appeal in their paper 'Vigilance' it says: Anti-fascism can never justify any war. War is the final catastrophe we refuse once and for all to believe it to be unavoidable. Only one form of anti-fascism exists, it is the international solidarity between the anti-fascists of every country.

Men who want to protect their women and children have only one thing to do: prevent war. The medal for bravery that is worth getting is not earnt by throwing bombs down upon other men, women, and children, but by opposing every government in one's own country that is preparing for war. This requires more courage than obeying orders, for it means going against the stream, the muddy, contaminating stream of fascism and nationalism. It means being able to stand alone and be strong.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

SIR A. P. PATRO, K.C.I.E.

It is a very encouraging sign of the times that the improvement and welfare of the rural population is receiving the earnest attention of all provincial Governments in India. The pressure of population on the soil has become so great that it reached alarming proportions in certain areas which could be relieved only by the practice of prudence and thrift on the part of the ryot and the village. Any form of external aid could only be supplementary to the spontaneous activity and genuine endeavour to raise their own level of living. The problem of rural development is not to be viewed as an isolated and special subject. Its operation includes the activities of several departments of allied character. It is a comprehensive problem and experience and knowledge would suggest that no plan, as in an industrial country, could be worked within a fixed number of years. More important and vital than plans of development and assistance to the village is the creation of a sense of responsibility for the common well-being and a real desire to imbibe and appreciate the help for rural welfare. The object of such an endeavour should be to propose ways and means of assisting the creation of an environment and the advance of the village community towards a fuller life. For the proper realisation of which the activities of agriculture, irrigation, co-operative Public Health, Education and Industries departments should be co-ordinated, and progress in all these directions as an organic part of the village welfare should be maintained. Each separately has been proved to be ineffectual nor will any useful purpose be served by emphasising the poverty of the village.

Economic surveys of villages in South India and Faridpore have proved beyond all reasonable doubt that the average cultivator of a village has not enough to maintain himself throughout the year and to improve his holding. A state of chronic indebtedness prevails in some cases due to many causes of improvidence. A practical

programme should be kept in view as a guidance for advancing the material and moral prosperity of the villages. "Rural Economics", published by me in 1919, a collection of essays contributed to the Press in 1916, and "Some South Indian Villages", published under the supervision of Dr. Gilbert Slater, give a picture of village economics in this Province. "The Economic Life of a Bengal District" by Mr. J. C. Jack and "A Deccan Village" sketched out by Dr. Harold Mann for the Bombay University describe the conditions of rural life and living in those areas. Recent publications in regard to the excellent work in Girgaon by indefatigable workers are well known. Another book by Mr. M. L. Darling from the Punjab, among others, states the problem and indicates the directions in which the solution of the vast problem lies. The report of the Agricultural Commission is a mine of information for practical guidance. Therefore, in view of the economic condition of the Indian village the vital question is how best could it be rebuilt or reconstructed.

AGRICULTURE AND VILLAGE UPLIFT

That "great progress had been achieved by the agricultural departments cannot be denied but their influence has so far reached a very small fraction of the total area," was the opinion recorded in the Agricultural Commission Report. Agricultural research is still in an elementary stage in spite of Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. A great deal remains to be done to take the results of research to the village. It should be the main concern of the department to instruct the lines on which agriculture could be improved. The gradual deterioration of the soil is a factor which often escapes the casual observer and must be demonstrated in the village to force the need for the use of fertilisers. Manurial treatment is therefore the crying need of agriculture together with the improvement of live-stock. Demonstrations in and near the villages by willing workers of the department advance far to awaken interest in the ryot. Improved cultivation requires irrigation facilities and funds for current purposes for purchase of more useful materials. The construction of a well for irrigation purposes or drawing water from a reservoir or canal means capital outlay. The natural source for him is the village money-lender. Government provide necessary assistance in the Land Improvement Act of 1864, the Agricultural Loans Act and the Usurious

Loans Act. In spite of these enactments the ryot will mortgage his land to the money-lender who may be the big ryot in the village and who will ultimately absorb the holding.

The other day a very respectable ryot, hard-working and intelligent, told me the story of his family which I believe to be true. He had five and half acres of wet land eight acres of dry land of ordinary fertility. His family now consisted of 26 persons. As the younger members grew, the entire paddy produced from his holding was consumed together with a portion of raggee raised on dry land and not enough was left for payment of kist or for paying interest on the loan raised. Some ten years ago the children were young and he had no debts but as the family increased and they grew to be adults money was raised for their marriage and other ceremonies. Since then owing to the compound interest and the fall in prices the debt grew to be five thousand rupees. The holding could be sold for seven or eight thousand rupees in the market. Litigation with the Sahukar absorbed more money ; rate of interest was heavy and exorbitant. There is no one to buy land or to help him out of the money-lenders. It was suggested that he might send out some of his sons to other districts to secure land for cultivation or to be workmen under a wealthy land-owner. It was also suggested that he should seek the aid of the Land Mortgage Bank for long-term loan to repay the debt and also improve his holding. He expressed that it would not help him unless the interest does not exceed 5 per cent. He is faced with the situation that in a few years the holding may pass away from the family and even if he borrowed from other sources such as the Land Mortgage Bank, payable in instalments, he will not be able to practise thrift and reduce the family requirements to be able to repay the debt even in twenty years because according to him no balance will be left at the end of the years. On the other hand, if improved means of cultivation, easy communications and development of cottage industries and easy rates of interest not exceeding 5 per cent. are provided and encouraged, he may be able to supplement the family income by taking the produce to markets for direct sale and avoid the middleman or money-lender and utilise the spare time of the family into other occupations. To this end knowledge and spread of elementary education is most essential for the ryot to be in a position to appreciate improved methods of agriculture and co-operative credit.

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

There is much information available on Rural Indebtedness. The reports of Co-operative societies and the Banking Enquiry Committee disclose the appalling state of indebtedness. The rural debt in this Province is said to be about Rs. 200 crores, and for the whole of India it is about Rs. 870·45 crores. The report of the Agricultural Commission notes that "Legislative measures designed to deal with the problem of indebtedness have proved a comparative failure and hopes that the salvation of the rural masses from their crushing burden of debts rests in the growth and spread of healthy and well-organised Co-operative movement based upon "careful education and systematic training of the villagers themselves. Apart altogether from the question of debt, Co-operative credit provides the only satisfactory means of financing agriculture on sound lines. Thrift must be encouraged by any legitimate means for the savings of thrift form the best basis of the capital they require."

IS CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT A WASTE ?

It was interesting to read the articles under the heading "Improving the Peasant" which appeared in the "Statesman" of Calcutta. A new light is thrown on the subject. They show the direction in which real work must be directed. The view that our present system of co-operative credit is a "waste and has not benefited the cultivator nor improved his material and moral condition" is based on the experience of Mr. A. L. Darling in a Punjab village. The author's experience in that province may be of general application to other provinces also, though the conditions vary in different provinces. The Co-operative credit system places the illiterate villager in a precarious position. There were many instances where the primary borrower was lured into the society by interested members to apply for a loan which never reached him nor would he be aware of it until an attachment warrant was actually executed. The spirit of co-operation must first be generated in the village. This is a material preliminary to the effectual operation of co-operative credit. Under the village Panchayat system of old, many village functions were common and were maintained by the villagers in groups and by turns. The improvement and protection of drinking water in the village, repairs to

the village tank, irrigation canals and maintenance of pasture and grazing grounds for cattle, the watch over crops against ravages of raids by hostile neighbours and wild animals, opening of pathways and lanes from village to village, these were some among others of the common services of the village in which every one took part for joint welfare. The famous inscriptions of Uttaramallaru and Bhattiprolu summarised in the Epigraphical Reports of 1926, furnish valuable information. That joint system disappeared long ago and one villager has no concern with the other in the village welfare work. Unless this spirit of joint action and joint responsibility is awakened and developed by education and promotion of non-agricultural industry in the vicinity of the village, credit society by itself will not be a success on a large scale.

A strong policy of co-operative credit is to be formulated ; real spirit must be created. The annual reports of Co-operative credit societies are instructive in the matter. The Government of Madras reviewing the Administration report of co-operative credit societies dated December 3, 1924, note that "in spite of the efforts referred to, however, there has been an increase in the percentage of balance to demand as shown in the statement: Central Bank's principal, from 39·69 to 53·86 and interest current and arrears from 50·9 to 60·57. Agricultural societies from 67·09 to 70·28 and interest current and arrears from 125·12 to 131·19. The percentage of balance to demand under principal in the case of central banks increased considerably. The agricultural societies were in default largely under all the three heads." An independent observer of the working of co-operative credit societies remarked that credit societies are run by a set of adventurers, exploiters and needy landowners. This may be an exaggeration as a general proposition. A strong policy of reformation of existing societies is more necessary than allowing mushroom societies to come into existence by doubtful agencies. Out of 13,950 societies about 700 were cancelled for bad behaviour last year. Liquidation of societies has grown to be heavy, voluntary suppression is proceeding apace. The arrears of amounts due by members of agricultural societies is about 253·39 lakhs. Reports of other provinces tell a similar tale. Is the credit system carried on right lines ? Is there not a case for review of the policy ? The villager had not learnt thrift nor was his environment improved. The co-operative credit in India has not been able to achieve this object. Therefore men are beginning to

wonder whether a great mistake had not been made, whether co-operation based on credit was not a beginning at the wrong end or at the wrong time. "We have seen it written by one who has spent many years at the work," quotes the *Statesman*. "It is mighty hard to teach the principles and practice of co-operation in such a difficult atmosphere as that of cheap and easy credit. When the villager sees the cheap credit dangled before his eyes he soon swallows the creed of co-operation and rushes for the money and when once he has got that his interest in true co-operative principles is apt to fade away." We realise that it is easy to preach saving, self-help and thrift, but the surveys of villages point to the fact that there is very little prospect of his being able to save from his earnings unless supplemented by the help of cottage industries and better production of land. The cheaper credit is a temptation to borrow and succumb to it in the end but to save him from that crisis the old spirit of real joint action among the villagers for venues of common welfare of the village must be regenerated by education, improved production, improvement of public health. Public health of the village is a matter in which joint or co-operative work is more easy of achievement as it saves the village from disease and decay. The grave necessity for improvement of sanitary condition of villages is greatly impressed in the survey of villages.

RURAL EDUCATION—ORGANISED EFFORTS NEEDED

The problem of rural education in India as visualised by the late Mr. Gokhale has not been dealt with in all earnestness. In the famous resolution of 1910 he sketched out the measures of reform needed in Elementary education and stated nine points which required more immediate attention. Much water has flowed since then. Political responsibility was vested in non-officials though open to the scrutiny of Finance Department. The total cost of free and compulsory education was estimated to be several crores of rupees. It was unthinkable that a plan for ten years to attain this end in this province was practicable in view of the financial position. More active work in this direction is highly imperative. The aid of aided agencies should be enlisted. No appreciable advance in this direction is made within recent years and I would not say the tendency has been to go backwards. Elementary education should gradually be made compulsory.

and free throughout the country. There is a strong demand in the country. Gradual growth will be more permanent and beneficial to the villager. The outlook of the village can be improved only by education. This means greater moral and economic efficiency of the village. The villager is quick to learn if facilities are provided for him. No substantial improvement of the village can be achieved unless the villager also has the ability and the willingness to shake off his inertia and apathy. Government must direct its efforts more in this direction. "What is required," observed the Agricultural Commission, "is an organised and sustained effort by all those departments whose activities touch the lives and the surroundings of the rural population." Enough has been suggested to show that co-operative environment must be created in the village before any system could succeed. But let it not be understood that I do not appreciate the great progress that has been achieved by the credit societies where the true spirit of co-operation and self-reliance has been in evidence. That it was a source of relief to the rural needs cannot be denied but this is not enough.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER'S REPORT ON COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

In the report (1931) on a scheme for an Economic Advisory Council in India by Sir Arthur Salter, advisory councils predominantly unofficial for helping *inter alia* rural development by improving village communications and cottage industries, were recommended. The primary function ought to be the selection of small industries. A preliminary survey of cottage Industries was made in this province in the year 1928-29 and the results of such survey were published for information and guidance of ascertaining such industries as are active and could be profitably carried with the assistance of capital and expert advice and above all with the facilities for marketing the products under co-operative basis. The reports are instructive, in some areas raw material was available in plenty and trained labour also. A regulated drive, expert advice and cheap capital was necessary to begin with. It was hoped that Government would be able to take further steps in the matter but this most useful feature of rural development awaits the decision of the Government. There is no reason for Government to be vacillating in the matter. Cottage industries form an essential accessory to the economic prosperity of the village.

LAND REVENUE POLICY AND RURAL LIFE

A question of great importance may be considered in dealing with the problem of rural development. It is asserted that the incidence of land assessment was so heavy that it contributed partly to the poverty and indebtedness of the village. This view relates to ryotwari areas. There are Zamindari and Inam tenures equally important. Is the revenue collected from land in India an oppressive tax and a main cause of poverty and indebtedness of the peasantry? It is asserted that land revenue exceeds one-fifth of the gross produce of the land and it is also in excess of fair economic rent on the land. This is not the occasion to discuss the problem in detail. "Some South Indian villages," studies in the Economic condition of villages in several districts give information carefully collected by earnest persons and the general conclusion from those studies, imperfect as they may be, is that the land revenue demand in this Presidency is 6 per cent. on the gross produce and 14 per cent. of the stated rent or on the net yield of an acre. The cases studied are few and cannot form unquestionable basis for calculation. In some Zamindaries in the Presidency the rent per acre averages from Rs. 15 to 35, which is about 25 to 50 per cent. of the produce. There are some tenures in which the landowner receives 3/5ths of the produce and the tenant has 2/5ths of the outturn with an uncertain tenure. Therefore in the ryotwari areas the cultivating pattadar is in a more favourable position than the tenant under a pattadar who receives half the produce from him in every crop. The pattadar himself, who invested capital in the land, receives from the tenants a larger proportion than the Government assessment. In Zamindari areas the position of the cultivator has become difficult owing to fall of prices consequent on the economic depression. At a time when prices were high the ryots claimed commutation of rent in kind to money rents. When the prices have fallen the situation has become complicated by the intervention of third parties. As to what is the economic rent or equitable rent depends upon the circumstances of each case. The relationship between the landlord and tenant requires careful adjustment. Justice should be done to both sides. The differences may be minimised by affording immediate relief and temporary concession to the actual cultivator where necessary. The problem of Land Tenures in India cannot be disposed of without much investigation. For our present

purposes it is sufficient to note that the incidence of land tax or land revenue levied by the State is not by itself so oppressive in all cases on the cultivating ryot as to contribute mainly towards his poverty and indebtedness. This is not intended to be understood that the Land Tenures or system of Land Revenue in India does not require further revision. Differences of opinion will exist on this matter of great complexity involving many considerations.

RURAL ORGANISATION FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

There is a vast field for useful work for the youth of the country to carry the torch of learning and enlightenment to the rural areas to awaken a consciousness for real joint or co-operative action among them. To this end an organisation should be formed in the village and group of villages. Young men from the Universities have splendid opportunities of national service. They are to be paid workers, pioneers in the work of rural uplift. The emoluments may not be high and attractive but it is a call of duty to the country. They are to be servants of the Nation. Service to the village will be their sole concern after some preliminary training. Workers may be selected to live in the village or a group of areas and thereby acquaint themselves with the village people and rouse in them a spirit of self-respect, joint work, mutual trust and a desire for self-help.

REFORMS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

It is said that the only hope of starting a spontaneous movement of village betterment is by the education and organisation of the village and its women. When the women feel that power is vested in them they will take care to see that their men do what is good for their families and homes. Power is now given to women to vote as wives, widows and mothers holding property. Opportunities are provided for the more advanced among them to give a lead in social matters. Examine however critically, you cannot escape the conclusion that the new constitution for India is a very great advance over the present towards Swaraj. We may not have got all we asked for but there is sufficient power and responsibility created under the act for wise

statesmanship to work for national advancement. India requires united action by all sections to work the constitution in order that we may march quicker towards the goal. The restrictions and limitations are placed to guard against distrust among ourselves and the minorities. When we overcome mutual suspicions and distrust by working together for a period, we naturally hasten by united effort to remove these restrictions. The talk of rejection of reforms is an idle plea. Even those liberals who were most vehement to begin with and advocated rejection wholesale are now pleading for working the reforms. There could be no rejection as there are other groups in the Assembly who will work wholeheartedly as they did with Montford Reforms. If you enter the Council as representatives of the interests of the masses you must work for their welfare. You cannot be untrue to the constituency. Acceptance of office where possible is a necessary corollary. Under the new system about 15 per cent. of the population or 30 per cent. of the adult population or 40 per cent. of adult men and 10 per cent. of adult women are enfranchised. The ratio of women to men electors is approximately 1 to 7 as compared with 1 to 21 at the present time. Thus the rural voting provides increased power and increased representation. When a candidate is returned by rural votes he must promote their interests, otherwise he will be a traitor to his constituency. There is ample room for the exercise of genuine patriotism and selfless service in the new Assembly for all political sections. The solution of the problem of rural development will be facilitated in the new Assembly by joint action of those who have knowledge and experience of rural areas—men and women honestly devoted for the common welfare, material and moral, of the masses of the country. The budget provisions and finances of the Provinces will be the entire responsibility of the representatives of the people. There lies the real test of Indian statesmanship.

DREAM OF A MODEL VILLAGE

DR. DINESH CHANDRA SEN, D.LITT.

MANY schemes have of late been formulated for village-reorganisation both by Government and private bodies, but most of them, I venture to say with due deference to the opinions of those who hold a contrary view, do not appeal to me. The villages of Bengal have lost all their glorious traditions of the past: there is even no trace of that honest, quiet and contented life which we witnessed half a century ago. The towns of Bengal with their hundred alluring temptations have drawn the literate and the well-to-do men of villages and these are now inhabited mostly by superstitious, illiterate and orthodox men, viciously addicted to litigation, given to idle habits and entirely careless about the welfare of their country. They would not cleanse or re-excavate their *dobas* and tanks filled with weeds and water-plants,—abodes of all kinds of filth and germs of foul diseases. If a neighbour would try to cleanse them at his own cost, the owner will not allow it, lest the fishes, which are said to live upon filth and water-weeds, do not have an adequate growth. For a similar reason the jungles will not be allowed to be cut, for bamboos have a value and the wild trees are sold as fuel. If a strip of land is demanded for extension of the public road, the owners will fight to the last in the law-courts by money obtained from loans, even mortgaging their homesteads. They do not realize the great harm they do to themselves by shutting their doors against all sanitary measures. Snake-bites, malaria and *kalajwar*, which kill people by hundreds, they attribute to ill luck and to the will of Providence. In this state of absolute moral stupor, they lose all sense of personal responsibility and live a contented life thinking that they have nothing to do. This paralysis of all moral sense is a sure precursor of death.

I settled at Behala, 20 years ago, with many ideas and schemes for improving the sanitation and education of the village, but was thwarted in my repeated attempts, though I spent some money and was prepared to spend more. The Union Boards and small village-municipalities have practically failed to do any substantial good to the villages. The members are mostly men of the village, themselves owners of jungly lands and *dobas*. They are imbued with the same

short-sighted ideas as others of their village. If they serve notice upon them, they will themselves be liable to do what they would demand from others.

No amount of quinine, lantern-lectures and hospitals would do much good to the vast areas which suffer from the ban of superstition, ignorance and bad examples; and as prevention is better than cure, remedies should be so devised as to destroy the very roots of all evils, without waiting to stop or remove them after they have once grown.

Half a century ago, the elders of a village were always keen on the interests of the people. They spent with free hand large amounts of money for the welfare of their village. But the elite of villages—the flower of our community, have now preferred to desert their native land and live in congested cities and the rural areas are now left in the hands of those who are not only illiterate and grossly superstitious but extremely poor.

The educated youth finds it impossible to return to his village home in its present condition, firstly because of malaria, snakes, worms, floods and a hundred evils which he has no power to cope with. Secondly, there is no means of livelihood which he can pursue. The distresses of the villages are shocking and no honest and sympathetic man can conscientiously live there, powerless to alleviate them, witnessing like sightseers the heartrending scenes of the woes of his neighbours. If some patriot on sentimental grounds of the past glorious traditions of village life in Bengal desires to live in his native village, he is handicapped in every way by want. All the people would stand in the way of any sanitary reform or healthy innovation which he may suggest. The environment will prove totally uncongenial. His literary education has given him no training for agriculture and he has no means to carry out any scheme which he may conceive for the betterment of village life.

Last though not least, is an absolute want of joy in the present village-life. The celebrated “13 *parvas* (religious ceremonies) in 12 months” which were once proverbial for the amusements they imparted, and over which lakhs of rupees used to be spent by rich men, and which were once associated with memories of *kirtans*, *kathakatas*, *Vaishnab* songs and *mangal* *gans*, making the whole air of the Bengal-villages resonant with music, song and glee are now things of the past. Apart from the devotional feeling and joy they imparted, they supplied occupation to carpenters, goldsmiths, potters, painters,

flower-men, weavers and other craftsmen all the year round which kept every village self-contented and happy.

In the year 1923, I drew up a scheme for founding a model village on an humble scale. I had a long correspondence with the late Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, who after much discussion, showed his willingness to lease out 600 acres of land near Santipur, not very from Calcutta, for accommodating a colony of 100 educated families. Each of these families was to consist of 5 or 6 members. The *mourashi* right of the land was to be purchased at about Rs. 2,500. Each of the families would contribute Rs. 250 at the outset. By this initial contribution each family would possess a little more than five acres. At the next stage, the jungles will be cut down, a few tanks will be excavated, tube-wells sunk and out of the earth obtained from excavation, roads will be constructed and habitable area will have to be raised and levelled. Each family will have to contribute another instalment of Rs. 250 for this purpose. At the next stage a bazar, schools for girls and boys, library room, a temple, squares, sites for homesteads will be provided for. A plot of land, 30 or 35 acres, should be reserved for accommodating menials. Tiled huts may be constructed for them. The schools, the meeting rooms and all houses should have thatched walls covered with mud, decently whitewashed and the roofs should consist of tiles.

Each family will have half an acre of land, for their homestead and vegetable and flower garden. They will also have 3 acres of land besides, for agricultural purposes. These three acres should be as near their home as it will be possible and practicable to allot to their share. The agricultural plot need not be brought under plough, for it may be difficult to find cultivators and steady workers in a new village. The members of a village will themselves grow, with the help of a servant, *mān-kachu* (*Arum indicum*), banana, sugar-cane and *papaya* of which there is always a great demand everywhere.

The soil may be prepared easily by a servant or by the children of the house and the members will themselves sow seeds and grow the plants, after having raised a bamboo fence round the plot. The cost will be very small. Income from this agricultural plot will be easily Rs. 3,000 a year. As the locality is to be near a railway station, not far from Calcutta or some other town, one or two members of a family may daily attend office or business and return home in the evening. The holidays may be spent in improving the vegetable

garden. The rest of the family will earn a decent income in the above way.

The houses will be in the form of a bungalow, with three bed-rooms, a bath-room, a kitchen, a store-room and a lavatory. As stated, the thatched walls will be covered with beautifully moulded mud, whitewashed, and green creepers bearing red or yellow flowers may be planted so as to cover the tiled roofs. This little home should be surrounded by a bamboo-fence, covered with flowering creepers. Each family will have to pay in several instalments an amount of Rs. 4,500 or 5,000 on the whole. The whole village will belong to these 100 families ; apart from the lands required for public purposes and general welfare and use, each family will possess a home and an agricultural plot of about four acres, and enjoy the benefit of schools, public library, public temples, a bazar, squares, roads, pastures, and exercise-grounds, music halls, tube wells and tanks for the small amount stated above. The whole scheme was worked out in detail in my original programme.

But the most important point has not yet been dealt with. No amount of help from outside will be adequate for meeting the requirements of villages of India. It is so vast a country that unless people are taught the lessons of self-help, no help conceived even with the best of motives of philanthropy and patriotism is likely to serve any useful purpose.

Our model village will be controlled by a council of 100 men (one from each family) and they will elect 25 men from themselves to form a Syndicate. Five committees will be formed from amongst the members of the Syndicate :—

I. Sanitation committee which will look after sanitation, drainage, periodical diseases, the sanitation of each house and cleanliness of public roads.

II. Education committee will have to examine the capacity of every child and find what training would suit him—to inspect schools and supervise the daily life of boys and girls.

III. Public works committee will be responsible for construction of roads and drainage, supervising the public institutions.

IV. Trade committee. There should be a shop or shops conducted by the villagers themselves on co-operative principles. The committee will examine the quality of food and other articles for daily consumption, they will distribute profits every year according to the quantity of articles consumed. If a particular family is unable to

manage their 3 acres of agricultural plot, the committee will do so in favour of the owner, of course charging the costs. They will be competent to conduct small trades and manage a small bank on behalf of the villagers; they will offer loans when any of the families is really in want, at a small interest, and submit a quarterly report of their work to the Syndicate. They will also distribute profits to the shareholders or those who would supply capital for any business they may start.

V. Child's Welfare committee. Physical culture will be taken care of by this committee. They will examine the health of a child and declare what sport or exercise would suit his health. In case of any chronic or organic disease they will at once recommend medical aid and frequently visit the child and report if he is progressing and suggest remedies.

These 100 families, chiefly consisting of graduates and undergraduates, will be supposed to know the elementary principles of sanitation, of social brotherhood, of evils of communal strifes and the needs of education based on traditions and culture of the country, consistently with the progressive ideas of the west. They will be fit persons to hold the torch and pioneer a healthy rural movement. Here they will be united by the same liberal and sympathetic spirit. Conscious of the great distresses of the country, they will be the best persons to find out a redress for the coming generations and they will be the best persons to break the bondage of custom and social orthodoxy. They will know the value of a settled government and how to live in harmony with sympathetic rulers, helping them with sound and well-considered suggestions for the good of the country.

If a village like the one described above is founded, it will be an example to the whole of the country. The youth of Bengal will find occupation and a home and many economic problems will have an easy solution.

To the Bengali youth their own villages are lost now and they have also lost their *locus standi* in the towns. There the non-Bengali elements—the Marwaris, the Punjabis, the Sikhs, the Gujratis and the Marathis predominate. The Bhadra-log classes have been ousted from all fields of activity. If one walks through the Bara-Bazar, Wellesley Street or Lower Circular Road, one will hardly find one Bengali out of every ten businessmen in those localities. These seem

like some place of Rajputana or Marwar. Ninety-nine per cent. of the town-criers, grocers, sweetmeat-sellers and cloth-dealers were Bengalis, forty years ago when I first came to Calcutta, and what is their present condition ? Not five per cent. of these traders and businessmen are now Bengalis ! The clerks in Railway offices and mercantile firms were almost all of them Bengalis, a few years ago—but even these poorly-paid clerical staff is now mostly formed by Madrasi hands. It pains the heart to see that the owners of old palatial buildings and temples with wonderfully fine and picturesque artistic decorations have deserted their malaria-ridden villages and are living in deplorable sheds in a narrow lane of Calcutta; yet they cannot return home, for the reasons stated already.

Bengalis are essentially a home-loving people. Their greatest misfortune is that they have lost their home. The educated young man has no home, no occupation, no settled life. He has no means to provide bread to the starving members of his family or secure a resting place where they may find a shelter. These homeless young men and women in their last and desperate struggle for existence turn dacoits, anarchists or commit suicide or as it sometimes happens, they kill their own children and die.

The educated youth has all the aspirations and ideas natural to their training and acquirements. Give him a home and a settled life where he may earn a bare sustenance with some prospects for the future, he will be an ornament to society. The model village which I have outlined will provide him with home and occupation. If one village of this sort is established, there will be quite innumerable others following in its wake the growth of such institutions. For, once a way is shown, the Bengalis have the capacity to follow the example vigorously. Several villages established in this way may afterwards co-operate in the field of industry and trade and produce a golden harvest. Working with a good will and a unity of purpose thousands of non-employed graduates and under-graduates who are seeking a path to earn livelihood will be easily drawn towards the model village if it may be made successful.

Even the existing old villages with grim and superstitious orthodoxy and crude dependence on luck will not in the long run be able to resist the example and will gradually open their portals for receiving new light. No amount of speech can remove darkness but light a candle and all darkness will be dispelled in a moment. One example

will be sufficient for awakening the moral consciousness of a community lying paralysed for this half a century.

A detailed scheme formed by me in 1923-24 was published in some of the Bengali newspapers, but as I fell seriously ill at the time, it could not be carried out. Numerous young men of the Bhadralog class, however, shewed their eagerness to join the proposed village and contribute to its fund. The homeless Bengali Bhadrals are trying to secure sites for building homes in suburban villages near Calcutta and some rich Bengalis have erected houses in the Ballygunj-side of the town near the Lake Road and some have done so in the Central Avenue. These stray attempts show the keen desire of these people for a settled life to which they were accustomed. They cannot now return to their ancestral home, nor can they afford to live in Calcutta or some town of that class as living is so dear. But their craving for home is genuine and has shown itself in many stray attempts. Systematic efforts should be made to bring the willing persons to one definite and settled purpose, without leading them to follow their individual choice and convenience. The plan I have suggested is easily workable as it will be within the means of ordinary people and will afford all the facilities and blessings which the Bengalis once enjoyed living in a brotherly community, united in weal or woe in their villages. But the stringent rules of caste should be abandoned as far as practicable, consistent with the progress of the times and ever-shifting social conditions.

The great depression in the price of lands has rendered such a venture easy and practicable at the present moment.

HOW THEY PAY LEGISLATORS IN THE UNITED STATES ?

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L.

IN THE coming constitution the number of legislators is going to be increased enormously. Besides British India's quota of 150 members in the Federal Council of State, and of 250 members in the Federal Assembly, the total of elected seats in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies of the 11 provinces, excluding Burma, comes up to 1,585 ; and the total number of seats in the five Upper Chambers in the five provinces where they are going to be established is expected to vary between 233 and 241. Thus the grand total would be something like 2,226.

About a year ago, questions were put in the Bengal Legislative Council about the travelling and daily allowances of our legislators ; and some acrimonious debate followed the answer. Our legislators are paid halting allowances on a per diem basis. Summarising the information conveyed, we get the following facts :—

Out of 140 members, 68 have drawn their travelling and daily allowances during the year, while others, though their bills were presented, have not been paid. Only one member did not present any bill. Out of these 68 members, 35 have drawn below Rs. 1,000, while 30 over Rs. 1,000 but below Rs. 2,000, and only three members have drawn sums exceeding Rs. 2,000. The sums drawn were not only for sittings of the Council but also for attending meetings of the Select Committee on Bills at Darjeeling and Calcutta.

Analysing the figures in another way, we get the average allowance drawn by an M. L. C. in attending :—

	Council duties.	Select Committee.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Hindu M. L. C.	762	111	873
Muhammadan M. L. C.	848	186	1,034
Average M. L. C.	801	191	992

If all our future legislators are paid on this basis, the cost would be enormous. At the same time, we must compensate our legislators for the time they devote to legislative duties.

[Without entering into the merits of the question, whether the legislators are to be paid or not ; and if paid, whether they are to be paid a lump sum or a daily allowance, let us see what they do in the United States of America.

The forty-eight State Governments of the United States have certain common characteristics. Each State is legally the equal of every other State in the Federal system. Each controls the organisation of its own State and local governments. Each has a written constitution providing for three departments of government, with a legislature of two houses elected by popular vote ; and a popularly elected governor as head of its executive department. Each State has a judicial system not essentially dissimilar in external organization from that of the other States.

The constitutions now in force in these forty-eight States vary a great deal in length and content. Some were adopted in an earlier period, and some bear recent dates. In all of the American States, legislative power is exercised by a body composed of two chambers. The smaller house of the Legislature is in all of the States called the Senate. All but eight of the States call their larger house a House of Representatives ; but the eight have such varying titles as Assembly, General Assembly, and House of Delegates. Nearly half of the States use the term Legislature to designate the two houses together ; but twenty use the term General Assembly ; and three use the term Legislative Assembly. Massachusetts still uses the term General Court, which was first employed in the colonial Charter ; and New Hampshire uses the same term. In view of the fact that the legislative bodies have somewhat varying names in the several States, it has been customary to refer to the larger of the two houses as the lower house, and to the smaller as the upper house.

To a large extent the exact number of members of the two houses, or of one of the two houses, is left to legislative determination, subject to constitutional restrictions. The size of the two houses varies a good deal from one State to another. The Minnesota Senate is the largest with 67 members, and that of Delaware the smallest with 17 members. The size of the lower house ranges from 35 in Delaware to 414 in New Hampshire (Population in 1930, 4,64,000 ; area, 9,341 sq. miles). The membership of the lower houses is especially large in several of the New England States because of the system of town representation, but in these States the Senate is relatively small.

The whole legislative power of the United States is vested by the Constitution in a congress consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. The senate consists of two members from each of the 48 States, chosen by popular vote for six years. The number of members of the house of representatives to which each State is entitled is determined by the census taken every ten years. At present there are 435 members of the house of representatives. For convenience of reference, the number of legislators in the upper and lower houses of the American States are given in a tabular form below :—

No. of Members in			No. of Members in		
Name of State	Upper House	Lower House	Name of State	Upper House	Lower House
1 Alabama	35	106	25 Nebraska	33	100
2 Arizona	19	54	26 Nevada	17	37
3 Arkansas	35	100	27 New Hampshire	24	419-423
4 California	40	80	28 New Jersey	21	60
5 Colorado	35	65	29 New Mexico	24	49
6 Connecticut	35	253	30 New York	51	150
7 Delaware	17	35	31 North Carolina	50	120
8 Florida	38	95	32 North Dakota	49	113
9 Georgia	51	207	33 Ohio	35	130
10 Idaho	44	59	34 Oklahoma	44	97-109
11 Illinois	51	153	35 Oregon	30	60
12 Indiana	50	100	36 Pennsylvania	50	208
13 Iowa	50	108	37 Rhode Island	39	100
14 Kansas	40	125	38 South Carolina	46	124
15 Kentucky	38	100	39 South Dakota	25-45	75-130
16 Louisiana	39	101	40 Tennessee	33	99
17 Maine	31	151	41 Texas	31	150
18 Maryland	29	118	42 Utah	20	55
19 Massachusetts	40	240	43 Vermont	30	248
20 Michigan	32	100	44 Virginia	40	100
21 Minnesota	67	131	45 Washington	½ to ½ of	63-99
22 Mississippi*	40	120	46	Lower House	
			West Virginia	30	94
23 Missouri	34	150	47 Wisconsin	33	100
24 Montana	56	102	48 Wyoming	27	62
				803	2,313
	946	2,858		or; 852	2,924

The grand-total of senators varies from 1,749 to 1,798; and the grand-total of the members of the lower houses varies from 5,671 to 5,782.

* These figures are for the old constitution of the State. I have not been able to get the figures under the present constitution.—J. M. Datta.

Members of both houses are paid at the same rate, which is either a fixed sum per session, or a fixed sum per day during the session. The actual amount varies widely from State to State. In America "when a legislator comes to the capital city, his daily hotel bill plus reasonable incidentals represents a sum between \$6 and \$10 dollars." [Journal of American Legislators' Association, Feb. 1931.]

As stated above, there are two methods of payment in vogue : a little more than half of the States pay each legislator per diem for the period of the session ; while the other half pay a lump sum per year or per biennium. The exact number of "per diem" States is 26; that of the "lump sum" States is 22.

The daily allowances in the "per diem" States vary as follows :—

\$		\$	
3 in	3 States	7 in	1 State
4	3 ..	10	6 States
5	8 ..	12	1 State
6	3 ..	15	1 ..

Thus there are only two of these twenty-six States in which the legislator's entire payment amounts to more than a moderate allowance for living expenses, and that during the session only.

Among the remaining twenty-two "lump sum" states, 18 hold biennial sessions. The biennial compensation of the legislators in these States is :—

\$		\$	
200 in	1 State	1,000 in	6 States
300	1 ..	2,000	1 State
400	2 States	2,400	2 States
600	1 State	3,000	1 State
720	1 ..	3,500	1 ..
800	1 ..		

The 4 other "lump sum" States hold annual sessions. They pay their legislators each year :—

\$		\$	
400 in	1 State	1,500 in	1 State
500 ..	1 ..	2,500 ..	1 ..

It will be observed that among the 22 "lump sum" States 15 pay their legislators a very modest sum, not less than \$200 dollars and not more than \$1,000 dollars per session.

For facility of comparison with the "per diem" States, the per diem rates for "the lump sum" States has been calculated by dividing the entire amount of compensation paid to the actual period of the session. The results are:—

\$ 2 per day in	2 States	\$ 11 per day in	1 State
3 ,,	3 ,,	12 ,,	2 States
4 ,,	4 ,,	15 ,,	1 State
5 ,,	8 ,,	17 ,,	2 States
6 ,,	5 ,,	20 ,,	1 State
7 ,,	3 ,,	21 ,,	1 ,,
8 ,,	1 State	25 ,,	1 ,,
10 ,,	11 States	28 ,,	1 ,,
<hr/>			
\$ 10 or less	37 ,,	,, 30 ,,	1 ,,

In 37 out of the 48 States the payment to the legislator amounts to \$10 or less per day for the duration of the session, which, considering the wealth of the United States of America and their manner of living, does not seem to us to err on the side of lavishness. The maximum rate of \$ 30 per diem is paid only in the rich State of New York; and a part of the apparent lavishness may be justified by the high cost of living and hotel expenses in the city of New York.

But the salary of a Federal (U. S. A.) Senator, Representative or delegate in Congress is 10,000 dollars per annum, with an allowance, based on distance, for travelling expenses.

INDIAN MUSIC—THEORY AND PRACTICE

SIR SULTAN AHMED, KT., D.L.

IN our country, music occupied a very high religious place in Hindu times. In ancient India the Gândharva Shastra was regarded an Upaveda and some writers have called the Gândharva the fifth Veda.

I am not a Sanskritist but I could just get a glimpse of Hindu Dharamshastras when dealing with cases of Hindu Law in the course of my professional work and I read with great pleasure and have ever since remembered the pronouncement of the great law-giver, Yaagyavalkya, about the virtues of music. In the chapter about the duties of Sanyasis he has said: "One who knows the essentials of the Veena-playing, is well versed in the Shrutis and Jaatis, and possesses knowledge of the Taalas, attains salvation (Moksha) without effort."

When speaking of Indian music one is naturally attracted to its ancient history, its theory and practice in days of yore, and its subsequent development up to the present time.

Indian music in its origin was a part of the daily worship and ceremonies of the old Rishis, as the mantras of the Vedas used to be recited in musical tones. In course of time it developed from tones to Swaras, as they are now known, and came to have a complete theory of its own; and by the time Amir Khusrau, the great Persian scholar and musician, came to India during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Tughlak in the 15th century, Indian music was a fully developed art both in theory and practice. There were authoritative books like the *Natya Shastra* (400 A.D.), the *Sangeeta Ratnakar* (thirteenth Century A.D.), the *Sangeet Darpan* (14th to 15th Century A.D.) and others and the actual practice had developed from the archaic Vedic songs to Chhandas and Prabandhas in Rag, Ragini, Putra, Bhaarya system, and the varieties of the Taalas had come into practice.

Amir Khusrau studied and practised Indian music and having acquired efficiency in its practice and technique made his own contributions to it in the form of new styles of musical compositions like *Tarraana*, *Qaul*, *Qalbana*, *Gulnaqsh* and introduced some Persian melodies like *Yaman* and his own combination of Ragas like *Ghaara*, *Zeelaf*, *Surparda*, etc., and also some Taalas like *Farodast*, and *Surfakhta*, etc.

In those days study of literature and music used to proceed side by side, the devotees being learned men, and the development of music, particularly the composition of songs and the formulas of *Laya* or *Taal*, were very much influenced by Indian prosody. After Amir Khusrau had joined the band of the savants of Indian music, we find both Hindus and Mahomedans making their contributions jointly to its development. There was never,—and thank God that even today there is not—any communalism among the devotees of this art. If Amir Khusrau contributed *Tarranas*, *Qauls*, etc., Raja Maan Tanwaar, and Baijoo Baawra introduced *Dhurpad* style of classical songs. If Swami Haridas introduced *Hori*, Sultan Hussain Sharqi, the brothers Shah Sadaarang-Adaarang, and the Emperor Shah Mohammad Shah (*Rangeela*) introduced and popularised the *Khyal* style. If Mira Bai introduced the *Bhajans*, Ghulam Nabi (*alias* Mian Shori) introduced the *Tappas*, and Nawab Wajid Ali Shah and his Darbar musicians introduced the *Thumris*.

But inspite of this happy co-operation, an unfortunate separation took place between literature and music. All books on the theory and practice of music were written in Sanskrit and so Mahomedans, who took kindly to music, or took it up for a living, finding Sanskrit a difficult language, as it actually is, did not trouble themselves to study it and thus could not have first-hand knowledge of the theory embedded in Sanskrit books. The result was that whereas practice of music, encouraged by the patronage of the rulers and *Reyises*, continued to develop meritoriously in ancestral and preceptorial genealogy and pedigree, knowledge of the theory was confined to oral instructions from father to son or preceptor to disciple and musicians drifted away from the old moorings, without a mariner's compass in the form of standard text-books.

The lamentable consequence of this divorce was the springing up of various schools, or rather musical families, with their own ways of singing and notions (rather than first-hand knowledge of) the theory, and their own ideas and memories (naturally differing by lapse of time and distance of places of abode even amongst the followers of the identical distant ancestor or preceptor) of the musical features (the *hulyas* or *swarswrups*) of the *Ragas*, *Raginis*, etc. The result is that at present musicians even of the Northern School differ violently from one another in the musical features of many *Raagas* and *Raginis*, each citing the name of his own *Ustad* (preceptor) or his predecessor

as the authority for his assertion, and very few even know the names of the written and published books on the theory of our music. The Hindus also, owing to the want of study of Sanskrit, became the exact compatriots of their Muhammadan brethren.

It was in this state of chaos that Europeans with a taste for music met the Indian musicians and they in their turn not having (in the beginning) directed their attention to the study of Sanskrit books, hastily pronounced that Indian music had no theory at all and was quack or pariah music.

Matters have however now taken a somewhat different turn. Indian pioneers of the last century, like Raja Sourindra Mohan Tagore and several eminent men in the South, directed their attention towards the publication of pamphlets and books in English on the theory of Indian music, and in the present century persons learned in music like Messrs. E. Clement, A. Popley, Fox Strangway and some others have published books and brochures on Indian music and have pronounced a chorus of praises on the theory, practice, beauties and refinements of our music proper as well as the complicated, Taala system. The recent series of articles of Maud Macarthy in the "Statesman" are almost interesting, frank and illuminating contribution by a keen and devoted musician. We can never be too grateful to them for their enthusiastic support of our art and for their frank and sympathetic advice.

Amongst Indians Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande of Bombay, the publisher of the invaluable Sanskrit treatise called "Lakshya Sangeetam" and the Hindustani Sangeeta Padhati serial, which has already reached four fairly big parts, my late friend Raja Nawab Ali Khan of Akbarpur, Lucknow, author of another valuable treatise (in Urdu) on the Music of Hindustan called the "Muaariful Naghmaat," whose recent and untimely death is a great blow to Indian music, His Highness the Raja Sahib of Dharampore, Rai Sahib Shivendra Nath Basu of Benares, a Veena-player of great fame, and in his own humble way my friend and colleague Mr. Murari Prasad, Advocate, Patna High Court, and an author of three recommended text-books for the Patna University examination, besides several others, are rendering great service for the propagation amongst Indian musicians of a complete knowledge of theory and notations and are trying to standardize the forms of the Ragas and Raginis.

It is high time that each Music Conference should take up the task of collecting the views of the musicians assembled at its gatherings and standardizing the appreciably agreed forms of the Ragas and Raginis, etc. Some attempt in this direction was made at the 2nd All-India Music Conference of 1916 at Delhi but after that the work does not seem to have been seriously pursued. A committee of really competent men should be formed to go into this question and report what can be done to achieve this objective.

In this brief space it is not possible to say much about the various aspects of our vast music, but I may be permitted to attempt at a short synopsis.

Indian music as sung or played is a combination of music proper and time-keeping (called Laya or Taala), a feature which not only distinguishes it from music of other countries but renders it difficult of appreciation, learning and even correct comprehension, by them. In other musics time-keeping is resorted to just for the sake of maintaining a sort of rhythm ; contrary to that, in Indian music the Laya and its King the "Sam" are the very centre of gravity, so to say, for the singer or player or dancer and none of them can turn their eyes away from his 'Sam' in their musical passages and turns which form the most prominent feature of their performances. There are as many varieties of Taalas as, and even more than, the musical compositions for singing or playing, and Gatas and Toras in dancing.

In the singing and playing of music proper there are the Ragas, Raginis, Dhoons, etc., with their musical features prescribed by elaborate rules of Saptak, Swaras, starter-swaras, finishers, swaras, ascents, descents; *and above all*, the singing or playing has to be harmonious and pleasant which is the very crux of the definition of a Rag, Ragini, Dhoon, etc. ; and for this purpose the arrangement of the Swaras in an Indian Rag, Ragini has to be made with an eye to the harmonic relation amongst the Swaras. We have therefore in Rag, Ragini, the King Swara (called Vadi Swara), the King's Minister (called Samvadi Swara) and the King's servants (Anuvadi) which comprise the remaining Swaras except the Vivadi.

It is sometimes said by some persons that Indian Music is all melody and does not know harmony. I cannot claim to pronounce any authoritative opinion on it and would leave that task to others

who have studied the matter, but to me it appears that a melody to be pleasing must be harmonious, and even as a lay man I know the harmony of the Vadi-Samvadi in the Ragas and in the strings of the Tambura.

Then there are seasons and times prescribed for the Ragas, Raginis ; they are not accidental connections. Some explanation has been given in the ' Maaariful Naghmat ' and I am told that there are explanations in Sanskrit books also.

It is a great gratification to find that we are becoming fully alive to the usefulness of music and the necessity of its cultivation by the educated community of India and it is particularly gratifying that our young men have taken it up in right earnest.

We are just now on a turning point in our journey towards the future development of our music. We have our own course but the current of European music has also come and has dashed against ours. We have to proceed with great caution during this impact of the two currents. I am not one to say that all that is good is in our own, and there is nothing elevating in the European music.

Both are good in their own ways and their own spheres. I would say "preserve your own identity, and, while doing so, take as much as you can from the European." If the loud harmony system of Europe appeals to your aesthetic taste, or if for any other reason or object you want to know it, do so by all means. But bear in mind that the form in which you have the Indian music at present is the result of growth, pruning, additions and alterations of centuries and generations and has been handed down to us as the best suited for this country and its social circumstances and temperament. To my mind any hurried importation from outside would not only not suit us, but would rather overburden our own music. A harmonium may be good when you and the children in the house may like to have some fun, but it should never be allowed to take the place of the sweet, scientific and divine Tambura.

*One thing more has to be mentioned. It has been noticed by some of my friends who are in the know and have reported to me, that there is a tendency amongst students and those connected with schools or colleges as managers or as teachers or demonstrators of music, to look down upon all professional musicians, and that appointments are generally sought to be made from a class of people who are considered gentlemen teachers as distinguished from professional men of

the old type. This tendency is harmful. The gentlemen musicians, if this word has any meaning, have been out of company with music for some centuries or generations, and until a few years back 'gentlemen' used to feel ashamed to acknowledge their actual practice of music. This art was for long entirely in the hands of the professionals and it is they who kept it alive during its adverse days and who possess the cream of the accumulated knowledge and practice of generations. The renowned professional musicians are fast dying out; I would ask you not to despise them and leave them to die in contempt with all the knowledge they possess. There are many amongst them who are good and respectable.

If you discard all the old professionals and start entirely with gentlemen trainers, you will be starting on a practically new road and would be losing the fruit of accumulated experience.

There is on the other hand a neglect amongst old professional men of the study of theory of music from the standard books and also actual disregard of or indifference to the study and practice of notation; this defect has to be removed. There are books both in Urdu and Hindi, giving with quotations all that is useful in Sanskrit books; and the prevailing system of notation of Bhatkhande school (which is almost the same as of Bengal) is available in all published books. The professionals should be persuaded to shake off their old indolence and indifference and to write down the compositions known to them and publish them.

It is a pity that with two big provinces like U. P. and Bihar and parts of Punjab, Rajputana and C. P. where the language is Hindustani, there is no publication of any periodical on music. Attention has to be paid to this sad want.

Amongst school and college students, who have appeared for examinations of the University or at test demonstrations, it has been noticed that attention to Laya is not duly paid. This defect can be removed only if from the beginning, training in music is given to the accompaniment of Tabla. Indian music will lose all its beauty if it is divorced from Taala and I draw the prominent attention of all students, trainers and the authorities of the institutions to this state of affairs.

JAPANESE ART*

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IT was pleasant with a fine summer breeze at the top of Koya Mountain in Kii province, famous for its monastery, where I climbed a year ago ; the breeze played a soft aerial melody in the pines ever fresh since the world began, and prepared an appropriate atmosphere for my seeing the priest Yeshin's work of Amitabha there at the Treasure House. Unlike others who ascend the mountain for a religious purpose, thanksgiving or repentance, I went for art.

Overflowing with joy, I examined the large hanging which was steeped in the "moonlight of Eternity," because it depicted Amitabha, the holy ghost of paradise followed by the three saints and twenty-five Bodhisattvas, welcoming departing souls from the earth below. Nearing in imagination the heavenly orchestra of flutes and pipes painted in the picture, I felt myself overcoming worldly cares and becoming detached from petty illusions for a greater freedom. I was dreaming a dream touched by reality but more intense and lofty.

Awakened by the thought that, in spite of my denial of a religious purpose in coming there, I was after all a religious pilgrim, I returned to the domain of art criticism and ventured to wonder why such a work lifted me to such a sweet and great mental experience, although it was evidently a temporary reaction. Not being a historical student, I do not know when Buddhism in Japan began to be coloured by pessimism ; interpreted by an artist, however, as a synonym of beauty, pessimism became inseparable from Japanese life. I cannot help thanking the sculptors of the idols of Buddha or Bodhisattva which adorn the silent halls of the temples at Nara, because they explain that even at an early period, Japanese Buddhism was propagated through beauty. Supposing Nirvana, the cessation of individual existence, to be life's final desire, there is nothing more satisfactory than to contemplate it in an atmosphere where art is richest in beauty. Nothing in the art annals of the world, I daresay, is more perfect than the amalgamation of religion and art in the sculptures and paintings of Japanese temples. Moved

* The first of the six Readership lectures delivered by Prof. Noguchi at the Calcutta University.

by an imaginary melody, unworldly and mysterious, which these religious works diffuse, we lose ourselves, as with Yeshin's hanging of Amitabha, in a world of symbolic beauty where prayer is but the word of praise.

Although definitions of art may vary, no one would deny, I think, the value of harmony for its fundamental basis, because universal beauty, healthy and good, common to all people, is not a monstrosity or freak but a thing of symmetrical harmony in its expression. With what a harmonious arrangement Amitabha and Bodhisattvas are grouped in Yeshin's work ! And then, what a distinguished centre of artistic expression is there in Amitabha ! We know that the greater a work the more its inner light shines ; and it does not give us, like an Academy painting of the present day, the impression that it is drawn for display. A western religious figure, a Christ or a Mother Mary who raises her hand and even smiles insinuatingly, is poles apart from a religious work like Yeshin's, for his work is but an artistic expression of austerities and a pictorial personification of prayer itself.

We must pay great respect to the figure which appears not with the superficial pretension of a deliverer, but in an attitude of modesty, forgetting all surroundings in the concentration of its own thought. How meek Yeshin's Amitabha looks ! I always think that, whether it be in painting or in the actual life of the human world, anything that exhausts itself not for display but for its own self-expression is beautiful, and qualifies for God's love. And there is nothing more appealing than a human being intent on the object of his purpose. When you see how eagerly children set their eyes on their balls or tops while playing, you cannot deny the artistic expression in their attitude. Hokusai, a town artist at the end of the Tokugawa regime, drew a thousand little scenes where a carpenter was busy with plane and saw, or a lantern maker with paste and paper, or a plasterer with trowel, and he humbly called them caricatures. Seeing there, however, a fervent artistic expression in those figures that are not abashed by the great art of the past, I owe many thanks to Hokusai for picking up his art from the human sweat and dust of mean streets. Not only Hokusai but many other artists of the so-called Ukiyoye school of Japan are artistic rag-pickers who lived in the lowly world but with their sincere eyes set upon the stars.

I once possessed several uncoloured proof-sheets of Utamaro's pictures called the " Silkworm Series," thin crumpled papers with the

figures in black lines, which I bought from a second-hand bookshop on the shabby outskirts of Tokyo. Feeding my eyes on the supple and distinct lines that made the figures more beautiful because not disturbed by the encroachment of varied colours, I thought with gratitude that time was not altogether unkind in spite of its fame as a destroyer. Among the pictures there was one where a burning fire revealed the method of reeling raw silk, and many delicate threads hung down from the right hand of the woman at the loom, with such result that the artist stands unrivalled in line drawing through all ages. And I wondered why this female labourer looked so lovely till I thought that, concentrating on the work and not cutting a figure, she was seen to enjoy its progress. It is true that the art of Japan might have been like a green thicket without a rose, if without the appearance of the worldly studies of the Ukiyoe school where, through the virtue of real living in self-enjoyment, the figures, a half-naked barbarian of a back alley or a hired beauty behind a lacquered lattice, unconsciously assume a fundamental principle of higher art like Yeshin's Amitabha. There is no reason for those reports of daily life, though humbly depicted, to receive a lower estimation than a mountain or river in a sixfold screen.

Among the time-honoured subjects of Oriental painting the "Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang" take precedence, for the shifting and changing of nature according to moon or rain is exhausted in the eight pieces. Harunobu of the Ukiyoe school said in his series, "Eight Views of the Drawing Room," that, since he had no real knowledge of this famous place in China, he was only too glad to find a suggestion of Hsiao-hsiang among the actualities of daily life. I cannot help regarding his attitude as much more true and worthy than that of the others who spent their art in a subject they only dreamed. Putting aside other things, this point alone makes Horunobu admirable, raising him to a higher plane to which only true artists have access. The world of his art, though small, is impressive with innocent and youthful people, who, ardently attached to their earthly lives, take such delight in their existence as to make us glad to share it equally.

Now leave art for a moment for nature in the garden where you will notice that even a little sun-plant grows to beautify itself and stretches up its body to the sun. You will find the pure undiluted spirit of art working within the aim of the sun-plant. I know no

more impressive sight than that of a thing free and undaunted in its attitude of praising its own existence ; and this attitude is art itself. God sees all his creations impartially. A towering tree or a creeping ant, a prime minister or a labourer hired by the day,—their intrinsic value equal in nature when they absorb the joy of their existence. And there is no truer work for an artist than to report his existence.

Musashi Miyamoto of the middle seventeenth century is a great artist, besides being an equally great swordsman whose heroism delights the populace through the cinema. Among his artistic legacy of only a few paintings, I find a work in black of two or three wild-geese by marsh-reeds covered with snow. Like Yeshi's holy image at Koya Mountain or Hokusai's simple carpenter or lantern-maker, the wild-geese are here richly blessed by the ecstasy of their existence. What is art ? It is nothing but a suggestion of something truer and nobler presented through the subjects in which the artist is interested. The priest Yeshin is not great just because he painted holy subjects. Again you cannot call Hokusai vulgar on account of his workmen of the slums. The art of both is great because of the sense of a blessed existence their subjects inspire.

There is no true art which has no direct relation to our own living. It has to cultivate our minds and enrich our souls. Suppose you say that the flowers of April know nothing of our hunger, even though they are as beautiful as a piece of brocade, and that the autumnal moon cannot do duty as an electric lamp, however brightly it may shine in the sky. Suppose again you ask how a picture of flowers of the moon can be directly related to our own living. I will answer : " What a stupid man you are not to recognise what a great influence natural phenomena, flowers or moon or what not, exert on us. I say that what is called love is immaterial, not a thing which we can hold with our hands or put in a measure ; but anyone knows that love alone makes us understand life's eternity, and that its blessing is more real than that of a thing which you can see with the naked eye. Art is something like love or flowers or the moon, the mission of which is, with an intangible but real power, to develop our sense of living to something higher and nobler."

The old art of Japan is in most cases quite far from so-called realism, even when it dips deep into the study of nature ; accepting convention and therefore lacking in novelty of subject, the old artists still managed to bring out their personalities in artistic triumph.

I always think, when I see a good specimen of the old art of Japan that it is fortunate for artists to know what kind of people they address, and what admiration or blame to expect from them, and that convention, when used with love, never restricts their vitality. Even though they sometimes seem fanciful or unreasonable, I am sure they will never offend us like the modern artists whose personal vanity glares under the name of individualism. To say that art should be the work of love or prayer is simple enough ; but how many artists of the present time practise it ? Japanese artists of olden days were true lovers of beauty before they were artists ; as one prays to God in the same language day and night, they painted the same subject over and over, but with astonishing variety ; what they aimed at was the true reality but not the appearance, the real execution but not the explanation of their themes. " Why, art depends," my old artist friend used to say, " on the artist's sensitiveness to the facts supplied to him, and upon his use of his hereditary and acquired methods of recording them, and upon his personal variation of those methods. No one dreams of praising the art of the sky itself, that is to say, the fact that the facts existed."

I cannot help wondering, in the first place, why the present artists of Japan in general should follow unconditionally after the realism of the West ; this sad want of comprehension of fundamental principles makes me sceptical about the art of the future. Of course I have no objection to true realism which is an artistic means to an end, a touch of emphasis to bring out the inner spirit more clearly ; but when it is not true realism but a superficial actuality not related to the ringing rhythm of spirituality, it would not be too much to say that it is a blasphemy against the artistic tradition of Japan, a true art bridging over the eternal and the ephemeral. Art that is merely ephemeral, however beautiful and elaborated it may be on the surface, has no more meaning than the fashion plate of the week. Since modern art is the mirror which reflects Japan's unqualified acceptance of the West, we cannot expect it to keep its old insularity. We have to recognize the general advance of modern artists in the handling of pigments as well as in exactness of delineation. But what true artistic value emanates from the fact that the branches and leaves of a tree are minutely drawn or the notes of a musical score on the piano (supposing we have a picture of a drawing room) look as perfect as they are in reality ? I think that such pictures are

a waste of labour ; at best they are the work of artisans and not of real artists.

But there are some artists of sterling merit who paint with love today—who form an artistic oasis where a pleasant breeze of new interpretation blows among the acquired traditional methods. When they paint a mountain or rugged coast in green or ultramarine, a pigment almost as rich as any western pigment, the effect they create, solid but beautifully delicate, would easily challenge any good work of the West. But generally speaking, our Japanese pigments want solidity ; their excellence is in the quality, that is delicateness itself. Realising this undeniable fact, the old artists of Japan, when they drew something solid, hid or revealed themselves, according to the situation, in the magic of suggestive art in which the monkish black of India ink dominated. It was their own art to depart from seeming reality, and enter the inner spirit of it. Some ancient art critic talks about five colours of India ink, the spiritual beauty of which may surpass that of any western pigment. When the present artists of Japan cast away this India ink, they renounced their birth-right. No real art comes out of the pigments themselves, however beautiful they are ; there is nothing more dangerous in art than to abuse the materials. To see a large canvas thickly coated with pigments, a piece in which art is buried under piles of paint is sad indeed.

It is a pity that the present artists have lost the art of simplicity which our old artists discovered at the sacrifice of emotional expression. True art which becomes an adornment to human life, is born from simplicity, the symbol of reality. Why should we be thankful for art if you cannot draw a dream from it ? As we say that a simple dream is the most beautiful, we can say that art, when it is simple, pleases us most, because it hypnotises us into a twilight land of ghosts. The best works of the old art of Japan, from the folding screens of Yeitoku or Sanraku to the colour prints of Harunobu or Buncho, keep themselves closely to this canon of simplicity. Admitting that art should adhere to the psychology of the time, I would be only too glad if the present art of Japan would advance into a heterogeneous beauty built on the law of simplicity.

My friend, a well-known expert on Japanese music, surprised me the other day when he began :

“ Did you ever see the picture of a waterfall by Wang Wei of the early T'ang dynasty at the Chijaku-in Temple in Kyoto ? No ?

Very well ! it is a horizontal piece not so significant in its size as in its content and remarkable meaning. The brush of an artist, little as it is, can be called an instrument of magic when it makes the infinity of space ring rhythmically at its touch, heavy or light. According to a western dictum, the music of a picture is sweeter because it is unheard. This work of Wang Wei illustrates remarkably well the point I am now speaking of. You should see it at the first opportunity when you go to Kyoto again. There are a few varied parallel lines drawn diagonally in the centre of the canvas,—that is a huge waterfall between crags, whether it is a real sketch or an imaginary creation. It is no exaggeration to say that without apparent beginning or end, the lines bridge the infinity of space. Here subtilty exhausts itself. And how happy I am that such a picture endorses my opinions about music, because music when at its best in melody, should respond to the infinity of time which vibrate in the air inaudibly. I thank God, all the arts are one after all."

This verbal essay on rhythmic Infinity renewed at once my interest in the subject, and made me think about Togan's sliding screens of eight panels at Marquis Kuroda's home ; the subject is plum-blossoms and crows, and space is treated in a manner, I think, not below that of the work of Wang Wei which my friend pointed out. Running diagonally through the great canvas covered with brilliant yet quiet gold, the branches of the plum-tree are drawn in black and remind me of the spare frame of a Zen priest who has the fire of perception burning within. A botanical forerunner of the season, the plum-tree depicted in the work is a symbol of indomitable spirit unyielding in the cold of early spring ; this symbol suggests something older and larger than art, because as a temporary form of reality it causes the rhythm of the space, the undrawn part of the work, to vibrate. It is natural that the aerial melody or that space is grave, since it solemnly obeys a beckoning hand in the branches. Togan's lines and dots, therefore, are but a suggestion and a hint that bring out a far greater meaning than that of a mere revival of the plum-tree.

In the works drawn by Dasoku, at the Yotoku-in temple, Kyoto, the great Zen priests, Dharma, Tokusan and Rinzai, loom up with the whole sky at their backs. Putting aside the value of the pictures that, as a figure study, would easily lead many others, see how the huge space in the undrawn part whispers a mystery of rhythmic Infinity

to the priests deep in meditation ! Unlike that of Togan's screens, the space of these religious portraits is melodious in a well-composed soft voice, performing a natural duet with the priests in the foreground whose voices have lost their sharpness. To say that the portraits are equal to the space, would be an over-estimation of the former, because all artists should be sensible enough to know that their crafts, however admirable, are trifles compared to Infinity. The painted part of any picture is only valuable as a pictorial talisman ; and this talisman, when it properly exerts its own magic under the blessing of the undrawn part, becomes great with undying glory. Above all else the integrity of space should be protected in a painting, and not one line or one dot can be slovenly lest it damage the beauty or foolishly disturb the rhythm.

I have often before spoken of this in the works of Sotatsu and Korin, and exclaimed, "What a wonder of space ! And what a wonderful handling of the brush !" One is amazed at the boundlessness of space, when he sees Sotatsu's famous screen of the "Wind-God and Thunder-God" at the Kenninji temple, Kyoto, where the painted figures fly furiously above the fretful earth spinning far below. The work is but a mighty battle between pictorial silence and pictorial voice. For Korin's screens of the iris flower, once an heirloom of the Honganji temple of Kyoto, I admired the manner of the artist that he did not spoil the huge space in the background with a bird or butterfly ; if Korin had not been as great as he was, he would have been afraid to hear the ringing music of space in its entirety.

The canvas, whether it be silk or paper, whether it be picture or hanging scroll, is a battlefield for the artist where reality and unreality, the painted part and the unpainted part, contest on even ground. It is a foolish artist who thinks that his work begins and ends with his painting brush. And your eyesight may be enough to see the painted part of a picture ; but your whole body should be responsible for the real appreciation of the Infinity that the unpainted part suggests.

"That is the point for the musician too," my musician friend exclaimed. "I would call it real music when it appeals not alone to your ear but to your whole body from head to foot. But it is sad to say that there is seldom such great music. Besides, people hear and understand music only through its sound."

This final remark made me recall the reply of Beethoven, when he was once asked what was great in music. "No music, Sir," he said.

(I saw the other night the solo dance of Kikugoro, a well-known Kabuki actor, in the piece called "Yasuna." Yasuna is a youth going mad because of unrequired love; personified by Kikugoro, Yasuna moved about the stage in the fashion of a sleep-walker, according to the text, haunted by the shadowy image of his sweetheart among the rape-seed blossoms and butterflies. I said "moved" purposely because he did not dance at all; if he danced, it was the dance of a soul who reduced, as far as dancing allows, all the actions to stillness where, like a poised fish, he kept an aerial balance. Although it was a spectacular performance accompanied by *Samisen* music and song, I felt myself to be in a silent hall where physical expression was considered vulgar. The dancer raised his hands and feet, and turned his face right and left enigmatically in a way that only people familiar with dancing vocabulary would be able to read. I know that, although not a representation of the Japanese dance, this "Yasuna" is like the others in the vital point that physical movement is compressed inwardly in the interest of artistic economy.

Recalling Harold Kreutzberg's madman which I saw some time ago on the Japanese stage, I cannot help thinking about the difference between these two dances, Japanese and German. Since this ultra-modern German attempted to interpret a madman's psychology realistically, he had his own license for physical movement, however unstable and wild. How speedily his movement shifted and changed! I do not think I am mistaken in saying that, in general, the western dance has its artistic focus in speed which outwardly becomes loose and frayed. Though I have no mind to censure it as an acrobatic feat, western dancing is nothing if not danced with the whole body whose functions, every one of them, respond to one another in leaping harmony. We Japanese are, let me say, backward in the expression of this modern movement for in "Yasuna," whether the dancer steps fast or slow his heels keep close to the floor, and do not allow his movement to spread out from his centre of gravity which is in his body. •Therefore even as a madman, Kikugoro's Yasuna, unlike the madman of Kreutzberg, is able, as it seems, to concentrate and to control his mind and body.

The chief value of a Japanese painting will be found in its lines, the art of Japanese dancing is measured by the forms of the lines, straight or curved, delicate or heavy, gross or light, which the dancer draws with his body. • If western dancing is not careless about the

lines, we find it, I believe, mainly in the form that extends and spreads outwardly in action ; on the contrary, our dances are at their best when the lines enjoy the solstice of negation. It is natural that, as in the case of "Yasuna" our dancing is monotonous with the monotony which purposely sacrifices variety. And it is true that not only with dancing but with all the other matters of art, this monotony is a fundamental characteristic of the Orient, at least, of Japan.)

It is not too much to say that all our artists are like tight rope-walkers, moving safely or unsafely on the single silver wire of the monotony of Japanese life. If you doubt my word, see Korin's screens of sea-waves undulating in silent monotony, where the sea seems controlled by the magic of this Japanese Prospero of art and one could easily cross like Ferdinand with dry clothing. Or see Taiga-do's hanging picture of nature where mountain over mountain and water over water are pictured vertically in monotonous lines. Your mind, if it is appreciative, will be mesmerised by those lines into a trance where all actions stop ; but if you are a hard-headed and unappreciative person, Taiga-do's monotonous mountains in the picture will appeal to you only as a meaningless pile of Chinese yams. And see again Kikugoro's dance of "Yasuna," his silken sleeve "disordered by a mad wind of love !"

Occasionally there are times when the mental pressure of the monotony of life or art becomes unbearable, and I want to find an escape from it. At such moments the following passages come to my mind :

"A man went to a Zen priest and disturbed his meditation with complaint. He said : I am miserable because I am poor. I am miserable because I am ill in health. I am miserable because I am old. The priest replied : 'If you are poor, you should live in poverty. If you are ill in health, you should live in ill health. If you are old you should live in old age. Then you will be happy.'"

No good swimmer struggles against the tide. One must go to darkness for the light of day ; and in evanescence the truth of eternity shall be found. Call it a half truth if you will ; I know that the half moon will soon be full. And if you like, your question of monotony shall be solved through the blessing of assimilation. I say to you, "Live in monotony, and forget it !"

It is a cold truth that all the phenomena of the world, the sun and the moon and stars, move about, grow or die, on the eternal principle of monotony. Even the tiniest ants in a back yard are

busy in their harvest, ruled by that principle which they observe. If western people seek complex colour and action in life and art and set their eye on forward movement, they should be reminded of our Japanese way, represented in Kikugoro's "Yasuna," where our heels do not leave the floor and our minds do not break away from the mental centre of gravity.

Besides, you would feel no monotony, I am sure, if like Korin or Taiga-do, you painted sea-waves or even mountains of Chinese yams. And again if you dance "Yasuna" like Kikugoro, I do not see why you should feel monotony. The most important issue is how to become a Korin or Taiga-do or a Kikugoro.

My artist friend interested me when he talked about Chinese ink-sticks; he told me of a special kind called "Ch'ing-chu-Mo," meaning "ink-stick of the Whale Pillar." The emperor of the Wan-li era, the story says, dreamed one night that a whale coiled around the pillar of the Imperial chamber; proclaiming it an auspicious omen, the emperor bade the court ink-stick maker, Cheng-Tai-Yuch, to symbolise the dream in his trade. This august origin, I am happy to say, protects itself even to-day against degeneration, because, when rubbed on the slab, it shines in purple. "Such purplish colour glittering from within," my friend exclaimed. "It is one colour but inwardly has many colours, which mingle into purple, and lure us into rapture."

Then he told me how he wraps the Ch'ing-Chu-Mo, being a happy owner of it, with the *moxa* which keeps it from getting too dry or too damp; as the culmination of his talk, the following anecdote pleased me. One summer morning some years ago, when his spirit was so moved, he brought out a large slab with his beloved ink-stick, Ch'ing-Chu-Mo, and then called out to one of his students to make ink for a work that already whirled in his mind. The student withdrew with them, the slab and ink-stick together, into the next room. My friend sat upright to compose his mind, like an ancient warrior at the moment before a final combat, smelling the perfume of incense which rose from the alcove. After a little while he called his student loudly over the screens, asking if the ink was not yet rubbed. Responding to his voice, the young fellow appeared with the slab where in the hollow part the black ink overflowed. My friend only stared at the student in amazement, struck dumb, because he wanted just a little of the fresh ink. As an artistic acolyte, the student did not know what this Ch'ing-Chu-Mo meant to his master. "A few teaspoonful of ink

are enough for one work," my friend said, "because one drop of it makes a mountain peak and another a crow in the sky. We Orientals cannot erase or change our first stroke like the artists of the West, for the first brush mark is also the last and final." Then he exclaimed after a moment of amusing hesitation: "Beside, this ink cost me one hundred pounds. Thanks to my student I lost ten pounds at least on that morning!"

This story of my friend reminds me at once of the current phrase, "Be saving of ink as with gold!" It goes without saying that not only in ink but in other things artistic magic can be performed with economy. A mind worth ten thousand pounds is more important than an ink-stick worth one hundred pounds. One must admit, however, that only Ch'ing-Chu-Mo can interpret a ten thousand pound artistic mind. To a westerner who might take our ink-stick for a piece of charcoal, it would be surprising to know how costly it is even in material value. There are many people of course both in Japan and China who see only black in ink-stick, not the various colours it reveals when at its best, because art has nothing to do with an unappreciative mind. If there is one mysterious thing in the world, it is art. Again how mysterious is our ink-stick!

We have a word we fondly use, Ko-tan meaning "Plain and Naive," although literally it is "Withered and Light." This word may well be applied to *sumiye*—an art like winter sunlight concealing tenderness within the lonely surface, which withdraws backwards to its original start-point where differentiation of colours is not yet dreamed of. Resolving itself into a line or dot, the painting in black represents expression brooding in anticipation or reminiscence. If one knows that he cannot draw a line and dot so strongly in red or green as in black, the value of ink-stick in art is far more fundamental and definite. Therefore it is not too much to say that our Oriental art on paper or silk reaches its climax in ink painting.

Let me quote the following poem which I call "A Theory:"

"Let me teach you how to draw a picture.
First of all, put one circle on the upper part of a paper.....
That is Eternity. You may call it
Sun or moon, if you will. Then group
Many a triangle in any but interesting ways.
These are mountain-ranges, resting shapes.
Underneath, parallel lines these mean a river—an action.
However varied the forms of nature may be,
They are, after all, but circle, triangle and parallel lines."

When the Oriental artist using only black draws nature in the final aspect of dissolving itself into circle, triangle and parallel lines, I do not think him in the babyhood of art, because, leaving all else to suggestion, he sticks to Inevitability, rich in the essence of Ko-tan, plain and naive. I always believe that art at best expresses only two-thirds of its meaning leaving the other third to the co-operation of the appreciators. And again it is in the appreciator's jurisdiction to change black in his mind into any other colour, if he will, to admire the work in his own way, since black is unlike other specific colours and is neutral in temperament.

Of course Oriental art of the Ko-tan qualification is like a Ch'ing Chu-Mo with inner gleams or again like a winter sunlight,—not dry and tired. It is interesting to trace painting in black to its first use in China by a recluse in the forests or a hermit in a cave, who through life's simplification sought the way of purification, and established the world of solitude where light shines within. I have wasted many words on Ch'ing-Chu-Mo and on monochrome painting because I think that life's dissolution into a line or a dot means a rejuvenation that is salvation.

The annals of Japanese art are a great galaxy including Sesshu, Tannyu, Koyetsu, Korin, Yeitoku, Sanraku, Matabei, Hogaï, Gaho and many others. Although the battle fields of those artists were limited to sheets of paper or silk, the records they left, the rainbows they drew with a few drops of pigment, are more wonderful in undying beauty than the memories of soldiers famous for drawing swords and blood in history. With a great sense of joy I trace back the history of Japanese art to the early Heian period of the ninth century when Saicho and Kukai, outstanding figures of the priesthood who studied in China, propagated religion and art simultaneously; it would be truer to say that they taught religion through art. Their efforts, I think, prove that these two things are after all the same. The appearance of Kanaoka Kose was highly significant, because like the *Uta* poets in "Kokin-shu" or Ancient and Modern Poems of the tenth century, Kanaoka broke away at once from Chinese imitation and established a national sentiment and ideal in art. But the cultural history of Japan in the past is the flowing or ebbing tide of Chinese influence. When the art of picture scrolls which flourished in the early twelfth century was replaced by the so-called Art of Higashiyama-Hill (Kyoto) in which the simple and thrifty spirit of the time was

endorsed by the Zen philosophy of China, the alien influence spread over into Japan. This Chinese influence was again driven back when great masters like Koyetsu, Sotatsu and then Korin entered the artistic world of the seventeenth century. And with the gradual development of Ukiyoe in painting and print, a genre treating the manners and customs of the lower classes became the final property of the Japanese people.

All things considered, I think that the greatest worth of our Oriental art is to be found in the poetical atmosphere of becoming one with nature. "What a delightful shape," we say, looking up at a summer cloud in the sky. "How beautiful it is," we think, seeing a rose in the garden. Such is the moment when, throwing the appreciation of a single phenomenon, cloud or rose, we unconsciously touch and understand all the phenomena of nature ; then it is not a mere question of cloud and rose, because they reveal their lives as part of all nature. Our sense of beauty, varied of course according to individual gift and training, always sleeps until nature enters our vision ; human existence becomes clearer by contrast with nature. We might be lords of the creation with all the knowledge necessary to seek beauty in it ; but when lacking in sensibility, our human faculties would not properly work to make life vivid. We must try our utmost to keep our souls in perfect safety so that no kind of corruption may encroach or play wicked mischief with them.

Since art is a natural outcome of our human desire, the expression of painting in treatment as well as in subject varies, according to the nature of the people and the country ; so the painting of Japan cannot be uniform, of course, with that of the western countries. If the latter places emphasis on the temporal life of human beings and, unlike our old painting, conveys only seldom the poetical conception of the extra-territorial kingdom of self-effacement—an amalgamation of nature and man—that is because the artistic requirement of the West is different from that of the East. Without criticising the Western understanding of nature, or doubting the sincerity of it, I wish to say that Westerners hardly agree with us in the belief that man is merely a part of pure nature, a being congealed from the vital breath of nature. We, Orientals, think that human beings are built with the same elements as those of the wind that blows in the sky, or of the rain falling to the ground, or of cloud and haze swimming in air ; therefore we can enter easily into a proper comprehension of

nature, and our consolidation with it is only natural. We make subjects treating nature an essential part of painting.

People of the West would hardly understand our conception of nature, the basis of which is adoration but not criticism. When we communicate with nature by gazing on her beauty, we know that our human existence becomes clearer than before, because of a self-realisation that is achieved consciously or unconsciously. The blessed kingdom of self-effacement admits only him who becomes one with nature ; he is intoxicated by his own happiness. If he is an artist, he tells about it on paper or silk, with Indian ink or pigments; and if he is a poet, he sings about the joy of this kingdom in words.

Because we stress the spiritual beauty of everything, we often slight the structural development which is to us a more or less superficial matter. Certainly it is no apology for a lack of objective description when our artists talk so much about "pictures of spirit." There are many works of old and new artistic criticism in the Orient, among which we prize "Kiun Seido" or Living Inner Motif as the first and last qualification ; however perfect in technical arrangement, a work is nothing to us if it does not suggest a spiritual beauty.

Arts, Letters and Sciences

The Fascination of Chinese Art

The remarkable fascination of Chinese art has recently been brought home to us with renewed force. But after dwelling intently upon many beautiful works by Chinese artists, we are still at a loss to say precisely what is the secret of their strange power. Indeed, it has been remarked that the secrets of Chinese artists are as deep and mysterious as the secrets of Chinese magicians. It is realised, however, that in the great age of certain Chinese arts rests peculiar attraction and a wonderfully rich source of interest.

Ancient Chinese Paintings

The oldest Chinese paintings we now know of are by an artist who lived at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. There are four groups of small pictures. The first group, which is in the British Museum, contains a series of historical scenes. One represents a Sovereign sitting on the edge of a bed on which a lady is lying. Another scene shows a lady at her toilet, surrounded by waiting-maids. In another a maid of honour is protecting the Emperor T'ian Ti against a bear !

The second group or "roll" of Chinese paintings is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It bears the seal of T'ai Tsung, and represents remarkable landscape scenes, entitled "The Hills of Kuei-ki."

The third roll belongs to the collection of Tuan Fang, and is entitled "Lo shên—The Spirit of the River Lo." It depicts weird and wonderful scenes in a poem written in the Han dynasty.

The fourth roll, which shows similar strange characteristics, is in Japan. To the same period is attributed a portrait of Confucius and his disciple Fen Hui, which is engraved on stone and is in the tomb of Confucius.

A charming simplicity is the key-note of the paintings, and this, combined with grace and delicacy of touch, makes the little pictures a joy to look upon. The figures are represented in a broad and open manner that gives an air of dignity and grandeur. The landscapes are particularly effective. One represents a group of hills rising to the left beyond a dark valley. The slope which falls steeply towards the right, ends in low headlands jutting into calm water. Low hills form the background, and an impression of great distance is cleverly conveyed. But unfortunately the colours of these ancient paintings have been weakened by the passing of the years, and the brilliance which they had when first executed has now faded.

How to judge Oriental Art

In a work on the principles of painting, written by Sir Ho in the fifth century, we are advised to judge Chinese paintings in accordance with the principles. The first is "operation of the spirit producing life motion;" the second is "anatomical structure rendered by the brush;" the third is "correctness of outline;" the fourth is "suitability of colouring;" the fifth is "artistic composition."

It is clear that painting in China, even at this early period, had been freed from its first groping and was in possession of definite means of expression. Yet to the Western mind many Chinese pictures of the period we have in mind may seem strange and difficult to understand and enjoy. To appreciate them the Westerner, it has been said, must forget his own mental preoccupation and throw over his usual critical condition, and view the work from a fresh standpoint and in a new light. Many beauties, not readily perceived in the ordinary course, will then be revealed—beauties of line and modelling, grace and charm of design, and fascination of colouring.

Painting in Japan developed under Chinese influence, and the features so warmly admired in Japanese painting are in many cases the outcome of work done at an early period by Chinese artists. Indeed, it has recently been remarked that Japan owes the better part of her art to the ancient country which she now appears to have within her power.

Remarkable Sculpture

To the same Tsin and Wei period as the paintings described above belongs highly important work in sculpture. The Wei dynasty in particular has left statues beyond reckoning, mainly produced under Buddhist influence. Under the Tsin emperors Buddhism had not been encouraged; but the Wei rulers in their burning religious zeal covered a large part of the empire with temples and monasteries.

Among the innumerable number of monuments, set up and decorated with all possible resources, many were made in hill-sides and have come down to the present day almost unharmed, with all their wonderfully sculptured population of legendary characters. The caves of Fün-Kang, popularly known by the name "Rock-temples," are a notable example. There are ten halls bearing the following remarkable inscriptions: "Simultaneous Uplifting, Light of Souls, Warden of the State. Protection of the State, Surpassing Bliss, The Youth, Power of Uprightness, Flowered Severity, Place of Heaven, The Army of Helmets." In most of the halls the whole wall surface is full of recesses, in each of which are seated statues with crossed legs. They all show the simple and noble sense of ornament which is one of the main features in Chinese art. But the figures have a humorous touch, particularly as regard the faces of the statues, which have a slightly sarcastic smile, broadening in some cases into open amusement.

Wonderful Carvings in Ivory and Jade

The famous caves or halls of Lung-mên were first decorated by order of the Wei emperors. The most important caves are the "Palace of Old Masters," where the oldest work has been found, and the "Palace of the Lotus Flower." In the latter cave the simplicity of early work yields to sumptuous ornamentation. The spectator is impressed by the great exuberance of feeling, and is led to marvel at the wealth of fancy and the surprising richness of the designs. "They recall," says one writer, "the splendours of the caves of romantic legends."

Ivory is extensively used in China as a medium for carving, the aim of the artist being to lend full value to the grain and veins and to give the harder external layer a bright, mellow finish, as shown in the rare old specimens of the art exhibited in London. It is usually the aim of the

Chinese carver to bring out the best qualities of the medium employed, and this aim is shown in Chinese carvings in bone and tortoiseshell, as well as in ivory.

The Chinese art of carving jade has been traced back to ancient Chaldaea and Susiana. The work is still done with remarkably old tools. The crude block of jade is first sawn round with a four-handed toothless iron saw to strip off the outer layer. It is next roughly shaped with one of the circular saws. The prominent angles left by the saw are ground down, and the piece of jade is further cut by rough mechanical means. Then comes the work of the expert, who gives to the roughly prepared block of jade an enchanting shape, and with infinite skill and patience makes it an object of enduring beauty. The fine examples of the work shown in London reveal a skill that appears to be superhuman, but the Chinese carver has the experience of past centuries upon which to draw and thus performs seeming miracles with primitive tools.

The Master Art-craft of the World

Another important art in China is enamelling, which has been referred to by Sir George Birdwood as 'the master art-craft of the world.' The art was introduced into China at a comparatively late period. But there are records which show that the cloisonne enamels of Constantinople were known to the Chinese in the fourteenth century.

Cloisonne enamels are made by soldering to the metal foundation a narrow band or ribbon of copper, silver or gold, following the details of the design, so as to map out the field into as many cells as there are colours to be filled in. The cells are then flooded with moistened enamel colours, which have been previously ground to very fine powder. The piece is then fired in the open air, and the whole work is finally subjected to a long process of polishing. It all sounds quite simple, but the beautiful specimens of the work shown in London are more than sufficient to impress upon the spectator the great skill used in making the many intricate designs and the artistic sense required in blending the various colours.

Marvellous Lacquer-work

Chinese lacquer-work also reveals remarkable skill and a fine sense of design and colouring. Among the many beautiful and interesting specimens of the work which have a "permanent home" in England is a screen which shows a great range of subjects. Flowers symbolising the twelve months of the year appear on each of the reverse sides of the twelve panels composing the screen, and these are carried out with superb taste and great skill. The panels showing the iris and the lily are particularly graceful and pleasing in their formations of line and rendering of colours.

Embroideries of Great Beauty

The textile industries of China are, in certain cases, of great age. The manufacture of silk originated in China, and its origin is traced back to the third millennium before our era, when, it is recorded, a famous Empress reared silkworms and invented a loom. She is

still worshipped in China at an annual ceremony, during which mulberry leaves are picked as a chief part of the ritual. Another interesting record is that of a passage in a book written by a monk in the third century B.C., which states that "the Seres (Chinese) make precious figured garments, resembling in colour the flowers of the field and rivalling in fineness the work of spiders."

Chinese embroidery is also praised in ancient books, special reference being made to the splendour of the work on official robes, flags and banners. The ceremonial robes worn by emperors in the middle ages were of outstanding magnificence. The empresses and all women had to be content with less elaborate designs; but with the passing of time women in China "came into their own," and their robes became as ornate as those worn by the men.

The Chinese love of flowers and delight in depicting them to the smallest detail is seen to perfection in ancient silken embroideries. The same love is shown in old Chinese flowered velvet and tapestry.

The Arts of the Potter and Worker in Bronze

But China has many famous artistic designs, such as the willow-pattern and the rose and dragon. The art of making glazed pottery was first introduced in China, and the designs have "classic grace" and enduring charm. Gods and goddesses play parts in many of the decorate designs, and by their presence give peculiar dignity to such intimate objects as teacups and saucers. From the seventh to the tenth centuries A.D., Chinese potters gave their attention to the production of images of gods, heroes and holy men on a large scale. Some years back, a number of such figures were discovered in a cave in China, and one of them is now exhibited with other treasures in the British Museum. It is a figure of Lohan, one of the sixteen apostles of Buddha, seated in meditation. The work is in fine white clay, glazed with orange, buff and green. Even the hair is coloured green. But the expression on the face is lifelike, and the suggestion of strength and spiritual tranquillity in the position of the hands is rendered with remarkable skill. Other interesting examples of similar work may be seen in London.

The Chinese, as we have seen, pay great reverence to ancient relics, such as the ten stone drums of the Chow dynasty which have been placed in the two side halls of the principal gateway of the Confucian Temple of Peking. Inscriptions are cut in the stone, comprising a series of odes, a complete ode for each drum. The art of moulding and chiselling bronze is referred to in the earliest Chinese records. During the third millennium B.C., the technical methods were gradually improved till the reign of the great Yu, who cast the metal paid as tribute from nine provinces of his empire into nine tripod cauldrons of bronze, which were carved with maps and figures illustrating the natural productions of the provinces.

The Place of the Gita in the India of To-day.

The function of high philosophy and of great philosophers is to mould the thought of the people and to influence the even tenor of their lives, Unless the abstract formulae of philosophy concretely affect human society, the dharma of the philosopher is not completely fulfilled. In modern India high scholarship is further removed from the mind of the masses than scientific and other knowledge is from the mind of the populace in the Occident. And yet the fact is well attested that in the life of the people of our Motherland, currents of ancient culture still flow and these currents make them responsive to ideas and ideals of philosophy, and especially of religious philosophy—perhaps the most potent of influences in renovating the mind of the Race. To-day when India is choosing its future course, the work of the thinker and the educator is of supreme value.

India as a participant in world civilization suffers from its disease—a divorce between life and philosophy. The lure of action has exerted its fascination on the entire West, and knowledge and ideas have been exploited and even prostituted for the improvement of the life of physical comfort, in which sensuous gratification takes its toll. India has been influenced by that lure and fascination. But India has a further handicap: her religiosity which is mistaken for spirituality; this has produced a conservatism hard as iron, and widespread from kitchen to temple, and from the smallest of villages to the largest of capitals. This religious conservatism persists in spite of university education, in spite of the efforts of Ram Mohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj, Dayanand Sarasvati and his Arya Samaj, Madame Blavatsky and her Theosophical Movement, and of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda. To-day the attempt to break this conservatism continues in and through the person of India's 20th century saint—Gandhiji.

Let us study the *Gita* from this particular point of view, seeking among its jewels those which will answer our purpose. We need the spiritual element or factor which would protect us against drowning in the muddy torrents of matter and sense-life. We need the energetic element which would enhance our worldly efficiency and enable us to build our home and our state. We need the element of inspiration which would reveal, for the building of home and state, the Heavenly Pattern, to borrow a thought from Plato.

Do we not see here that divorce between Sankhya and Yoga which the *Gita* describes as false, adding that children only and not the Pandits look upon them as antagonistic to each other? I want to submit to you that the first lesson from the *Gita* which needs to be popularized in modern India is this about the rhythmic blending of the Sankhya and the Yoga spoken of in the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th adhyayas of the *Gita*. Of course, we all know that the terms Sankhya and Yoga are peculiarly used in the *Gita*, and it is not necessary that we go into technicalities. Enough for us to note that it is that particular way of combining two opposing concepts which is most valuable and pragmatic. That which in the Sankhya is regarded as a hindrance in the realization of the Highest, is pressed into his service by Sri Krishna who teaches the gospel of true renunciation and true emancipation. Buddhi or Intellect is looked upon as a hindrance because Purusha is chained to *Prakriti* through the forms created by Intellect; *Puruhsa*, the Spirit of Man, must free himself from the snare of false identification with *Prakriti* which is due to *Buddhi*. This is the view of the Sankhya which,

therefore, advocates knowledge without action, i.e., reaching to the world of Spirit beyond and separate from the world of matter and of actions. The Yoga of the *Gita* is generally designated, and with good reason, as the Path of Action, and the Sankhya as the way of knowledge, but please note that the Yoga is named *Buddhi Yoga*. It very clearly indicates the place of *Buddhi*, Intellect, Pure Reason, or the Pure and Compassionate Reason which is the higher or spiritual aspect of *Manas* or Mind.

So in this teaching of the *Gita* we find that very combination of Soul and body, spirit and matter, thought and action, which we are in need of. The realization that our own Highest Ego is the Supreme Spirit, the one Self, is the end of knowledge; the obtaining of that knowledge leading to realization has been attempted by the shunning of actions including duties; on the other hand, in these modern days as we already saw, the lure of to do, to do, without any basis in philosophical principles, without a perception of metaphysical fundamentals, has overpowered the people—one of the reasons, we repeat, for the chaos now prevailing in the entire West.

Modern India is in need of instruction in that which the *Gita* calls *Buddhi Yoga*—the performance of deeds by the aid of *Buddhi*, our Spiritual Soul, the spiritual aspect of human self-consciousness. This *Buddhi Yoga* may well be described as the Path of Descent of *Buddhi* into the mundane consciousness of man giving him the capacity to act illuminatingly. The ordinary concept of Yoga is the emancipation of the Soul from the yoke of the senses and its escape from the round of rebirths. *Buddhi Yoga* brings us the concept of infusing the spiritual energy of the Pure and Compassionate Reason into the Temple of the Body, so that the *Ojas* and the *Tejas* of the Soul stream forth through every orifice of that body. This will enable the people to live the Spiritual Life in the midst of human affairs fulfilling all obligations, instead of retiring into the jungle or on the top of a mountain to be away from the conflicts and the sorrows of this world. And yet *Buddhi Yoga* does not imply the performance of any and every kind of action without knowledge, but of actions rooted in Soul knowledge. All actions which spring from *kama*, desires and passions of the personal *ahamkritic* self must be given up, and such actions as are undertaken must be executed by the method given. What is the method? *Vairagya*—disinterestedness, detachment, dispassion. Thus we remain in the world, we fulfill our obligations and perform our duties, we gain skill in action, but we act without any attachment to the fruits of action. The *Buddhi Yoga* is not throwing away of possessions, but their retention for proper use. It is not the performance of mere good deeds but a comprehension of this world of deeds, *Kriya Loka*,—the mighty magic of *Prakriti*. *Buddhi Yoga* is not running away from evil, but fighting and overcoming it. It is not the feeling of *Ananda*, the Bliss of the Soul, in its pure state, but the realization of bliss in woe, order in chaos, and good at the very core of evil. It is not the fear of the world, but the love of humanity, which makes possible the descent of *Buddhi* into the body. Therefore this *Buddhi Yoga* may be described as the first exercise for the development of the future *Avatara*.

Each one of us is *Paramatman*, and in each one of us Krishna dwells. In describing his Glories or *Vibhutis* in the 10th discourse, Sri Krishna began by stating: . "I am the Ego which is seated in the hearts of all beings." In showing his Divine form, *Vishva Rupa*, Krishna exhorted

Arjuna to act—not heedlessly, not in sorrow and anguish, but with real wisdom and contentment, with a mind and heart fully satisfied. The mind must be satisfied, it must see the rationality of the advice given it, it must be enlightened by the spiritual vision of the heart. In other words, Krishna exhorts Arjuna to perform *Buddhi Yoga*.

These two figures of Krishna and Arjuna are symbols—one of the end the summation of human evolution. Man becomes God; the second is the symbol of Man seeking wisdom which would make him God. God each one of us is at heart and in latency, but to show forth that Divinity we must first know the Purusha by the effort of mind and intellect and then act our part in daily life in terms of that Wisdom. Sankhya, Buddhi Yoga, and Avatara, are the three words of the *Gita* which need to be studied and understood and popularized in modern India.

Madame Sophia Wadia.

Prevention of Blindness.

The Census Report of India records that there were 601,370 totally blind persons in this country in 1931, and this comes to about 172 per lakh of the total population. They are distributed unevenly in different provinces. Thus in Ajmere-Merwara, the figure is 286 per lakh, 291 in the United Provinces, 282 in Rajputana, 245 in the Punjab and only 73 in Bengal. The census figures are never very accurate in this country but the returns of blindness have generally been regarded as comparatively accurate. Whether it is underestimate or overestimate, it is difficult to gauge. Our experience in hospitals supports the former. Instances are not rare where persons, whose vision is reduced to finger-counting within a foot distance would report themselves as having slightly diminished vision. Patients with dense leucoma or staphyloma do not consider themselves blind on the ground that they can count their own fingers with hands up. Such instances are not scarce and are seen mostly in aged people in whom the prevalence of blindness is largest. The figures are—

TABLE.

AGE	Males (per 10,000)			Females (per 10,000)		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
0—3	297	265	317	203	201	226
5—10	474	549	657	290	357	366
10—15	506	581	599	307	342	376
15—20	47	464	541	313	301	457
20—25	501	480	604	350	360	510
25—30	501	546	646	418	433	646

TABLE—*contd.*

AGE	Males (per 10,000)			Females (per 10,000)		
	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
30—35	505	600	687	457	547	507
35—40	563	531	546	581	507	831
40—45	610	693	775	626	756	549
45—50	734	571	538	812	597	1,027
50—55	753	904	915	846	1,038	457
55—60	910	535	442	1,108	629	3,563
60 and above	3,168	3,281	2,883	3,679	3,931	

A perusal of the report would reveal that the incidence of blindness is on the increase in most parts of India and a large proportion of it is preventable. The problem of blindness in India, therefore, should receive a most careful consideration.

Unlike countries like Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, England, etc., India is a vast country where one part differs from the other to a great extent both meteorologically and geographically, and it is not only natural but is a fact that such wide variation considerably influences the incidence of eye affections in different parts of India. The common factors, however, such as illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and malnutrition prevails everywhere, from Cape Comorin to Nanga Parbat and from Dwarka to Sadia. Under the circumstances it is essential to find out the cause of blindness in different provinces.

Unfortunately, the official reports published by the provincial Governments do not show any classification of the eye diseases but only records the number of cases treated for eye diseases. The only source available for ascertaining the nature of causes of blindness are from the records of eye hospitals. None but the Madras Government Eye Hospitals publishes such reports. The result is we have no knowledge of the true state of affairs.

Coming to the actual cause of blindness we find that the method of ophthalmic medical relief is inadequate in most mufusils and villages.

The importance of early institution of treatment of eye diseases is hardly realised by the lay public, official or non-official. A delay of a few days and in rare instances, even of some hours, may render the eye functionally useless.

The present system of centralization of the ophthalmic relief is extremely unsuitable in a country like ours where people are not only extremely poor and ignorant but there is lack of quick transit facilities.

In spite of the fact that centralization retains a high standard of treatment it is unsuitable so far as eye relief is concerned under the present circumstances. Decentralization is absolutely necessary. It is regrettable that no proper facilities are found in the district towns for proper ophthalmic relief. One can imagine the condition prevailing in rural areas. It is no

wonder, so many eyes are lost from agricultural injuries for lack of even what may be called ' the immediate first aid ' to the injured eyes.

In Western countries like England and America, voluntary organisation has succeeded in doing the difficult task of prevention of blindness in an admirable way and State Departments of Health have materially helped them in every possible way. In India, the beginning has long been made in Western Presidencies in 1919 through the formation of the All-India Blind Relief Association at Bombay. Its achievements are well-known to the medical men of the Province.

Recently we have received a copy of the fourth annual report of an organisation known as the Association for Prevention of Blindness in Bengal.

In conclusion, one might point out that enumeration of the blind could be efficiently done in future censuses if enumerators are taken from people with some medical training. Next, a proper classification of census for blindness based on facts and figures ought to be undertaken in all the provinces. Both Government and non-official institutions where eye diseases are treated, ought to publish detailed reports as is done by the Government Eye Hospitals in Madras.

Creation of centres of eye treatment in the distant towns by appointment of part-time workers with special training and proper equipment of the Government-managed hospitals is recommended. This would ultimately create a demand for specially trained private practitioners. It would take some time to institute this change in a system for financial reasons and in the meantime travelling dispensaries ought to be started immediately with the help of funds from District Boards and Municipalities.

Indian Medical Journal.

At Home and Abroad

President of the Servants of India Society Dead

Gopal Krishna Devadhar (born in 1871) was amongst the foundation members of the Servants of India Society, founded in 1905 by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale. He became Vice-President of the Society in 1923, was unanimously elected its President in 1927, and continued in that office till his death. He was prominently connected with the co-operative movement, and with numerous educational and social reform bodies. Particular mention must be made of the Poona Seva Sadan, which was founded by Mr. Devadhar in 1909. In 1924 he presided over the National Social Conference session held at Lucknow and again in 1933 over the Madras Session. He was organiser of the Malabar Relief Fund in 1924, of the Malabar Flood Relief in 1924. He presided over the first All-India Rural Representatives' Conference. He served as a member of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. He was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal (silver) in 1914 and the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal in 1920. On the occasion of his Diamond Jubilee in August, 1931, a purse of Rs. 10,500 was presented to him. Educational, Social Reform and Co-Operative movements have lost a tried veteran by Mr. Devadhar's death.

Mulgandhakuti Vihara

A large number of Buddhists from Burma, Ceylon and other countries attended the fourth anniversary of the Mulgandhakuti Vihara which took place at Sarnath on November 10, 11 and 12.

The occasion was important to the Buddhists all over the world as the body relics of the Lord Buddha, which were discovered by the Government of India and are regarded as most authentic, has been exposed for worship. This is done only once a year for three days on the occasion of the anniversary. Another relic was presented this year on November 10 by the Government of India.

Buddhist Relic

A Buddhist relic in the possession of the Government of India was presented to the Mahabodhi Society on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Mulgandhakuti Vihara at Sarnath this year. The ceremony was performed for three days from November 10 to 12.

The Society tried to utilise the occasion by holding lectures on Buddhism by eminent Buddhist scholars. The well-known Buddhist scholar and pilgrim, Sri Rahula Sankirtayana, who has just returned after an extensive tour of the Far East and Central Asia, was expected to be present at Sarnath on the occasion to help scholarly students in appreciating the present state of Mahayana Buddhism in China, Japan and Mongolia.

A Dumb Seeker of Truth

A strange personality has drifted into Karachi of late who strangely enough prefers to remain tongue-tied. This self-imposed silence he has

been maintaining since thirteen long months. He has resorted to a peculiar medium of communication,—a black slate and pencil. Asked as to why he remained dumb though the gift of God was not denied to him, he wrote down on the slate "Silence was golden." It improved his concentration. He could form ideas and think great thoughts which dawn upon him as revelations of God. This strange personality who appeared to be about 60 years of age, hails from Bengal.

Music Conference

Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, Minister for Local Self-Government, opened the 7th session of the All-India Music Conference at the Allahabad University. He pointed out that while preserving classical music they ought not to neglect popular music which could be enjoyed by the average men.

Mr. Justice Bajpai, who presided over the Conference, remarked that even Western peoples appreciated their music, as all music had an ennobling effect.

Italy's Protest against Sanctions

It is announced that the Italian Government has presented a note of protest to all the countries proposing to apply the sanctions. It is understood that the Government's note of protest to the sanctionist Powers is a long document of attacks on them on judicial and moral grounds and denies that the League has acted justly in invoking Article XVI for the first time against Italy, while not invoking it in respect of the Sino-Japanese and the Granchaco wars in the past. Italy has threatened counter-measures.

America and the Ethiopian War

President Roosevelt, in a speech at the Unknown Warrior's Tomb, said that an overwhelming mass of Americans sympathised with the efforts of the other nations to end the Ethiopian war. "We are acting to simplify definitions of facts by calling war 'war.' The dangers confronting the future of mankind as a whole are greater to us than the dangers confronting the people of the United States alone."

Italian Protest Note to Egypt

The Italian Minister has delivered a note to the Egyptian Foreign Minister, protesting against Egypt's adherence to sanctions and making reservations regarding Italy's future attitude.

Germany's Gesture

The gap in the ring of sanctions has been appreciably narrowed by the assurances that the German spokesman has given to the League Secretariat. Without participating in the League's measures, Germany proposes to prevent dealings above the normal trading operations in the commodities affected by sanctions, including arms and munitions. The decision is given the greatest significance in League circles and is believed to denote a closer *rapprochement* with France and Britain and also a better spirit towards the League.

British Naval Forces in the Mediterranean

It is stated that there was an interview last week between Sgr. Mussolini and Sir Eric Drummond, the British Ambassador, relating to the situation in the Mediterranean. It is learnt it was a continuation of the previous interview and inconclusive. In response to Sgr. Mussolini's reminder of the withdrawal of the Italian division from Libya, Sir Eric Drummond expressed the British Government's appreciation but pointed out that Italian troops in Libya were still nearly thrice as many as the British and Egyptian troops in Egypt. Consequently, the British Government did not yet consider that the situation permitted a reduction of the British naval forces in the Mediterranean, whose presence was purely precautionary.

Ethiopian Emperor's Appeal to U.S.A.

An appeal to the United States of America to assist the League of Nations by joining Sanctions was made by Emperor Haile Selassie in a broadcast to America from Addis Ababa, last week. He said: "I ask nobody to take the sword against Italy. The methods of the sword against force are methods of ancient ignorance. You in America are not members of the League, but the time has come and the opportunity is here for the masses in America to help the League's efforts at conciliation because there is no controverting that ours is in the cause of humanity."

Restoration of Monarchy in Greece

King George of Greece has agreed to the invitation of return to the throne, extended by three delegates from Greece at the Greek Legation in London. It is expected the King will spend a few days in Paris and probably interview the President, subsequently visit the King of Italy at Rome, and then board the Greek destroyer for Corfu, where he will be met by the Greek Fleet.

Anti-Nazi Demonstrations

A resolution calling for the boycott of German goods was passed at a mass demonstration held at Hyde Park recently to protest against the Nazi persecutions. A demonstration was organised by the British non-sectarian Anti-Nazi Council at Hyde Park where six platforms had been erected. Twenty-five speakers including the clergy, members of Parliament and Trade Unionists then addressed the crowds in turns. The demonstrators passed a resolution protesting against the continued persecution and physical torture of men and women in Germany whose only offence had been disagreement with the Nazi regime and also called upon British citizens to refuse to enter into business relationship with the German nationals and decline to purchase German goods offered for sale by British shopkeepers until complete civil and religious liberty had been restored in Germany.

Japanese Attack on alleged British Move in China

An attack on alleged British intentions with regard to Chinese finance is issued in the form of a vigorous communique by the Japanese War Office.

It refers to the rumour of a 50 million sterling loan being negotiated by China with Britain (which the British Ambassador, Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, was reported to have denied on the 6th instant) to be secured on surplus customs and railway revenues. The communique says that, if this were true, leaders of the Nanking Government cannot escape the criticism that they were selling their country to foreigners for their own aggrandisement. Japan, as a stabilising influence in the Far East, cannot overlook the attempt on the part of Britain to place semi-colonial China under the domination of British capital.

Sino-Japanese Tension Again

There is a tense Sino-Japanese situation as a sequel to the fatal shooting of a Japanese marine in Shanghai. Two hundred Japanese marines were mobilised for stopping, questioning and searching pedestrians in the Japanese section of the International Settlement and the Japanese authorities take a very serious view of the incident, which is the culmination of weeks of rumours with regard to the possibility of a Japanese move to Chapei and reports of huge concentration of Chinese troops round the Shanghai demilitarised zone. Mr. Yasuda of the Expeditionary Force General Staff visited the Mayor of Shanghai and threatened to take measures if the Chinese investigations were fruitless. General Chiang Kai Shek has instructed the official of the Shanghai Municipal Council to express regret and sympathy.

Austro-German Trade Agreement

A trade agreement has been reached with Austria, whereby Germany is to supply coal, Silesian coke and fertilisers in exchange for 70 truckloads of butter, 2,000 livestock and a large quantity of milk.

India and " Co-operative Imperialism "

" The constitution of India Act of 1935, constitutes an outstanding landmark in what may perhaps be described as the new conception of co-operative imperialism," said the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, delivering the Cust Lecture on " India: Retrospect and Prospect " at Nottingham University College. He said, " This conception came into existence when the old Colonies of the British Empire became the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Co-operative Imperialism constitutes surely the fine flowering of the administrative genius of the British people. It is not complete. The day has not yet dawned when India will take her final place in the vast organism which will be the crowning achievement of this new conception but she is now far on the road to the ultimate goal."

Germany's Post-War Conscripts

Thousands of proud parents of " Hitler Boys and Girls " stood around the historic Potsdam parade ground at dawn to watch the swearing in of the first post-war conscripts. The ceremony was the greatest since the time when the Kaiser used to inspect recruits on the same ground. The new military flag was hoisted and Herr Hitler's proclamation was read. Mercantile

vessels will henceforth fly the ordinary Swastika flag of red with a white disc in the centre on which is imposed a black Swastika. Captains of merchant ships, who have served in the navy, are entitled to raise the Swastika flag, bearing an Iron Cross at the top left corner.

Indian Elected Deputy Mayor

Dr. C. L. Katial has been elected Deputy Mayor of Finsbury. He is the first Indian to hold such an office in a metropolitan borough.

The League Assembly

The Assembly of the League of Nations met at Geneva for its sixteenth ordinary session from September 9th to 28th, 1935. It elected as president M. Beneš, delegate of Czechoslovakia.

Of the fifty-nine States Members of the League, fifty-four were represented; of these, twenty-five sent as delegates their Prime Ministers or Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

On September 16th, the Assembly elected three non-permanent Members of the Council. The following were selected: Poland (who had previously been declared re-eligible), Ecuador and Roumania.

On September 28th, in view of the international situation, the Assembly decided not to close its session, but only to adjourn, leaving it to the President to summon a meeting if he considered this course to be necessary.

League and Women and Children

In view of the information received concerning the *position of women of Russian origin in the Far East*, the Assembly invited the international societies which carry on work among women to strengthen and co-ordinate their activities in that part of the world. The Secretary-General was authorised to endeavour to secure the services of a competent person (preferably a woman) resident in the Far East; this person would be instructed by the Council to encourage and co-ordinate the efforts made on behalf of women of Russian origin.

The Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to arrange for a conference to take place, at the beginning of 1937, of the authorities who are responsible in Eastern countries for the prevention of traffic in women, with a view to securing closer co-operation and greater exchange of information between them.

The Assembly noted that the 1921 and 1923 Conventions for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children and for the Repression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications had been almost universally ratified. The Secretary General was asked to appeal to States Members that had not yet ratified or acceded to these Conventions to do so as soon as possible.

On the subject of *child welfare*, the Assembly recommended that all countries that had hitherto tolerated the imprisonment of children in any form whatsoever should aim at replacing this system, in the case of delinquent-minors, by suitable measures of a purely educative character.

The Child Welfare Committee was asked to give attention to the question of ill-treated children, and to keep itself informed of the measures taken by States Members to remedy unemployment among young persons.

The League and Treatment of Prisoners

The Assembly instructed the Secretary-General to inform Governments that attention had been drawn to the existence in certain parts of the world of reprehensible practices that are inconsistent with a *rational treatment of prisoners*. The Assembly expressed the hope that such practices, where they existed, would be abandoned.

The League and Opium and Dangerous Drugs

A general report on *the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs* was approved, and it was decided to appeal to States that had not yet acceded to the 1925 and 1931 Conventions. The Assembly was gratified to note the declarations of several delegates, who assured the League of the wholehearted co-operation of their Governments. At the same time, anxiety was expressed on the subject of the growth of clandestine drug manufacture and on the extent of the illicit traffic. The Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium was asked to consider the question of combating drug abuse by education and propaganda.

Peace between Bolivia and Paraguay

The Assembly of the League expressed its satisfaction at the signature of the Protocols of June 12th, 1935, which put an end to hostilities between *Bolivia and Paraguay* and made possible the opening of the Buenos Aires Peace Conference. It expressed the hope that the prosecution of these efforts would result in the complete re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the two countries.

The Settlement of the Assyrians

The proposals drafted by a Committee of the Council for the settlement of the *Assyrians* of Iraq in part of the territories of the Levant under French mandate were declared by the League Assembly to offer the prospect of a satisfactory and permanent solution of the Assyrian problem. Taking note of the extent to which the Iraqi Government, the United Kingdom and the authorities of the French mandated territory of the Levant were prepared to contribute to the realisation of this scheme, the Assembly decided to place in the budget for 1936 a first credit of 400,000 francs to complete the abovementioned contributions. But the total sum that the League might be authorised to place at the disposal of the Assyrians settled in Syria during coming financial years was limited to 1,300,000 (Swiss) francs.

Intellectual Co-operation

The League Assembly expressed its satisfaction at the continued development of the work of intellectual co-operation.

It stressed the importance of the organisation of tours of educationists who would visit one or more countries for the purpose of studying all matters

relating to League of Nations teaching and international questions. The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was asked to consider the publication of a selection of translations, into one or more of the worldwide languages, of representative classical works from the literatures of the various regional languages.

The Assembly again expressed its interest in the publication of a collection of ethnographical and historical works on the *origins of American civilisation*, and decided to place on the agenda of the next Assembly the question of *broadcasting and peace*. The Assembly requested the Council to communicate to States Members and non-members, for the purpose of their signature, a declaration prepared by the Intellectual Co-operation Committee concerning the revision of history text-books.

The Assembly was favourably disposed to the establishment of closer relations between the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation and the International Council of Scientific Unions. It drew the attention of Governments to the General Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation to be held at Paris in 1937, in connection with the universal exhibition of civilisation. The proposal that the International Museums Office should study an international agreement for the regulation of art exhibitions was approved. The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Rome Institute for the Unification of Private Law were asked to pursue their studies to promote the conclusion of a general agreement affording effective protection to intellectual works. The Assembly also congratulated the International Educational Cinematographic Institute on the completion of its "Cinematographic Encyclopædia" and on the recent creation of a centre for the study of television.

Budget of the League

The Assembly fixed its budget for 1936 at the figure of 27,879,201 Swiss francs, with an exceptional vote of 400,000 francs for the settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq. The total is thus 28,279,201 francs, and is 2,359,763 francs less than the budget for 1935.

M. Parra-Pérez was reappointed member and M. de Ottlik and M. de Modzelewski substitute members of the Supervisory Commission for a period of three years.

The Committee on the *Settlement of Contributions in Arrear*, which was appointed in 1934, has concluded agreements with ten States for the payment of their arrears. In ratifying these agreements, the Assembly declared that they would not be valid unless the States concerned paid their current contribution as well as the instalment due under the agreements concluded by them.

It was decided that, for 1936, the scale of allocation of expenses should be the same as for 1935, but that the Allocation Committee would again consider the whole problem and submit to the Assembly at its next session a revised scale capable of adoption as a satisfactory settlement of the question.

Elections to the Permanent Court of International Justice

The Assembly and the Council in September elected M. Nagaoka to fill the vacancy in the Court occasioned by the death of M. Adachi.

Two other vacancies occurred in the Court too late for action by this Assembly; one by the death of M. Schücking (German), and the other by the resignation on September 26th of Judge Kellogg (American).

The Council decided, upon a recommendation of the representative of Italy, not to convene a special session of the Assembly to fill these two vacancies. It instructed the Secretary-General, however, to take steps as soon as possible to invite nominations from the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration, and decided that the election of the judges so nominated should be included in the agenda of the first session of the Assembly which takes place after the end of the period of three months which must elapse between the issue of the invitations to the national groups and the date of the election. By this means it will be possible to fill the vacancies before next September if in the interval a session of the Assembly takes place at a date which satisfies the requirements of the Court's Statute regarding the nomination of candidates.

Empire Exhibition : South Africa, 1936

Unparalleled preparations are being made throughout South Africa for the Empire Exhibition, which is to take place in 1936, at Johannesburg, to-day considered to be the most prosperous and probably also the fastest-growing city in the world, on account of the Gold Boom, which has raised the annual output of its mines from £50,000,000 to £80,000,000.

Negotiations for the forthcoming display go back as far as 1928, and for a year the preliminaries have been under way. Such is the scale on which the Exhibition,—described by high authorities as "The Biggest Thing since Wembley,"—has been planned, that although the gates will not open till September, 1936, a large staff, occupying three buildings, is already in occupation, and a force of black labourers, increasing daily, is engaged on the first earthworks.

The general management is now in the hands of Mr. B. M. Bellasis, the well known specialist on this subject, from the Federation of British Industries.

Over a hundred acres of ground belonging to the Witwaterstrand Agricultural Society and previously used by it for its annual Easter Show, have been reserved for the Empire Exhibition gardens. At least thirteen acres will be under roof.

Publicity on a world-wide scale is being organized in collaboration with the South African Government Railways.

The World Around

"Medical students need a great deal of training before they can write passable prescription," mentions a doctor. We understand that some of their earlier efforts are hopelessly legible—*Punch (London)*.

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If the punishment were made to fit the crime all warlike dictators would be placed in the front trenches and kept there—*Detroit Free Press*.

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Italy's dictator longs to ape the Caesars, but he may only duplicate the fall of the Roman Empire—*Indianapolis Star*.

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A chemical to burn the feet of the shoeless Ethiopian may be tried by Italy. Tying knots in the invaders spaghetti would be a frightful reprisal—*Detroit News*.

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Evidently the Emperor of Ethiopia does not get around much. All our best governments now consider it a social error to mention the Kellogg Pact—*New Yorker*.

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Ethiopia declines Il Duce's thoughtful offer to instil culture in the country. If it means Verdi on the piano-accordion we can understand—*Atlanta Constitution*.

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About every four years there arises in this country a group of people who maintain that the party elected four years ago has carried out some of the promises it made—*Boston Evening Transcript*.

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If the public wants to know just where all the public money has gone that has been spent in the past two years, what a fine chance the mystery-story writers are going to have—*Stillwater Gazette*.

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Hitler tells his people that Germany did not lose the War. If it can be proved, it makes Germany positively unique among the participants—*Detroit News*.

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The last book written by Lawrence of Arabia, entitled "The Mint," is priced at 500,000 dollars a copy. At that price no title could be more appropriate—*Ohio State Journal*.

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China, having built a national textile mill, orders the girls to wear more clothes. It's the old-fashioned new deal, girls, in a kimono—*Richmond Times Dispatch*.

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Abstract

HUMAN RESOURCES AND CIVILISATION

The far-flung eastern hemisphere covered with palms and pines opens up new vistas for varied human resources. "We are learning to conserve the national resources of our world. But what of humanity's more refined, yet equally tangible and potentially vaster resources lying in heredity and heritage?" In these words Mr. E. S. Craighill Handy introduces in the pages of the *Pacific Affairs* his survey of the Pacific and Asiatic regions from the standpoint of an ethnologist. Our author observes:—

The eastern hemisphere is the region of the world endowed with the most varied human resources. Here have dwelt for thousands of years simple sea-faring folk, shore-dwellers and land-tillers, traders and artists, aristocracies and hierarchies, tribes and nations, commercial and religious empires created by peoples in whose veins flow the bloods of Negroid and Caucasoid, of Malayoid and Mongoloid races, and discipline of whose lives and minds have been subjected for centuries to the stimulation indigenous and of Indian and Chinese and occidental civilizations.

Throughout this hemisphere there exist innumerable coastal and river populations adapted since time immemorial to marine life along the shores and waterways of eastern and southern Asia and the vast island world of Malaysia and Oceania. As "Kanakas," "Lascars" and "Chinaboys" deckhands, stokers and cabin-boys, a few of them have made possible the expansion of occidental commerce where white sailors and "hands" have been inadaptable. Much of the service on foreign ships has been of the nature of crude labour; but to a very great degree it has also been a matter of taking advantage of highly skilled labor at low costs on the part of shrewd ship's captains and traders.

This was true in the recruiting of crews for whaling vessels in the Polynesian islands in the nineteenth century.

The Japanese have demonstrated clearly that modern scientific ship-building and navigation is no prerogative of occidental peoples. In the educational schemes developed by Westerners in New Zealand and the Polynesian Islands, in the Philippines and Dutch East Indies, in China, Indo-China and India, what place has been given to vocational training of youths of sea-faring stock for careers as sailors and marine mechanics, deck officers and engineers? There has been practically none.

It is therefore pertinent to ask whether China, in its efforts to regain its river and coastal traffic, and in the hope of developing a navy and deep-sea merchant marine, will found naval schools patterned on Western models and open to scions of wealthy and politically influential families, or will seek means of selecting the most able and gifted from among its marine folk, and training and utilising them in such a way as to create a truly Chinese marine, known the world over as the seamen and traders of

T'ang were known throughout "the Four Seas." Do Hindu and Philippine Nationalists, in visualizing their need of reviving in the near future the naval activities, both military and commercial, in which their coastal populations have a long and distinguished tradition, think concretely in terms of systematically training the youth of their sea-faring classes to build and man the ships that they already imagine plying the seven seas? Presumably, what Japan has done, the independent Philippines will seek to do, and China and India with their teeming coastal and river populations and heritage of sea-faring tradition, will certainly in the course of time achieve on a vast scale.

Japan has made a beginning in systematically conserving its fisheries, and its fishing population and industry operate in a planned and efficient manner. Fishery conservation is well under way in the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, Indo-China and India under Western scientific planning. China will certainly in due time conserve and develop its fisheries to the utmost.

In the eastern hemisphere also lie the areas of the most intensive cultivation of the soil from very early times by agricultural folk, who, for industry and ability to raise maximum crops in given localities and soils, have had no equals except perhaps in the grain cultivators of the Nile and Euphrates valleys, or the Inca potato-planting mountaineers in Peru. Throughout the rice-growing region of southern Asia and Malaysia—in the river valleys of the mainland and up the terraced mountainsides of Ceylon, Java, Luzon and Japan—there dwell planters unnumbered, born of countless generations who have known intimately the same soils, climate and crops.

Just as the eastern hemisphere is a region of vast human resources in sea-faring, fishing and agriculture, it is likewise rich in diverse cultural heritages and aptitudes, among peoples of various racial strains, with customs deriving from autochthonous cultures, and from Chinese, Indian, Arabian and European civilizations. The higher civilizations have been acting upon the peoples of the East since Greece conquered Northwest India and Rome sent its commercial embassies to South India and Indo-China, since Buddhist and Brahmin missionaries and traders overran Malaysia, Indo-China and China, and from the time of establishing of Arab and Chinese trading posts both along the South Asiatic and Malaysian coasts and on the overland routes. These processes continued through the days of the early Portuguese and later the French, Dutch and British treaty ports, down to our own day of universal commercial penetration of all places by the product of all industrial nations. That anything of indigenous cultures still exists seems somewhat surprising; and the fact that such cultures not only persist but still resist the inroads of foreign influence, serves to prove that heritage and environment are in the end dominant controlling factors in human life.

Now the peoples of the eastern hemisphere have had the advantages (and the disadvantages) of the greater part of what the more advanced cultures of East and West have to offer.

Thus the world has adopted felt from Central Asia; paper and printing, silk, porcelain, tea and opium from China; sugar and weaving techniques from India; maize, potatoes, tobacco and chincona from aboriginal America; coffee, dates and figs, mathematics and astronomy from the Near East. But far more has been neglected than has been used; and at this time, when the conveniences and habits of Europe and America are tending to standardize the ways of living of all peoples, much that is valuable is rapidly vanishing.

Consider medicine, for example. Modern science has incorporated in its pharmacopoeia many valuable drugs employed by various peoples; chincona from Peru, opium from India, digitalin from England, ephedrin from China. Medical science, and in particular the great commercial drugs industry, has long been on the alert to discover valuable new raw drugs. The traditional pharmacopoeia of India and China are being systematically analyzed by government agencies and endowed institutions. But we have scarcely touched the hundreds of other highly developed systems of healing including pharmacopoeia utilizing the indigenous flora of many regions. And pharmaceutics, though it is the first aspect of an indigenous system of therapeutics to be subjected to study and the first to yield up valuable contributions to medical science, is only one phase of these non-European systems that is worth studying.

It has recently been discovered, for example, that native Hawaiians have known and employed certain means of inducing the discharge of the placenta after childbirth by means of external pressure which approximate to the method adopted in European obstetrics only since its discovery by the French surgeon Credé in 1853.

It is startling to realize that during 76 years following the visit of the first European surgeon to Hawaii (with Captain Cook in 1778) who might have learned something of native practice Hawaiians were employing a similar procedure, while European obstetricians were still ignorant of its possibilities. How many similarly valuable practices, belonging to native empirical systems, may there be yet to be discovered? Unquestionably medical science still has a great deal to learn both from the old systems of oriental civilizations and from customs of folk like the Polynesians who live intimately with nature. Much has already been learned, and in India, China and the Dutch East Indies there are beginnings of organized research into the indigenous systems of therapeutics. But this research, to be comprehensive, should be systematic and co-ordinated.

That there exist throughout the region of the world under discussion innumerable arts and crafts, industries, social institutions and traditional *mores* worthy of being perpetuated and adapted to modern uses is obvious to anyone who knows South and East Asia and the Pacific. This applies equally to tribes in the Philippines and New Guinea and Oceania, and to distinctive ethnic areas within India and China.

Not only skill and aesthetic refinement belong to these people, but also in large measure their by-products, inventiveness and creativeness. This is evidenced in innumerable ways, as in the musical and artistic talent of Polynesians and Malaysians, the organizing and political genius of Chinese and the scientific and literary ability of the Hindus.

Indian Sanskrit scholars wrote the *shastras* or treatises defining the principles governing society and state, art and craft in classical India. A comparable body of literature relating to classical culture exists in China. In Japan, Malaysia and Indo-China, guilds of craftsmen and artists preserve in vernacular written texts and orally, historical and technical treatises relating to their professions. What might be hoped for to-day would be technological manuals and text-books recording in detail the arts, crafts, industries and social institutions of all the advanced cultures of the Orient and the Pacific.

Education will make of the sons of Polynesian fishermen not road hands and clerks, but seamen and modern fishers. It will make of Chinese peasants' children, modern farmers loving their land and country life. Malaysian craftsmen and artists will be trained as skilled workers in old and new materials and media. Sons and daughters of Hindu and Chinese

scholars will become not government clerks and traders, but teachers, thereby "walking in the ways of their fathers" and using their heritage of brains for the good of their country. And as for the sons and daughters of feudal lords, they may be offered dignified service in administration and the judiciary, while the children of their dependents may be trained as clerks and aides and constables.

ITALY'S CASE AGAINST ETHIOPIA

The following article is a statement by a representative Italian of his country's case against Ethiopia. The author, Signor, Roberts Forges-Dainnziati, a member of the Senate, is editor of the *Tribuna* of Rome and one of Italy's foremost political writers. The article is most passionately composed and presents before us the other side of the picture with which we are less familiar. In the face of the wide-evoked sympathy for the oppressed coloured race of Africa, the excerpts reproduced below from *Current History* will, we hope, be read by our readers with profound interest:

The conflict between Italy and Ethiopia is today represented by those who call themselves pacifists and champions of the League of Nations as a violent and arbitrary improvisation of Fascist Italy. This is an error. It is, in fact, an interested and deliberate distortion of the truth.

First of all a fact that also fixes a date. Even before the unification of Italy, the Kingdom of Sardinia, in order to assure itself of a base of operations outside the Mediterranean considered the possibility of establishing permanent relations along the Red Sea. The first Italian to land at Massawa was the Genoese, Giuseppe Sapeto, who went there in 1838, returned in 1851 and explored the regions of the interior with the sentiment of an Italian and the faith of a Catholic missionary. In 1869, through the efforts of Sapeto, the promontory dominating the Bay of Assab was purchased on behalf of the Rubattino Shipping Company with the consent of the government. In 1882 the purchased territory became the property of the State and therefore politically Italian.

From that moment dates the true beginning of Italian penetration, which has been accompanied by the work of explorers and missionaries. Many of them lost their lives in the various regions of Ethiopia, either at the hands of the natives or as a result of the hardships and privations they suffered. It is thus exactly fifty-three years since Italy first set foot on the Red Sea coast, participating in the Europeanization of the African Continent and obeying a legitimate law of expansion—the same law that has been obeyed and is still obeyed by other States and above all by England, who has conquered such a large part of Africa. One may not, therefore, speak of improvisation.

In these fifty-three years the relations of Italy with the Ethiopian chiefs have had a long and often bloody history which has abundantly proved that Ethiopia, through the fault either of its central government or of its local chieftains, has uninterruptedly refused to co-operate with Italy.

Seven years after the assertion of Italian political sovereignty along the Red Sea, a treaty of co-operation was concluded. It resulted from lengthy negotiations with Menelik, the chieftain who, after a fierce internal struggle, had succeeded in asserting his predominance over the other "Ras." This treaty officially recognized Italy's position, for it entrusted to Italy the diplomatic representation of Ethiopia in its relation with all other States. Menelik, who owed his position and power largely to Italian aid and had concluded the Treaty of Ucciali in 1889 whereby he recognized the protective collaboration of Italy, soon began to rebel against this legitimate and just subordination.

It would be too long to go here in detail into the successive phases of this hostile resistance, which followed Menelik's supplications for friendship and help when he was still struggling for the throne. What it is important to emphasize is that the military operations that preceded and followed the conclusion of the Treaty of Ucciali were hard and bloody and that Italy sacrificed in them the lives of her soldiers, who fell in thousands where the pioneers had fallen singly. The battle of Adowa in March, 1896—an ill-fated battle in which 15,000 Italians fought valiantly against 100,000 Ethiopians—was the principal episode of the period that came to an end with the present configuration of the territory of Eritrea.

The second Italian colony, Somaliland, on the Indian Ocean, also had its origins over fifty years ago—in 1883. There also pioneers and soldiers in great numbers sacrificed their lives to enlarge it, to develop it, to give it the greatest possibilities of work and production, which presuppose order and tranquillity.

Eritrea, which has an area of 45,500 square miles and a population of 622,000 inhabitants, and Italian Somaliland, with an area of 190,000 square miles and a population of 983,000 inhabitants, both have very long common frontiers with Ethiopia, which have not been precisely delimited on the ground. It is necessary, therefore, that the relations with Ethiopia be those of good neighbourliness.

When Fascist Italy had to consider the situation of her two East African colonies, at the time when she was proceeding to organize her two Libyan colonies in Mediterranean Africa on a stable and final footing, Mussolini remained faithful to his intention of working in close and cordial co-operation with Ethiopia. When the present Negus Haile Selassie was only the Regent Ras Tafari and needed the good-will of his neighbours to impose his authority on the other chieftains—he had dispossessed and imprisoned Lij Yasu, who had been designated as heir to the throne by Menelik—Fascist Italy, in 1924, welcomed him with favor. There is no doubt that Italy's sympathetic attitude helped the Negus to attain his ends, as it had years before helped Menelik. When the Regent Ras Tafari became the Negus Haile Selassie, an Italian mission headed by the Duke of the Abruzzi was present at his coronation.* And in 1928 a treaty of friendship and collaboration was concluded between Italy and Ethiopia, which the new sovereign declared he wished to modernize.

Ethiopia has no outlet to the sea, and a single railroad links its capital, Addis Ababa, with Jibuti, the port of the small possession of French Somaliland. The coastline of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland is in Italian hands and between the two there are only the short coastline of French Somaliland and the longer one of British Somaliland. Ethiopian nationalism has made its principal aim to conquer an outlet

to the sea through one of the Italian colonies and made a start toward realizing this plan by exerting all its pressure on Italian Somaliland.

From all the foregoing it may be concluded :

1. Italian penetration in East Africa has over half a century of political, military and commercial history. It is therefore not at all improvised but represent a vast, essential problem, the solution of which cannot be further postponed.

2. Italy in 1899, as in 1928 by Mussolini's initiative, attempted to carry out a policy with Ethiopia of good neighbourliness and of direct co-operation, from which Ethiopia would have derived very great benefits.

3. Ethiopia, on the contrary, has proved and is proving by a multitude of undeniable facts that she wishes to pursue and develop a policy of open antagonism to Italy. This policy culminated in the episode of Walwal, which is not an isolated event, but can be considered as the alarm signal that revealed a situation fundamentally hostile to the two Italian colonies in East Africa.

It has been said that Ethiopia is an independent State, worthy of living on as the last surviving native State in the whole of Africa. This statement is false and wilfully misleading. Ethiopia is not a State, but the negation of a State, because it is a feudal, slave-trafficking and slave-owning composition, possessing not even the slightest element that constitutes a State.

Ethiopia therefore remains entirely true to African type, which is an inferior type, and cannot lay claim to an ancient, even if now no longer existing, civilization, such as that of which Egypt boasts.

Ethiopia was, nevertheless, admitted to the League of Nations. She was admitted on condition that she would reach a certain level as a State and abolish slavery. These conditions have not been fulfilled, and they cannot be fulfilled.

Italy, a country of agriculturists and seafarers, a mountainous and maritime country, is bathed by three seas. But these three seas are comprised in the Mediterranean, the gates of which are controlled by England. Italy is in a different position from France and Spain, for she has no coast opening on the ocean ; she does not breathe the sea through two perfectly independent lungs, like the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. She therefore urgently requires land on the great routes of world communication.

To obtain what she needs, Italy does not covet the possessions of others ; she merely asks that the others shall not act in such a way as to make her understand that she is to be kept a prisoner in the Mediterranean for ever. Italy asks only to be allowed to breathe in the world.

News and Views

Assam Schools and Bengali Language

A public meeting of the bona-fide inhabitants and domiciled people and settlers of Goalpara district was held on October 24 in the Dhubri Municipal Hall under the presidency of Rai Bahadur Biraj Mohan Dutt of Dhubri.

The meeting entered an emphatic protest against the repeated attempts by a section of the Assamese public through the press and the platform excluding the Bengali language as one of the mediums of instruction in the Assam Valley schools.

University of Rangoon Convocation

A Press communique says:—

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to direct that a Convocation of the University of Rangoon for the conferment of Degrees, Diplomas and Certificates shall be held on Thursday, the 5th December, 1935, at 4 p.m.

Aga Khan Elected Pro-Chancellor

At a special meeting of the Aligarh University Court held recently His Highness the Aga Khan was unanimously elected Pro-Chancellor.

Council of Agricultural Research

It is understood that the annual meeting of the advisory board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research will be held from February 10 to 15.

The Veterinary Research Workers Conference meets from February 15 to 17.

Primary Education in Bombay

Seventy-five thousand pupils are expected to receive primary education during 1936-37, according to the report prepared by the Schools Committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and therefore the Committee has asked the Corporation to give it a grant of Rs. 32 lakhs, which the Municipal Commissioner has endorsed. Seventy-one thousand pupils are receiving primary education during the current year.

Central Advisory Board of Education

It is understood that Sir T. B. Sapro, Sir Akbar Hydari, the Bishop of Lahore, Dr. A. H. Mackenzie, Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Lady Grigg will be members of the Central Advisory Board of Education, nominated by the Government of India. The inaugural meeting of the Board will probably be held in the middle of December.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's Lectures at Andhra University

The Associated Press reports that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Chief Editor of the "Leader" will very shortly deliver the Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer Endowment lectures of the Andhra University. The subject of the lectures will be the "Evolution of Ideas and Institutions in India since the Great Indian Mutiny."

India's First Public School

"It is not the desire of the Indian Public Schools Society that the Doon School should descend like a purse-proud parvenu upon the educational system of India. Parvenus never take root, but remain an unpleasant and unnatural excrescence. It is the desire of the Society that the Doon School shall prove its worth and take an acknowledged and natural, unique and honourable place in the country's educational system."

With these words the Viceroy opened Indian's first public school amidst an imposing ceremony and in the presence of about 700 persons, including distinguished patrons, visitors and parents of boys.

Among the distinguished visitors were Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Sir G. S. Bajpai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, officers of the Central Public Works Department and officers of the Indian Military Academy and the Gurkha Regiment.

After the performance of the ceremony and inspection of the school His Excellency talked to the boys.

Italian Scholarship not awarded to Indians

We understand the Italian Fascist National Federation against Tuberculosis placed six scholarships at the disposal of the International Union against Tuberculosis, Paris, at the "Carle Fortanini" Institute in Rome for the session November 15th, 1935, to July, 1936. These scholarships are intended for the foreign medical practitioners who are already familiar with tuberculosis problems and who wish to improve their knowledge of this branch of medicine. The Union Secretariat asked all the 43 Governments and organisations which are its members to recommend suitable candidates from their respective countries.

The King George Thanksgiving (Anti-Tuberculosis) Fund which is a member of the Union recommended Dr. S. N. Mazumdar (Calcutta) and Dr. Nanda Lal Mukerjee (Patna) from India for the award of these scholarships. An intimation has been received from the Union Secretariat that guided by a sense of international equity precedence has been given to the candidates of those countries which have not so far benefited by these scholarships. In view of the fact that India has already been awarded two scholarships during the past two years, these scholarships this year have been awarded to candidates of Canada, Denmark, Spain, Latvia, Portugal and Czechoslovakia.

Indo-German Cultural Co-operation

Professor Meghnad Saha was appointed Corresponding Member of the "Deutsche Akademie" by the Senate of the Academy in its last annual meeting. The president of the Academy in his letter to Prof. Saha pointed out that the Deutsche Akademie will express by this election its gratefulness and admiration for Prof. Saha's great scientific achievements which are of importance not only to India but also to Germany.

The pioneer for Indo-German cultural co-operation, Dr. Taraknath Das, celebrated in June his 50th birthday. India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie decided on this occasion to name in future one of its annual scholarships " Mary K. Das and Taraknath Das Scholarship " in honour of Dr. Taraknath Das's merits for the promotion of cultural relations between Germany and India. The conditions for the award of this scholarship will be published in the Indian papers in the near future along with the announcement of the scholarships of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie for 1936 to 1937.

* * * *

The Deutsche Akademie recently arranged lectures by Dr. Sudhir Sen (B.A., Cal., B.Sc.Econ. Lond.) on Indian Economics in certain German cities. So spoke Dr. Sudhir Sen in the Chamber of Commerce, Stuttgart, on " Indian Economic Problems " and in Dresden under the auspices of the " Mitteleuropa Institut " and the Chamber of Commerce on " The Fight for the Indian Market." Dr. Sudhir Sen, one of the former scholarship-holders of the Deutsche Akademie, has already published numerous articles in some of the best German papers on Indian Economics ; simultaneously he has been preparing a comprehensive book in German on modern India on the request of Verlag Korn Breslau.

* * * *

The scholarships of the following Indian students were continued for another term :

V. G. Menon, Technical University of Munich
 A. K. Mitra, University of Munich
 B. K. Kar, University of Leipzig
 K. P. Mukhopadhyay, University of Heidelberg
 N. I. Khan, University of Bonn
 P. Narayanamurthy, Technical University of Danzig
 A. K. Ghose, Technical University of Dresden.

Lord Eustace Percy on the School-leaving Age

Lord Eustace Percy, speaking last week at Chesterfield, where the school-leaving age has been raised, said: The great danger which the rising generation ran was not so much lack of work when boys and girls left school as loss of work at a later age, especially when they entered men's estate and began to earn adult wages. School-leaving age policy should be planned, so far as possible, to ensure that when a pupil left school he should enter employment that would give him a reasonably sure prospect of permanent work throughout manhood.

Lord Eustace, who was opening an exhibition of modern Geographical teaching, said that education had been changed so much, and so many new subjects had been introduced which made greater calls on children's brain nerves and capacity, that the work of bringing all the new teaching together had become more and more necessary.

School of Dramatic Production

A New Year Vacation School of Dramatic Production, organised by the Little Theatre, Citizen House, Bath, will be held at the Everyman Theatre, Hampstead, in two alternative sessions (each complete in itself),

viz., from December 28th to January 5th, and from January 3rd to January 12th, 1936. These courses include a practical and individual training in every branch of play-production and stage technique. Acting parts are guaranteed to every member, if desired, and public performances are given at the close of the course.

The fee for the course is three guineas, and application for membership should be made to the Hon. Secretary, Little Theatre, Citizen House, Bath.

Lord Halifax's Speech at World Federation of Education Associations

The World Education Congress was opened recently with a series of meetings in different parts of Oxford, some of the subjects discussed being Visual Education, Pre-School and Kindergarten, the Health of School-children, the Entrance to Secondary Schools, and Training of Teachers. School Broadcasting was an additional subject.

In the Sheldonian Theatre a crowded audience listened to eloquent speeches at the first General Meeting.

Lord Halifax, in welcoming the delegates, said: It is my privilege to-night to welcome to the University of Oxford delegates from all over the world to the Conferences of the World Federation of Education Associations and its allied bodies. The privilege—for indeed I regard it as such—falls to me primarily as Chancellor of the University; but I cannot forget that until two months ago—at the time when I accepted this invitation—I was also President of the Board of Education, and, as such, I was able fully to realise the efforts which have been made to prepare for these Conferences and the results which may be expected from them.

It seems—if I may say so—peculiarly appropriate that your choice has fallen on this University. Oxford—we are told—was originally founded at the end of the 14th century by a migration of students from the sister University of Paris; and throughout the centuries its doors have been constantly open to searchers after knowledge and truth from all parts. And in these later days it has opened its doors still wider to receive students of different races, culture and religion, and has drawn many of its best and most loyal sons through the benefactions of Cecil Rhodes.

It is therefore in the natural fitness of things that Oxford should be glad to receive a gathering like this, and should feel proud that you should have chosen it as the home of your conferences.

But there is another reason why Oxford is specially suitable. For the influence of this University on English history has been exerted pre-eminently through ideas—ideas that lead to action, just as the trail of gunpowder leads to the discharge. It is indeed through ideas that Oxford has left its mark deep upon the national thought and character in the history of Church and State.

Here then is the second reason why your choice of Oxford is appropriate. For I take it that the object of conferences so widely representative, is to pool and exchange educational ideas and to draw inspiration from them.

As we look back over history we see that circumstances alter and conditions vary, while the currents of thought flow on—now smoothly, now in full spate—cutting for themselves, like rivers, new and unfamiliar courses. Our predecessors would indeed have felt themselves in strange company to-day. Yet, though the horizons are wider and the path, as to-day, is often rough and difficult, still the eternal quest after many-sided

truths remains the same—that quest, to which the mind and soul of man constantly turn—because, by its pursuit and the approach to it alone, can he solve the great riddle of his relation to the Universe.

And so those who seek truth through philosophy, art, science, the study of history and the thought of those who have preceded us; and those whose business it is to administer and those whose privilege it is to teach—all are comrades in arms in the great cause of fashioning human personality, which is true education.

In loyalty to this purpose, Oxford remains unchanging and unchanged ; and, in the name of the University, I hold it as a privilege to welcome a company gathered from all over the world, whose work, by moulding the moral and intellectual background of life in the different States here represented, must so powerfully affect civilisation.

The National Union of Teachers has deserved well of all who realise these values by organising the conferences ; and in particular we must all feel grateful for the work by Mr. Mander, whom this University of Oxford to-morrow will count among her sons.

And I trust that the conferences, on which you are now entering, will more than fulfil the hopes of those who passionately seek to build the foundations of a happier world, and who believe that Education—in its widest application—is the surest instrument for the achievement of their end.

Miscellany

FALLACY IN THE RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION OF CULTURE

The historical data about Hindu positivism have been ignored by such one-sided indologists as Max Müller in works like *India What can it teach us?* and *Chips from a German Workshop*. Besides, exponents of monistic "religious interpretation" among the sociologists like Max Weber in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* have propagated the traditional indology on a large scale. Hindu culture has been side-tracked into monistic interpretations coming as they do from indologists, sociologists, geographers, climatologists, ethnologists, regionalists, political philosophers and economists.

A specialization in the positivistic, secular, humanistic, scientific, rationalistic, and energistic data or factors of Hindu Culture is therefore a desideratum. But it should not be misunderstood as emphasizing or accentuating them to the exclusion of the idealistic, spiritual, religious and allied facts and ideas. It is not as an illustration of the monistic "historical materialism" or "economic interpretation" that has taken a final shape at the hands of Karl Marx and Achille Loria that the positivistic interpretations of Hindu culture ought to be listed.

Dualism or rather pluralism is, on the contrary, the key to the appropriate methodology in the interpretation of world-forces.¹

The position of Pareto in his *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* in this regard is acceptable. In his judgment historical materialism marked a noteworthy scientific progress in so far as it placed in clear light the contingent character of certain phenomena, namely, the moral and the religious, to which absolute character was ascribed, and is still ascribed, by many. Further, it has, says he, certainly a part of truth because it asserts the interdependence of economic and all other social phenomena. But the error lies in changing this interdependence into a relation of cause and effect.

Equally acceptable is another Paretian viewpoint to the effect that the "economic man," is no more the whole man than is the "religious man," the "ethical man," etc. Extra-economic actions cannot be ignored in the examination of the complete personality. In regard to scientific purposes, again, says Pareto, it is possible to be "analytical," But *la pratica è essenzialmente sintetica* (practice is essentially synthetic).

It is the synthetic view that one ought to stand for, and as one can claim, is the factual reality of Indian history and Hindu culture. Perhaps it is possible to connect the general scientific orientations of Hindu religious development with those of the German philosopher Fichte in his *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1808), Address VIII.

The Apostles and the early Christians, says Fichte, placed their faith in heaven in such an extraordinary manner as to be entirely indifferent to the things of life, the state, *irdisches Vaterland*, the earthly fatherland, and nation.

¹ Florence, 1913, Vol. I, p. 426, Vol. II, pp. 276-277; also *Manuel d'Economie Politique* (Paris, 1909), pp. 18-19.

R. Michels, *Corso di Sociologia Politica* (Milan, 1927), pp. 14-16, 25.

This attitude is appraised by Fichte as an unnatural condition, as something outside the rule of the world-process, indeed as a rare exception. It is further, says he, a very abnormal or perverse use (*verkehrter Gebrauch*) of religion, such as has been very often made in Christendom and other faiths, which, without reference to the existing circumstances, recommends this retreating from the interests of the state and the nation as real religious disposition (*Zurueckziehung von den Angelegenheiten des Staates und der Nation als wahre religioese Gesinnung*).

In the regular order of things, however, earthly life itself is to be regarded really as life (*soll das irdische Leben selber wahrhaftig Leben sein*) in which one can feel happy, and which, naturally in expectation of something higher (*freilich in Erwartung auf eines hoeheren*) one can gratefully enjoy.

In Fichte's analysis although it is true that religion is the consolation of unjustly oppressed slaves it is still religious sense above all that people try to protect themselves against slavery and thus prevent religion from degenerating into a mere consolation of the prisoners. It fits the tyrant quite well, says Fichte, to preach religious resignation (*Den Tyrannen steht es wohl an religioese Ergebung zu predigen*) and to direct to Heaven those whom he does not wish to accord any nook or corner on Earth (*und die denen er auf Erden kein Plaetzchen gestatten will an den Himmel zu verweisen*). In Fichte's words, we others should make it a point not to run after assimilating this concept of religion, and if we can we ought rather to prevent the conversion of the Earth into a Hell and thereby awaken a greater longing for Heaven.

Fichte considers the natural drive of man,—such as can only in a condition of real necessity be given up—to consist in discovering the Heaven on this Earth and the eternally enduring things in his earthly day's work, in planting the imperishable and the immortal even in the temporal, and in teaching in a manner that can be seen by the mortal eyes.

Hindu culture, as it has historically grown through the ages and in diverse regions of India as well as Greater India, bears testimony to this Fichtean *natuerliche Trieb des Menschen* (natural impulse or drive of man) and *regelmaessige Ordnung der Dinge* (regular order of things). All the activities and ideas of the Hindus in regard to the *irdisches Vaterland* (earthly fatherland), the establishment of Heaven on Earth (*Himmel auf dieser Erde*) and the discovery of the eternal in the ephemeral or the transient are so many phases of Hindu positivism. (Sarkar, *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, 2 vols., Allahabad, 1913-23.)

And in this position we can agree with Giorgio del Vecchio¹ whose analysis leaves no doubt about the supreme value of each and every element in the personality. In this examination the orientations derived from the self are as "real" as those from the "not-self." *Cotesta dualità resta insopprimibile come legge immanente del nostro essere* (This duality remains irreducible as the immanent law of our being). The two terms, fundamental but antithetic, are equally (*egualmente*) legitimate and valid, says he. The entire reality is to be referred equally (*egualmente*) to both these principles. Each one dominates and embraces the other but does not definitely eliminate it, because in its turn it is dominated by and comprised in the other. Such idealism as is pragmatic enough to recognize the equal validity of diverse factors or elements in our *coscienza* (conscience)

¹ "Etica, Diritto e Stato" in *Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto* (Rome, 1934).

and *azioni* (actions), as does not consider any single motive by itself to be sufficient for human life and refuses to recognise in this or that particular tendency the intimate essence or supreme law of human nature, can rescue the philosophical mind from the fallacy of a monistic "religious interpretation" of culture.

In this position we meet indeed Immanuel Kant in another way. This philosopher's attitude to the universe is epoch-making. As is well known, he postulated the thorough-going distinction between Nature and Man, or rather the complete independence of the sense world from the moral world, according to each a dignity and law of its own.¹ It is the Kantian dualism in a new guise that can render unto Religion the things that are Religion's and unto the other Forces the things that naturally belong to them.

BENDYKUMAR SARKAR

THE VARIABLES AND THE CONSTANTS IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

Meinecke in his *Idee der Staatsraeson* (p. 452) has come to the conclusion that during nearly two thousand years certain leading thinkers were expressing essentially the same ideas. "Cicero, Aquinas and Frederick the Great could have understood one another," says he, "because all three spoke the easily comprehensible language of natural law." The entire work is, besides, a testimony to the profound ideological reality that from Machiavelli to Treitschke European political philosophy has traded in two fundamental categories. One has reference to *Staatsraeson*, which we may call *shakti-yoga*, i.e., *Machtpolitik*, the doctrine of power or force and *danda* (punishment, sanction, etc.). The other points to *Sittlichkeit* (morality), *Rechtlichkeit* (law), corresponding to the Hindu doctrine of *dharma*, i.e., law, justice, etc. It is the permutation and combination of these two eternal polarities, marked often by the emphasis on one to the exclusion of the other, that constitutes virtually the entire encyclopaedia of political philosophy as exhibited in this work. This is a very instructive and eminently acceptable generalization. We understand that changes in space and time do not after all engender any profound variations in the theories of the state, law, diplomacy, societal organization, etc.

The existence of social constants can be borne out in other fields, for instance, in the domain of law. The Italian jurist Giorgio del Vecchio² invites our attention to the fact that the organism of law became enriched through new inventions such as the printing press. New institutions were created by the press. But the preceding structure of law remained entire, and no new laws were expressly formulated. Similarly in our times, says he, new branches of law have been created on account of numerous transformations of living conditions and modes of activity. But the main trunk remains substantially unchanged. The structure has been amplified and perfected but its fundamental unity is to be found intact.

This problem of "constants" in social progress can be referred to certain universal considerations. However undeniable and incontestable be the objective signs of amelioration or progress enjoyed by a society, the individual men and women cannot see or feel in them any grounds for feeling happy. It is this paradox of civilisation to which the Italian

¹ J. Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics* (New York, 1915), pp. 20-30.

² "The Crisis of the Science of Law" in the *Tulane Law Review* (New Orleans, 1934), p. 331.

sociologist, Alfredo Niceforo, is led as a result of his investigations *sull' importanza dello studio della distribuzione dei caratteri mentali* (into the importance of studying the distribution of mental characters, Catania, 1913).

An explanation of the impossibility of feeling happy is found by Niceforo in the circumstance that two distinct elements are to be discovered in the social facts, one of which is superficial and variable and the other profound and invariable. The external part is variable. But the part which does not change is internal and is the fundamental element. These are the *résidus sociaux*, the social residues or *résidus constants*, the constant, permanent residues, and they remain always hidden under all apparent variations of forms. The ideas of equality, liberty, etc., the optimistic and humanitarian ideologies, the conceptions of altruism and so forth are considered by Niceforo to be the external and variable elements of social facts.¹ But they are misleading because it is under them that lies hidden the desire to dominate on the part of the minorities, i.e., of the most qualified or the fit. And this desire for domination constitutes the profound and secret motive of all action in social groups.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

¹ A. Niceforo, *Les Indices numériques de la Civilisation et du Progrès* (Paris, 1921), pp. 201-205.

Reviews and Notices of Books

N. Bishop Harman—Science and Religion. 1935. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 5s. Pp. 169.

The book deals with the problems as to how a scientific man could also be a religious man and how about 'absolutes' doctors of science know nothing and thus there is room for a book on the relations of science and religion. The theologian's doctrine of 'absolutes' is purely a personal belief or a belief of his community or of his church.

Once I had occasion to question a revered hoary-headed man of science who had lived a spotless life and devoted his whole life to minute accurate experiments, about his attitude to his religion. He had said there are two compartments in the brain—one deals critically with accurate data that is science and the other is of blind faith. They do not confuse each other's operation. That is one attitude.

But one has scope for another attitude: "science deals with the material things of life and religion with the non-material things. There is no conflict between true science and true religion for the two are indissolubly linked, otherwise the two have a common origin and whereas one ceases at a certain point the other carries on the search still further."

In the words of Hindu thinkers as it has been nicely said science observes things of "Iha," the life here, while religion reveals through its competent savants, the seers, prophets, incarnations, etc., observations about the 'parakāla' and thus religion may be called the science of the hereafter. Both complete the totality of the science of creation. It is because the two departments have grown independently of the other that there is apparent divergence but the time for both joining into one vast deeper quest for truth is fast approaching.

"Boyle's law of the diffusion of gases is not a force that regulates the movements or diffusion of gases but merely a statement of the fashion in which gases are known to diffuse." But this fashion again can again be better understood if one has better insight and introspection of causal chains in creation. For an adequate knowledge of gases, the super-gaseous fifth substance known to Hindu Science as 'Vyomattva' when adequately mastered will afford much deeper clues as to its working. The day may come when the agelong wisdom of the Hindus perfectly mastering the modern techniques of western science would supplement all its findings by the help of 'tattvajñāna.' But the Hindu thinks this is not so yet as religious matters are more or less shrouded in sentimentality, mysticism and dogmatic faith. As science is essentially fluid religion also will be endorsed with practical and scientific interest by defining the object in view and prescribing and adopting practical measures for the attainment of that object. Then will disappear the conflict between the established and growing ideas which, to some minds held fast in the grip of former ideas, may seem catastrophic, between dogmatic religion and science.

P. MITRA

The Old Gang and the New Gang, by Wyndham Lewis, published by Desmond Harmsworth, 44, Great Russell Street, London. 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Wyndham Lewis refers in his characteristic manner (combining directness of attack with a certain odd humour) to the cry, raised to a war-cry in many countries today, for youth to be given chances. The Old Gang has had its day, now for the New Gang to rise high and to carry on—only we must not forget that those who raise the cry are not disinterested altogether but are mainly guided by the spirit of exploitation, and after all it is a question as to which 'gang' should rule—the old may not claim a monopoly of intelligence as the young should not insist on a monopoly of energy. Britain with all her insularity is not free from the 'youth' stunt but the cry is to be heard there too.

Let us, however, ask the pertinent question: what about the generation between the old and young? Is it really missing? No, it has been to a large extent destroyed by the war; but we must look squarely to facts and ignore the histories—the false histories of books like "All Quiet on the Western Front," which delude people into shedding tears over unreal issues—and take courage in both hands to step in when our services are called for.—Sane and spirited advice, at least with reference to the attitude.

PRIYA RANJAN SEN

Kabir and the Bhagti Movement. Vol. I. Kabir—His Biography. by Mohan Singh, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT. D. C. 16mo. Pp. xviii + 103, Atmaram & Sons, Lahore, 1934. Price Rs. 2.

According to the preface of the author he has utilized in this work some fresh materials in the shape of MSS. '*To recreate and re-interpret Kabir along desirable lines of historical exactness and analytical and comparative scientific study*' (p. vi). This raised great expectation about the book but after going through it carefully we cannot say that the author's efforts have been quite successful. His collection of data is quite praiseworthy and will greatly help fellow-workers in the field, but the manner in which he has handled them does not reflect great credit on him. Want of sufficient linguistic equipment seems to have been a drawback with him. Here are a few specimens of his mistakes.

On p. 3 Dr. Mohan Singh mistakes *Bhaujal* for Skt. *bhaya-jala* and explains the former as 'the ocean of fear.' *Bhaujal* is equivalent to Skt. *bhavajala*. On p. 30 he discovers *das* (= Skt. *dāsa*) in the Asokan expression *piyadasi*. On Pp. 31-32 the author explains 'Loi' (the name of Kabir's wife) as a part of the Skt. compound *trilokī* (wrongly spelt as *tṛlōkī*). This is quite indefensible. On p. 55 he explains *Sakat* (= *śākta*) as the follower of Shiva, and *Dharam Rae* (= Skt. *Dharma-Raja*) as 'Heaven's Accountant.'

The translation of *Varnatmik* (= Skt. *varṇātmaka*) as 'qualificative' and *Dhunatmik* (= Skt. *dhvanyātmaka*) as 'unlettered' are also wrong and misleading (see p. 17).

It goes without saying that such mistakes have greatly reduced the value of the author's work and anyone not well-versed in Skt. and Pkt. is sure to be misled by them. But Dr. Mohan Singh seems to have been quite unaware that he could commit such bad mistakes and this is the reason why he could not show any charity to Babu Shyam Sundar Das of

the *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*. About the Babu Sahib Dr. Mohan Singh writes, "*Several statements of the learned Pandit are simply ridiculous and excite our pity and laughter*" (p. 44). This statement by Dr. Singh has pained us very much. The service of Babu Shyam Sundar Das for the Hindi literature is well known and his age and scholarship both command universal respect. It may be that we may occasionally have reasons to disagree with him but that should be no ground for showing him disrespect. We can surely expect better manners from an educated gentleman like Dr. Mohan Singh, who is a teacher in the Punjab Oriental College. If he has taken up the life and works of Kabir as his subject of study he may also try to practise humility like this great saint and mystic of Medieval India.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Readers' Forum

[Our readers' guide to good books, reproduced from the writings of various authorities.]

Before the Great Silence, by Maurice Maeterlinck, translated by Bernard Miall. G. Allen and Unwin Ltd. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Lovers of the Belgian poet and naturalist will hope that the title—*Before the Great Silence*—is not intended to be prophetic. The title is, in fact, ambiguous ; but it probably refers to the contents of the volume, which contains the poet's meditations when confronted by the great enigma—the silence of the interrogated Cosmos. There is no "Great Secret" ; only the "Great Silence." Here M. Maeterlinck's readers will find his final conjectures—for he offers no dogmatic solutions—regarding the mysteries of life and death, the nature of God, or the god of Nature, and the conceivable modes of human immortality—psychological, biological, conditioned, or absolute. Readers of *The Great Silence* will not need to be told that M. Maeterlinck is, in his own fashion, a stoic and a pessimist ; yet the pessimist admits that a sudden flash of light may transform all our problems, and make nonsense of our most learned explanations. The book, which is written in more or less independent paragraphs, many of which have the lapidary force of epigrams, is one that no lover of M. Maeterlinck's prose can afford to miss.

Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance, by Nesca A. Robb, M.A., D. PHIL. (Oxon.). G. Allen Unwin Ltd. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

After presenting a short history and analysis of that peculiar Florentine neoplatonism which had so great an influence not only in Renaissance Italy but also in England and France, the author discusses some of its chief aesthetic manifestations. She lays emphasis on the humanistic aspects of Florentine thought and she shows the relation of its ideals to the figurative arts, the fullest expression of the Renaissance spirit. She also gives us a most delightful account of the writers of the Medici circle.

The Clown and His Daughter, by Halidé Edib. G. Allen Unwin Ltd. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

This is the story of a back street in old Istanbul, but characters from higher classes, even from that of the Sultan's household, creep in. The outstanding figures are a clown, his daughter, who is both a grocer and a Koran-chanter, a dwarf, an old priest, hooligans, and other street characters. Though written in the *décor* of past days, the personalities of the novel are as alive and as familiar as anyone might meet any day in or out of Turkey.

Like Joseph Conrad, the author has presented English literature with strange figures and strange circumstances, a glimpse into alien mentalities and the unexaggerated reconstruction of alien atmospheres. The writing is always vital and there are scenes which will remain irrevocably in the memory—mosque scenes, scenes of banishment and cruelty, scenes of quiet innocuous happiness.

The Chinese People: Their Past, Present and Future, by Lieut.-Commander A. S. Elwell-Sutton, with a Foreword by Professor J. Percy Bruce, London. Ivor Nicholson and Watson, Ltd. 1934. Pp. 264. 4s. 6d.

This volume of *The University Extension Library* is another effort to condense the history of China for those who lack time or inclination for longer works and more specialized studies. The history and culture of pre-nineteenth-century China are compressed into about one hundred pages. The remaining three-fifths of the space is devoted almost entirely to domestic and international political events of the past hundred years. Brief bibliographies of pertinent works, most of them in English, preface the book as a whole and succeed each major division. Few interpretations beyond those commonly known are attempted. The literary style is undistinguished.

It must be said, then, that of the many brief books attempting to cover the course of Chinese history this is by no means the best.

K. S. LATOURETTE

To the North ! The Story of Arctic Exploration from Earliest Times to the Present, by Jeannette Mirsky. New York: The Viking Press. 1934. Pp. xix+386. \$3.75.

The author has set herself the goal of giving an historical survey of the most important Arctic explorations from the earliest times to the present. She does not deal badly with her task as far as concerns the pre-war period, for which there is already a series of similar compilations which have obviously served her as source material. The chapter on ancient whaling is good, but unfortunately the establishment of Russian industries on Spitzbergen is wrongly attributed in it to Peter I, and completely incorrect data are given on the appearance of the Russians in this archipelago. It is gratifying to the reader to find a full list of the searching parties which went out after the Franklin Expedition. A separate chapter is devoted to the Great Northern Expedition, and this also distinguishes Miss Mirsky's book, to its advantage, from many similar surveys written by non-Russians.

The Real Abyssinia, by Colonel C. F. Rey. Seeley Service. 10s. 6d.

Colonel Rey has a great advantage over other writers on Abyssinia. Although his book was presumably written *ad hoc*, his knowledge of the country is the fruit of ten years' sojourn during a period when no distorting passions were at work. This fact also has its disadvantages. Except for an account of a journey through Gudru and Gojjam across the Blue Nile, much of "The Real Abyssinia" may be found in *The Country of the Blue Nile* by the same author. Colonel Rey's judgment is not likely to escape criticism on all points. It is not really true to say that the British "were withdrawing from all connexion with the country between 1880 and 1890." Great Britain acquired Zeila and Berbera between those dates, and lent at least moral support to the Italian occupation of Massawa and Beilul. The book shows signs of hurried production. Massawa was occupied in 1885, not 1883. The Italian "successes of January, 1865" must be those of 1895. Nevertheless, *The Real Abyssinia* is the most reliable book that has appeared on the country since the present dispute began. The chapter on slavery is a model of balanced statement.

The Campaign of Adowa, by G. F. H. Berkeley. Constable. 15s.

This is a reprint of the standard work in English on the battle of Adowa. It is a book of extraordinary interest. Mr. Berkeley does not confine himself to purely military matters. The first hundred pages contain what is still after thirty-three years, one of the best accounts of Italian penetration in East Africa. The rest deals with the battle itself, and its results. There are many most interesting comments on the leading personalities in the struggle, on the organisation of Eritrea in the early years, and above all on the nature of the terrain on which war is once more being waged. The maps are excellent.



RAI SHAILEB ISAN CHANDRA GHOSH
1860-1935

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[I. *Proposed University Union.* II. *University Recognition of the S. L. C. Examination of Nepal.* III. *A New Fellow.* IV. *Physical and Kindergarten Exhibition.* V. *Prativa Devi Endowment.* VI. *University Representative on Bengal Council of Medical Registration.* VII. *A New Doctor of Science.* VIII. *University Museum and Fine Arts Gallery.* IX. *Senate accepts Syndicate Committee Report on Government Resolution on School Education.* X. *Detenus as Examinees.* XI. *Stephunos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship.* XII. *Mr. N. G. Majumdar.* XIII. *Epidemic Dropsy Research.*]

I. PROPOSED UNIVERSITY UNION.

A meeting of the students of this University was recently held under the presidency of Prof. W. S. Urquhart in the Asutosh Hall to consider the desirability of the alumni of the University organizing themselves into a University Union. It was strongly urged in their resolutions forwarded to the University that a movement of this sort should receive the guidance of the authorities. We understand that the University has addressed the Heads of affiliated colleges for favour of an expression of opinion on the subject.

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II. UNIVERSITY RECOGNITION OF THE S.L.C. EXAMINATION OF NEPAL.

The School Leaving Certificate Examination of Nepal has, after due consideration, been recognised by this University as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination for three years for the present.

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III. A NEW FELLOW.

We have pleasure to announce that Mr. Jitendramohan Sen, B.Sc. (Cal.), M.Ed. (Leeds), has been nominated by His Excellency the Chancellor to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University.

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IV. PHYSICAL AND KINDERGARTEN EXHIBITION.

A scheme of Physical and Kindergarten Exhibition was recently forwarded to our Vice-Chancellor by Miss Prabhasnalini Bose for his

approval to organise the same in this province. The proposed Exhibition is to be illustrated by lectures with pictures and magic lantern projection in all schools and colleges throughout Bengal. We understand that a list of schools under the University has been sent to Miss Bose and that she has been requested to hold direct communication in the matter with the authorities thereof.

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V. PRATIVA DEBI ENDOWMENT.

Mr. Umakanta Goswami, Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, has forwarded a $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ G. P. Note of the face value of Rs. 500 for creating an endowment in memory of his wife, the late Prativa Debi, for the annual award of a silver medal on the results of the B.A. Examination in Economics (Hons.) and a sum of Rs. 20 for the award of the Medal on the results of this year's examination.

The University has accepted the offer with thanks.

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VI. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON BENGAL COUNCIL OF MEDICAL REGISTRATION.

We are glad to announce that Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P. (London), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), has been elected Representative of the Senate of this University on the Bengal Council of Medical Registration.

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VII. A NEW DOCTOR OF SCIENCE.

We congratulate Mr. Bhudebchandra Basu, M.Sc., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science of this University on his thesis entitled "Protozoology and Medical Entomology." The Board of Examiners who adjudicated upon the thesis consisted of Dr. C. Dobell, Ph.D., F.R.S., Professor D. L. Mackinon, D.Sc., and Major W. S. Patton, M.B., Ch.B., I.M.S. (Retired).

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VIII. UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AND FINE ARTS GALLERY.

This University had for some time past under consideration a proposal for the establishment of a Museum and Fine Arts Gallery in connection with the Department of Post Graduate Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture. The whole question was thoroughly discussed and the Senate at its meeting held on the 30th November last gave its sanction to the scheme. The proposed Museum and Fine Arts Gallery will be named "The Asutosh Museum of Indian Art." The object of the Museum will be to collect and preserve representations of different phases of Indian Art, special emphasis being given to Bengal Art. The specimens of Modern Art of the very best type will also be collected and preserved.

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IX. SENATE ACCEPTS SYNDICATE COMMITTEE REPORT ON
GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION ON SCHOOL EDUCATION.

After a lively discussion the Senate of this University at its meeting held on the 30th November last accepted the Report of the Syndicate Committee on Government Resolution on School Education in Bengal.

In moving that the Report be accepted Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee explained the recommendations made by the Committee. Some of the salient points in the Report are as follows:

16,000 primary schools for the whole of Bengal are utterly inadequate. One primary school cannot serve an area of 4 to 5 sq. miles; little children should not be expected to walk so far. Government realised this when it suggested a way out of the difficulty by having two other subsidiary schools within each area in which pupils would be taught partially by the same teachers,—a suggestion which is neither practicable nor desirable. The University strongly objects to the proposal of describing primary schools attended by a majority of Muslim pupils as Maktabas and the University suggests that the names Maktab and Pathsala should be abolished altogether. All schools exist for the primary education of the children of Bengal and they should be called simply primary schools. The Middle Vernacular Schools were tried in Bengal and have proved a failure. The revival of Middle Vernacular schools would therefore be a retrograde step. Middle English Schools, according to past experience, had often

developed into High Schools and the Report considers that this is an instance of natural growth. The number of such Middle Schools or High Schools would depend on local needs and support. Government intend that High Schools should mainly be established in towns and not in villages, neither in as close proximity as now. According to the Government scheme the demand for High School education would gradually decrease ; ordinarily, pupils would complete their education at the Middle Vernacular or the Middle English stage. It is expected that they would be trained in varied pursuits which would equip them for earning their living in the countryside. The Report disagrees with this view. Village-mindedness, it points out, is good so far as it goes. But it does not follow that a policy should be initiated which is likely to go to the other extreme. If young Bengalis are encouraged to regard the Middle Schools stage as the normal end of their school life, it would definitely retard the future intellectual and political progress of the province. This is the weakest part of the Government scheme. Nothing should be done to discourage boys from going to High Schools. The High Schools must be remodelled. The Report cannot approve of the proposal that the number of High Schools should be deliberately restricted. The Report suggests that for many reasons it is advisable to have the Board of Secondary Education under the control of the Senate and it suggests that the Board should be closely associated, at any rate for the first ten years, with some public body which has experience of education. In conclusion the Report urged the Government to appoint a representative committee to consider the question of future educational reforms.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and Mr. S. Suhrawardy took exception to that portion of the Report which recommended the abolition of the names Maktab and Pathshala. Dr. Pramathanath Banerji, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Prof. J. R. Banerji and Dr. Hiralal Halder were unanimous in holding that there was no question of abolishing Maktabas and pointed out that Government Resolution aimed at unifying all the primary schools and contemplated the establishment of one class of primary schools which would be attended by Muslim and non-Muslim pupils alike and that the University only suggested that it would be a happy thing to call such schools by the general name of "primary schools."

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X. DETENUS AS EXAMINEES.

Four hundred and eight detenus including two girls have been permitted by the Senate to appear at the different University Examinations in 1936.

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XI. STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSH LECTURESHIP.

As was expected (*vide* CALCUTTA REVIEW, November last), Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has been invited by the Senate of this University to accept the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship for 1936-37 and to deliver a course of Lectures on Comparative Religion.

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XII. MR. N. G. MAJUMDAR.

Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, has been appointed an Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture from the 1st November, 1935, till the end of the current session.

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XIII. EPIDEMIC DROPSY RESEARCH.

The Senate has sanctioned the payment of a sum of Rs. 1,200 to Dr. Surendranath Roy, Professor of Chemistry, Carmichael Medical College, to enable him to carry on research work in Epidemic Dropsy.

The fell disease has been ravaging the country for a number of years and whatever help may be rendered for the removal of the root cause is commendable. We trust the University's move in the matter will be appreciated by all, though the amount sanctioned may be small.

NOTIFICATION.
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

NOTICE.

Applications are hereby invited from candidates for the competition for the Debendranath Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1935.

The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.E., M.O., and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by the examination of the health of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate.

Such applications from the entrants for the competition are required to be forwarded by a Member of the Senate or by the Head of any Institution affiliated to this University and must reach the office of the undersigned by the 4th January 1936.

Senate House, the 16th November 1935.

B. B. DUTT,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

